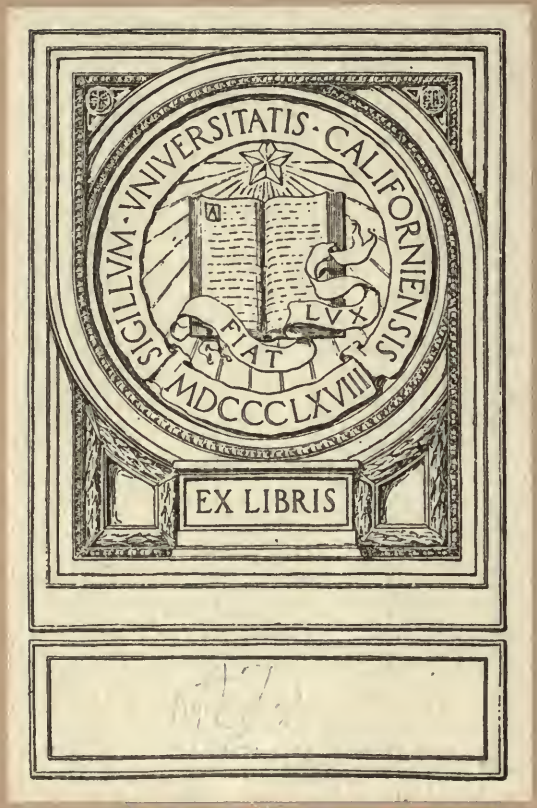

SIGILLVM · VNIVERSITATIS · CALIFORNIENSIS
MDCCCLXVIII
LVX
FIAT
EX LIBRIS

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/treatiseonchrist00miltrich

LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY
CALIFORNIA.

De Doctrina Christiana

ex sacris duntaxat libris petita

disquisitionum libri duo posthumi.

Liber primus.

Caput 1.mum

Quid sit Doctrina Christiana, quæq; ejus partes.

Doctrina Christiana est quam Christus (hac eo nomine non a principio cognitus) de Deo ejusq; cultu ad gloriam Dei salutemq; hominum seculis quibuscunq; divinitus tradidit.

Exod. 32. 5; quod videns Aaron —, proclamavit, dicendo, festus Jehovæ cras esto; cum Psal. 106. 19. 20; fecerunt vitulum Chorobi; et mutarunt honorem suum in formam bovis. Deut. 4. 15, 16; quamobrem cavebitis vobis ipsis valde; nam non aliquam vidistis ullam imaginem quo die allocutus est vos Jehova in Chorebo

Si enim ex decalogo tempus publici cultus petere sub evangelio debemus, longe profecto erit tutius septimum quemque diem ex præcepto Dei diligentissimo, quàm primum quemque ex nudis hominum conjecturis observare. Atque in hac ferme sententia doctissimos quosque theologorum, Bucerum, Calvinum, Martyrem, Musculum, Ursinum, Pomarum, aliosque video fuisse. . .

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

A

TREATISE

ON

CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE,

COMPILED FROM THE HOLY SCRIPTURES ALONE;

BY

JOHN MILTON.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL

BY

CHARLES R. SUMNER, M.A.

LIBRARIAN AND HISTORIOGRAPHER TO HIS MAJESTY,
AND PREBENDARY OF CANTERBURY.

PRINTED AT THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS,

By J. SMITH, *Printer to the University:*

FOR CHARLES KNIGHT, PALL MALL EAST.

SOLD ALSO BY BUDD AND CALKIN, BOOKSELLERS IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY,
PALL MALL EAST; EBERS, OLD BOND STREET; HURST AND ROBINSON, CHEAPSIDE;
RIVINGTONS, WATERLOO PLACE, AND ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD;
BOOKSELLERS EXTRAORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY;
HATCHARD AND SON, PICCADILLY; AND WAUGH AND INNES, EDINBURGH.

1825

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

To enter into a preliminary discussion of the doctrines or opinions contained in the present volume, seems, properly speaking, to be no necessary part of the Translator's duty. After stating, therefore, in the first place, the circumstances under which the original manuscript was discovered, and the reasons for considering it as the long lost theological work of Milton, it will be sufficient to subjoin, as briefly as possible, a few remarks chiefly relating to certain peculiarities in the following treatise, by which it is distinguished from the author's other compositions.

From information communicated by Robert Lemon, sen. Esq. Deputy Keeper of His Majesty's State Papers, who has lately completed from the documents under his care an entire series of the Order-Books of the Council of State during the Interregnum, it appears that Milton retired from active official employment as Secretary for Foreign Languages, about the middle of the year 1655. The following entry occurs under the date of April 17 in that year:

"The Councell resumed the debate upon the report made from the Committee of the Councell to whom it was referred to consider of the establishment of the Councell's contingencies.

"Ordered . . . . . That the former yearly Salary of Mr. John Milton, of Two Hundred Eighty-Eight Pounds, &c., formerly charged on the Councell's contingencies, be reduced to One Hundred and Fiftie Pounds per annum, and paid to him, during his life, out of His Highness' Exchequer."

This sum must have been intended as a retiring pension in consideration of past services, as it is evident from another entry, under the same date, that a successor was already appointed, at a reduced salary, to discharge the duties of the situation which Milton had previously occupied.

"For the Fee of Mr. Phillip Medows, Secretary for the Latine Tongue, after the rate of	per annum. £200 0 0"

From this time it is presumed that Milton ceased to be employed in public business, as his name does not again occur in the Books of the Council of State, which continue in uninterrupted succession till the 2d of September 1658, the day preceding the death of Cromwell.[1]

It is mentioned by the biographers of Milton (Toland's *Life of John Milton*, p. 148, 12mo. London, 1699; Newton's *Life of Milton*, Vol. I. p. xl. and lxiii. 8vo. London, 1757; Symmons's *Life of Milton*, appended to his edition of the Prose Works, Vol. VII. p. 500, London, 1806) that about the time when he was thus released from public business, he entered upon the composition of three great works, more

[1] The Orders of the Council of State during the Interregnum, brought to light and arranged by the industry of Mr. Lemon, form one of the most interesting series of documents relative to English History at present in existence. They contain the daily transactions of the executive government in England from 1648-9 to September 1658, and are particularly valuable from the period of the dissolution of the Long Parliament in 1653, to the death of Cromwell in September 1658; as during the greater part of that time the Council of State, under the Protector, combined both the executive and legislative functions of government, and as these books are the authentic, but hitherto unknown records of their daily proceedings. It is greatly to be desired that the attention of the Record Commissioners should be drawn to these valuable documents, and perhaps it might be advisable that a fair transcript of them should be made, under their sanction, to guard against loss or damage by any accident which may happen to the originals.

congenial to his taste than the employments in which he had been recently engaged, and fitted to occupy his mind under the blindness with which he had been afflicted for nearly three years. The works commenced under these circumstances were Paradise Lost, a Latin Thesaurus, intended as an improvement on that by Robert Stephens, and a body of Divinity compiled from the Holy Scriptures, 'all which,' according to Wood (*Fasti Oxonienses*, Part I. 1635, col. 486, edit. 1817) 'notwithstanding the several troubles that befel him in his fortunes, he finished after His Majesty's Restoration.' After enumerating the works of Milton then published, Wood says; 'These I think are all the things he hath yet extant; those that are not, are, a Body of Divinity, which my friend (Aubrey) calls Idea Theologiæ, now, or at least lately, in the hands of the author's acquaintance, called CYRIACK SKINNER, living in Mark Lane, London; and the Latin Thesaurus, in those of EDWARD PHILIPPS, his nephew.'

In allusion to the work which is thus called by Wood, on the authority of Aubrey, *Idea Theologiæ*, Toland has the following passage: 'He wrote likewise a *System of Divinity*, but whether intended for public view, or collected merely for his own use, I cannot determine. It was in the hands of his friend CYRIACK SKINNER, and where at present is uncertain.'[2] Dr. Symmons also says, in a note, Vol. VII. p. 500: 'An answer to a libel on himself, and a system of Theology, called, according to Wood, Idea Theologiæ, are compositions of Milton which have been lost. The last was at one time in the hands of Cyriack Skinner, but what became of it afterwards has not been traced.'

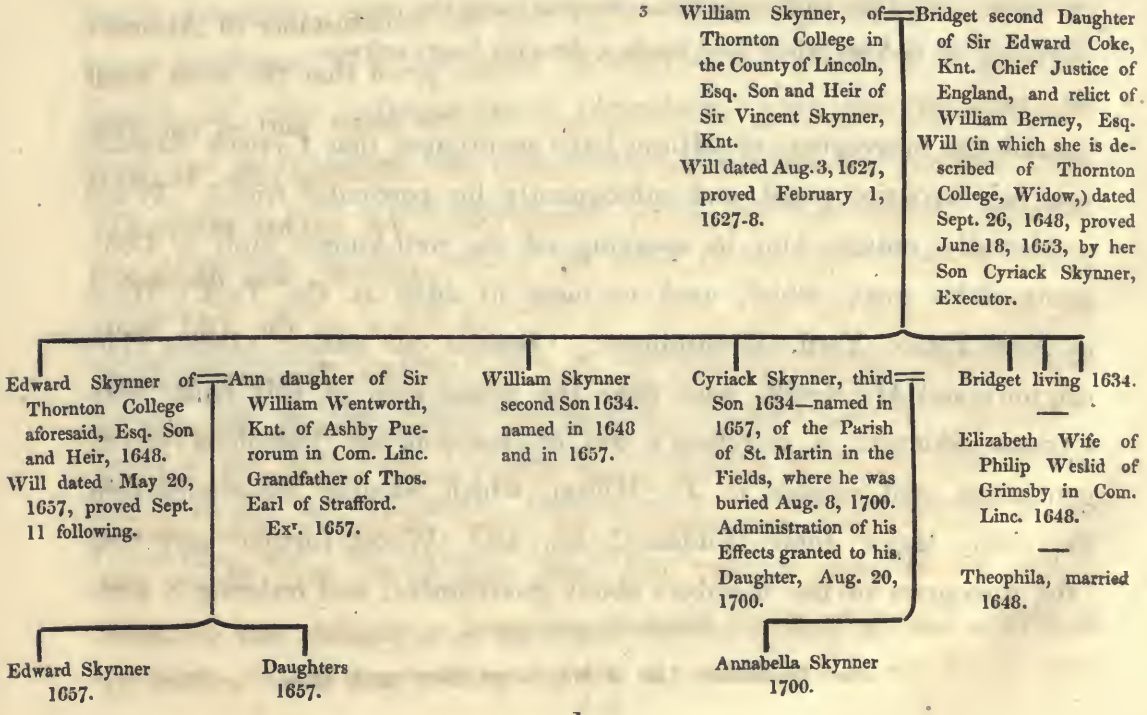
[2] Life, p. 148.

It appears then from the above testimonies, that a treatise on Divinity was known to have been compiled by Milton, and deposited, either for safe custody, or from motives of friendship, in the hands of Cyriack Skinner; since which time all traces of it have been lost. It is necessary to show, in the next place, what are the grounds for supposing that the original work, from which the following translation has been executed, is the identical treatise so long concealed from the researches of all the editors and biographers of the author of Paradise Lost.

It is observable that neither Wood, nor any of the subsequent biographers of Milton, have mentioned the language in which his theological treatise was written. To prefix a learned title to an English composition would be so consistent with Milton's own practice, as well as with the prevailing taste of his age, that the circumstance of Aubrey's ascribing to it a Latin name affords no certain proof that the work itself was originally written in that language. In the latter part of the year 1823, however, a Latin manuscript, bearing the following title, JOANNIS MILTONI ANGLI DE DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA, EX SACRIS DUNTAXAT LIBRIS PETITA, DISQUISITIONUM LIBRI DUO POSTHUMI, was discovered by Mr. Lemon, in the course of his researches in the Old State Paper Office, situated in what is called the Middle Treasury Gallery, Whitehall. It was found in one of the presses, loosely wrapped in two or three sheets of printed paper, with a large number of original letters, informations, examinations and other curious records relative to the Popish plots in 1677 and 1678, and to the Rye House plot in 1683. The same parcel likewise contained a complete and corrected copy of all the Latin letters to foreign princes and states written by

Milton while he officiated as Latin Secretary; and the whole was enclosed in an envelope superscribed, '*To Mr. Skinner, Mercht.*' The address seems distinctly to identify this important manuscript with the work mentioned by Wood, though an error has been committed, either by himself or his informant, with respect to its real title.

Mr. Cyriack Skinner, whose name is already well known in association with that of Milton, appears, from a pedigree communicated by James Pulman, Esq., Portcullis Poursuivant at Arms, to have been the grandson of Sir Vincent Skinner or Skynner, knight, whose eldest son and heir, William Skynner, of Thornton College in the County of Lincoln, Esq., married Bridget second daughter of Sir Edward Coke, knight, Chief Justice of England.[3] The affinity between Cyriack



Skinner and this distinguished ornament of the English Bar, is thus alluded to by Milton in his 21st Sonnet:

To Cyriack Skinner.

Cyriack, whose grandsire, on the royal bench
Of British Themis, with no mean applause
Pronounc'd, and in his volumes taught, our laws,
Which others at their bar so often wrench;
To-day deep thoughts resolve with me to drench
In mirth that, after, no repenting draws;
Let Euclid rest, and Archimedes pause,
And what the Swede intends, and what the French.
To measure life learn thou betimes, and know
Toward solid good what leads the nearest way;
For other things mild Heav'n a time ordains,
And disapproves that care, though wise in show,
That with superfluous burden loads the day,
And, when God sends a cheerful hour, refrains.

All the biographers of Milton have mentioned that Cyriack Skinner was his favourite pupil, and subsequently his particular friend. Wood incidentally notices him in speaking of the well-known club of Commonwealth's men, which used to meet in 1659 at the Turk's Head in New Palace Yard, Westminster. 'Besides our author (James Harrington) and H. Nevill, who were the prime men of this club, were Cyriack Skinner, a merchant's son of London, an ingenious young gentleman, and scholar to Jo. Milton, which Skinner sometimes held the chair, Major John Wildman,' &c. &c.[4] Wood further says that 'the discourses of the members about government, and ordering a com-

[4] *Fasti Oxonienses*, Life of Mr. James Harrington, 389.

monwealth, were the most ingenious and smart that ever were heard; for the arguments in the Parliament House were but flat to them.' They were fond, it appears, of proposing models of democratical government, and at the dissolution of the club in February, 1659, at which time the secluded members were restored by General Monk, 'all their models,' Wood says, 'vanished.' These models are not now of common occurrence, but two of them are in the possession of the Rev. Henry J. Todd, from whom the following information respecting them is derived. One is entitled 'A Modell of a Democraticall Government, humbly tendered to consideration by a friend and well-wisher to this Commonwealth,' 4to. London, 1659. The title of the other is 'Idea Democratica, or a Commonweal Platform,' 4to. London, 1659. Both consist of a very few leaves only, and neither are enumerated by Wood among Harrington's pieces. Mr. Todd supposes with much probability, that as the chair was often taken by the *ingenious young gentleman*, as Wood terms Skinner, he was concerned in the publication of these antimonarchical curiosities. Care however must be taken not to confound him with another individual of the same name, who likewise took a part against the crown in the politics of the day; viz. Augustine Skinner, one of the small Rump Parliament of ninety members in 1659. It was probably the latter who belonged to the Committee appointed by the House to consider all orders, &c. touching absent, that is, the secluded members; in which Committee is the leader of the Rota Club, 'Sir James Harrington,' as he was then usually called, though not knighted. Harrington is the fifth in the list of the Committee, and 'Mr. Skinner' the twelfth.[5]

[5] See 'A brief Narrative of the late forcible Seclusion of divers Members of the House of Commons,' 1660. p. 6.

In the year 1654, we learn from a letter addressed to Milton by his friend Andrew Marvell, and first published by Dr. Birch, that Skinner 'had got near' his former preceptor, who then occupied lodgings in Petty France, Westminster, probably for the sake of their contiguity to the Council. This was the house 'next door to the Lord Scudamore's, and opening into St. James's park,' where he is said to have remained eight years; namely, from 1652 till within a few weeks of the restoration of Charles the Second. By a comparison of dates, it may be conjectured that he removed into it when obliged to leave the lodgings in Whitehall, which, as is proved by the following curious extracts from the Council books, had been provided for him at the public expense, and fitted up with some of the spoils of the late King's property.

"1649. *Nov.* 12. Ordered——That Sir John Hippesley be spoken to, that Mr. Milton may be accommodated with the Lodgings that he hath at Whitehall."

"1649. *Nov.* 19. ——— That Mr. Milton shall have the Lodgings that were in the hands of Sir John Hippesley, in Whitehall, for his accommodation, as being Secretary to the Councell for Forreigne Languages."

"1650. *June* 14. ——— That Mr. Milton shall have a warrant to the Trustees and Contractors for the sale of the King's goods, for the furnishing of his Lodgeing at Whitehall with some Hangings."

Copy of the Warrant of the Council of State, above-mentioned.

'These are to will and require you, forthwith, upon sight hereof, to deliver unto Mr. John Milton, or to whom hee shall appoint, such Hangings as shall bee sufficient for the furnishing of his Lodgings in Whitehall. Given at Whitehall 18°. *Junii* 1650.

To the Trustees and Contractors for the Sale of the late King's Goods.'

"1651. *April* 10 Ordered—That Mr. Vaux bee sent unto, to lett him know that hee is to forbeare the removeing of Mr. Milton out of his Lodgings at Whitehall, until Sir Henry Mildmay and Sir Gilbert Pickering shall have spoken with the Committee concerning that businesse."

"1651. *June* 11. ——— That Lieutenant Generall Fleetwood, Sir John Trevor, Mr. Alderman Allen, and Mr. Chaloner, or anie two of them, bee appointed a Committee to go from this Councell to the Committee of Parliament for Whitehall, to acquaint them with the case of Mr. Milton, in regard of their positive order for his speedie remove out of his Lodgings in Whitehall, and to endeavour with them, that the said Mr. Milton may bee continued where he is, in regard of the employment hee is in to the Councell, which necessitates him to reside neere the Councell.'

About a year after Skinner had thus become the neighbour of Milton, the latter addressed to him that beautiful sonnet on the loss of his sight, which, in consequence of the allusion contained in it to the Defence of the People, was not published till twenty years after the author's death.

Cyriack, this three years day these eyes, though clear,
To outward view, of blemish or of spot,
Bereft of light, their seeing have forgot;
Nor to their idle orbs doth sight appear
Of sun, or moon, or star, throughout the year,
Or man, or woman. Yet I argue not
Against Heaven's hand or will, nor bate a jot
Of heart or hope; but still bear up and steer
Right onward. What supports me, dost thou ask?
The conscience, friend, to have lost them overplied
In liberty's defence, my noble task,
Of which all Europe rings from side to side.
This thought might lead me through the world's vain mask
Content, though blind, had I no better guide.

It appears from the title, that the work entrusted to Skinner's care was originally intended to be a posthumous publication. The reproaches to which its author had been exposed in consequence of opinions contained in his early controversial writings, may have induced him to avoid attracting the notice of the public, during the ascendency of his political opponents, by a frank avowal of his religious sentiments. But by what means, by whom, or at what time this interesting document was deposited in the State Paper Office, is at present not known with certainty; every trace of its existence having been lost for nearly a century and a half, till it was discovered by Mr. Lemon in the manner above described.

In the absence of all positive evidence on this subject, it is due to the sagacity of Mr. Lemon to state the satisfactory conjecture originally formed by that gentleman, which subsequent discoveries have almost converted into a moral certainty. From the decided republican principles which Cyriack Skinner was well known to have adopted, it is not improbable that he was suspected of participating in some of the numerous political conspiracies which prevailed during the last ten years of the reign of Charles the Second, and that his papers were seized in consequence. Supposing this step to have been taken, the Milton manuscript would have come officially, with the other suspected documents, into the possession either of Sir Joseph Williamson, or Sir Leoline Jenkins; who held successively the office of Principal Secretary of State for the Southern or Home Department, during the whole of the period alluded to, that is, from 1674 to 1684. It was at this time the custom for the Secretaries, on retiring from office, to remove with them the public documents connected with their respective admi-

nistrations; but both these distinguished statesmen, from a conviction of the inconvenience of a practice which has since been disused, bequeathed their large and valuable collections of manuscripts to His Majesty's State Paper Office. It was in the course of examining these papers for the purpose of arranging them in chronological order, and of forming a catalogue raisonné of their contents, that the identical manuscript came to light, of which the public, by His Majesty's gracious command, is now in possession.[6]

It will be admitted that the above mode of accounting for the unexpected discovery of Milton's theological work among the neglected treasures of the State Paper Office, is at least plausible. It occurred, however, to Mr. Lemon, that an accurate inspection of the papers relative to the plots of 1677, 1678, and 1683, deposited in the same press with the manuscript, might perhaps afford some information respecting it. He has therefore recently examined the whole of this part of the collection, and in a bundle of papers containing informations and examinations taken in the year 1677, the following letter was discovered from a Mr. Perwich, written at Paris, March 15, 1677, and addressed to Mr. Bridgeman, Secretary to Sir Joseph Williamson, which appears to throw considerable light on the preceding conjecture.

Paris March 15 — 77.

'Sir

I have ꝺꝺ (delivered) D^r^. Barrow's letter to M^r^. Skinner, before witnesse, as you desired. I found him much surprised, and yet at the same time

[6] In the same office have been lately discovered some curious documents, hitherto unknown, respecting both the family history and the official life of Milton, which, by the permission of Mr. Secretary Peel, are now incorporated, with other materials, into an account of him and his writings, about to be published by the Rev. Mr. Todd, the well-known and able editor of Milton's Poetical Works.

slighting any constraining orders from the Superiour of his Colledge, or any benefit he expected thence, but as to Milton's Workes he intended to have printed, (though he saith that part which he had in M. S. S. are noe way to be objected ag^{t}, either with regard to Royalty and Government) he hath desisted from the causing them to be printed, having left them in Holland, and that he intends, notwithstanding the College sum̃ons, to goe for Italy this summer. This is all I can say in that affaire. You have herein all our newes.

I am S^{r},

Your most faithfull obd^{t}. Servt.

W. Perwich.

For W^{m}. Bridgman Esq.
Sec̃ry to the Right Honble.
M^{r}. Sec̃ry Williamson
att Court.'

On this letter Mr. Lemon submits the following reasoning, which it is right to state in his own language:

'From the words in the preceding letter, '*Superiour of his Colledge*,' it evidently appears that Mr. Skinner, who at that period is thus proved to have had unpublished manuscripts of Milton in his possession, was a member of some Catholic religious order; and it is a very curious and interesting fact, which strongly corroborates the preceding conjecture, that in the original deposition of Titus Oates (which actually lay on the parcel containing the posthumous work of Milton when it was discovered) signed by himself, and attested by Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey, on the 27th of September, 1678, a few days only before his mysterious murder, and also signed by Dr. Ezrael Tonge, and Christopher Kirkby, the name of Mr. Skinner is inserted, as a Benedictine, in the list given in by Titus Oates of the persons implicated in the Popish plot of 1678.'

There are, however, some reasons for doubting whether Skinner the Benedictine can have been Cyriack Skinner, the original depositary of Milton's work. It appears from the pedigree inserted in a preceding page, that letters of administration were granted in August 1700 to Annabella, daughter of Cyriack Skinner, in which he is described as of the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, *Widower*. This is evidently inconsistent with the supposition that he was a member of a religious order. It is indeed barely possible that he may have assumed the Benedictine character in 1677 (the year in which Perwich's letter is dated) though it is most unlikely that such a change should have taken place in the principles of one who had been the intimate friend of Milton, and whose opinions had been so decidedly opposed to Popery during the Commonwealth. By the will of Edward, the eldest brother, dated 20th May 1657, and proved the 10th of February following, Cyriack was nominated guardian of his son, in case his wife (the daughter of Sir William Wentworth, who was killed at Marston Moor) should re-marry or die; and in the same document a legacy of one hundred pounds is bequeathed to each of the brothers William and Cyriack.

On the whole, therefore, it seems most probable, that the Benedictine Skinner, if an immediate connexion of this family, was William, the second son of William and Bridget, and elder brother of Cyriack; a conjecture rendered more likely from the fact that no will of this individual is registered, nor is any record of him mentioned after 1657, when his elder brother died. Cyriack, aware of the suspicion to which he was liable as the friend of Milton, as well as on account of his own political character, might naturally conceive that his papers would be

safer in the hands of his brother, out of the kingdom, than in his own custody; and the government having been informed by Mr. Perwich of their concealment in Holland, perhaps obtained possession of them through their emissaries, while Skinner was travelling in Italy, according to his design mentioned in the letter to Mr. Bridgeman.

There seems no reason, however, why the words '*Superiour of his Colledge*' should not apply with as much propriety to the head of a Protestant as of a Roman Catholic Society. Dr. Isaac Barrow, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, did not die till May 1677, two months after the date of Perwich's letter, and in the register of that College the following entries occur: 'Oct. 2, 1674. Daniel Skinner juratus et admissus in socium minorem.'—'May 23d, 1679. Daniel Skinner juratus et admissus in socium majorem.' From the unusual interval between the first and second admission, which ordinarily does not exceed a year and a half, as well as from the day, May 23, the regular day for the admission of major Fellows being in July, it is evident that his advance to the latter rank took place under some extraordinary circumstances. If he was the Skinner mentioned in Perwich's letter, it may be supposed that his contumacious absence retarded his rise in the College, and that his continuance in his fellowship, and subsequent election as major Fellow, is to be ascribed to the leniency of the Society. That the Skinner alluded to was not a Catholic may be inferred from his having gone to Holland, which does not seem the most obvious place of refuge for a Catholic emigrant; as also from the manner in which he speaks of Milton's manuscript works, especially if, as is probable, in describing them as "no way to be objected against *either* with regard to royalty *and* government," he intended to have added,

"or with regard to religion," "church polity," or something similar, which by an oversight was omitted; for he can hardly have meant to write "royalty *or* government," there being little or no difference between the terms, in the sense in which the writer would have used them. Nor is it likely that a member of a Catholic religious order would have entertained the design of publishing such works.

The manuscript itself consists of 735 pages, closely written on small quarto letter paper. The first part, as far as the 15th chapter of the first book, is in a small and beautiful Italian hand; being evidently a corrected copy, prepared for the press, without interlineations of any kind. This portion of the volume, however, affords a proof that even the most careful transcription seldom fails to diminish the accuracy of a text; for although it is evident that extraordinary pains have been employed to secure its legibility and correctness, the mistakes which are found in this part of the manuscript, especially in the references to the quotations, are in the proportion of 14 to 1 as compared with those in the remaining three-fifths of the work. The character is evidently that of a female hand, and it is the opinion of Mr. Lemon, whose knowledge of the hand-writings of that time is so extensive that the greatest deference is due to his judgement, that Mary, the second daughter of Milton, was employed as amanuensis in this part of the volume. In corroboration of this conjecture, it may be remarked that some of the mistakes above alluded to are of a nature to induce a suspicion that the transcriber was merely a copyist, or, at most, only imperfectly acquainted with the learned languages. For instance, in p. 19, l. 17, of the Latin volume, the following quotation occurs: Heb. iv. 13. *omnia sunt nuda, et ab intimo patentia oculis ejus;* where in the manu-

script the word *patientia* is substituted for *patentia*. This might have been supposed an accidental oversight, occasioned by the haste of the writer; but on turning to the Latin Bible of Junius and Tremellius, which Milton generally uses in his quotations, it will be found that the same error occurs in the edition printed at Geneva, 1630, but not in that printed at London, 1593. This not only seems to fix the precise edition of the Bible from which the texts were copied, but, considering that the mistake is such as could hardly fail to be corrected by the most careless transcriber, provided he understood the sentence, affords a strong presumption that the writer possessed a very moderate degree of scholarship. On the other hand, a great proportion of the errors are precisely such as lead to a supposition that the amanuensis, though no scholar, was to a certain degree acquainted with the language verbally; inasmuch as they generally consist, not of false combinations of letters, but of the substitution of one word for another of nearly similar sound or structure. Of this kind are *gloriæ* for *gratiæ*, *corruentem* for *cor autem*, *nos* for *non*, *in jus* for *ejus*, *re* for *rex*, *imminuitur* for *innuitur*, *in quam* for *inquam*, *iniquam* for *inquam*, *assimulatus* for *assimilatus*, *alienæ tuæ* for *alienatæ*, *cælorum* for *cæcorum*, *decere* for *docere*, *explorentur* for *explerentur*, *examinatis* for *exanimatis*, *juraverunt* for *jejunarunt*, *errare* for *orare*, &c. &c. Faults of this description, especially considering that very few occur of a different class, and taken in connexion with the opinion of Mr. Lemon stated above, will perhaps remind the reader of a charge which, as Mr. Todd notices, has been brought against the paternal conduct of Milton; 'I mean his teaching his children to read and pronounce Greek and several other languages, *without understanding any but English*.'[7] This at least is

[7] *Some Account of the Life and Writings of Milton.* Vol. I. p. 161.

certain, that the transcriber of this part of the manuscript was much employed in Milton's service; for the hand-writing is the same as appears in the fair copy of the Latin letters, discovered, as has been mentioned, in the press which contained the present treatise.[8]

The remainder of the manuscript is in an entirely different hand, being a strong upright character, supposed by Mr. Lemon to be the hand-writing of Edward Philipps, the nephew of Milton. This part of the volume is interspersed with numerous interlineations and corrections, and in several places with small slips of writing pasted in the margin.

[8] It is desirable that a new edition of these letters should be published from this corrected manuscript. The text appears to differ in many instances from that of our present editions, and from the following printed advertisement, which was found in the same parcel, there can be no doubt that the collection had been carefully revised by the author or his friends, and was prepared for publication. It was intended to have been committed to the press in Holland, and was therefore probably among the papers which Skinner had left in that country. The advertisement itself is curious, as containing an indignant remonstrance against the conduct of some dishonest bookseller who had obtained a surreptitious copy of the letters, and published them in an incorrect shape.

'Innotescat omnibus cum in Academiis, tum in Londino literatis, Bibliopolis etiam, si qui sint qui præter solitum Latine sciunt, nec non exteris quibuscunque, quod *Literæ* Joannis Miltoni *Angli, interregni tempore scriptæ,* quas bibliopola quidam Londinensis, secum habita consultatione quantam in rem famamque quantam imperfectissimum quid et indigestum ex operibus tanti viri sibi pro certo cederet, nuper in lucem irrepi fecit (præterquam quod a contemptissimo quodam et perobscuro preli quondam curatore, qui parvam schedarum manum vel emendicaverit olim abs authore, vel, quod verisimilius est, clam suppilaverit, perexiguo pretio fuerunt emptæ) sunt misere mutilæ, dimidiatæ, deformes ex omni parte ruptoque ordine confusæ, præfatiuncula spurca non minus quam infantissima dehonestatæ, cæterisque dein a numerosioribus chartis nequiter arreptæ. Quodque vera Literarum exemplaria, locupletiora multum et auctiora, composita concinnius et digesta, *typis elegantioribus excudenda sunt in Hollandia prelo commissa.* Quæ una cum Articulis Hispanicis, Portugallicis, Gallicis, Belgicis in ista rerum inclinatione nobiscum initis et percussis, pluribusque chartis Germanicis, Danicis, Suevicis scitissime scriptis, ne ex tam spuriis libri natalitiis, et ex tam vili præfatore læderetur author, brevi possis, humanissime lector, expectare.'

These corrections are in two distinct hand-writings, different from the body of the manuscript, but the greater part of them undoubtedly written by the same person who transcribed the first part of the volume. Hence it is probable that the latter part of the MS. is a copy transcribed by Philipps, and finally revised and corrected by Mary and Deborah Milton from the dictation of their father, as many of the alterations bear a strong resemblance to the reputed hand-writing of Deborah, the youngest daughter of Milton, in the manuscripts preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge; who is stated by Wood (*Fasti Oxonienses*, Part I, 1635. col. 483.) to have been 'trained up by her father in Latin and Greek, and made by him his amanuensis.' A lithographic fac-simile has been taken of two of the Sonnets in the Trinity manuscript, and is prefixed to this volume, by the permission of the Master and Seniors of that Society. The other plate is an accurate representation of the three hand-writings alluded to in the preceding statement.

Independently, however, of other considerations, the readers of the volume now published will find the best proofs of its authenticity in the resemblance of its language and opinions to the printed works of Milton. Some striking specimens of this agreement are frequently given in the notes, and these illustrations might have been multiplied to a much greater extent, had it not seemed desirable, on account of the bulk of the volume, only to select such as were most remarkable for similarity of style or sentiments.

It must be acknowledged that the disqualifications of Milton for such a work as the present, were neither few nor unimportant. They

were owing partly to the unhappy circumstances of the period at which he lived, and partly to that peculiar disposition of mind which led him to view every surrender of individual opinion, whether in morals or politics, as an infringement on the rights of natural liberty. In his time power was abused, under pretence of religion, in a degree to which, happily for genuine Christianity, the ecclesiastical annals can scarcely afford a parallel; and the universal prevalence of an intolerant spirit, from which his own connexions as well as himself had suffered severely, disposed him to look with an unfavourable eye, not only upon the corruptions, but on the doctrine itself and discipline of the church. His father had been disinherited for embracing the Protestant faith. He himself had been brought up under a Puritan who was subsequently obliged to leave England on account of his religious opinions, Thomas Young of Essex, one of the six answerers of Hall's Humble Remonstrance. Hence there is some foundation for the remark of Hayley, that Milton 'wrote with the indignant enthusiasm of a man resenting the injuries of those who are most entitled to his love and veneration. The ardour of his affections conspired with the warmth of his fancy to inspire him with that puritanical zeal which blazes so intensely in his controversial productions.'[9] Thus it was that, like Clarke, though on different grounds, he was biassed against the authority of the church, and predisposed by the political constitution of his mind to such unbounded freedom as can hardly consist, as has been truly said, with any established system of faith whatever.[1] His love of Christian liberty began indeed to manifest itself at a very early period of his life, for though

[9] Hayley's *Life of Milton*, p. 66.

[1] Bp. Van Mildert's *Review of Waterland's Life and Writings*. Works, I. 48.

destined to the church from his childhood, he refused to enter it from a religious scruple, thinking that 'he who took orders must subscribe slave.'

There were, however, other circumstances of a different nature, which in some degree counterbalanced these defects. His epic poems afford sufficient evidence not only of extensive biblical knowledge, but of singular judgement in availing himself of the language of Scripture itself, without addition or alteration, in particular parts of his subject. There is no topic to which he recurs more frequently or with more apparent satisfaction than to the serious turn of his early studies. In his *Apology for Smectymnuus* he speaks of the 'wearisome labours and studious watchings wherein he had spent and tired out almost a whole youth.'[2] Again, 'care was ever had of me with my earliest capacity, not to be negligently trained up in the precepts of Christian religion.' In his treatise on education he mentions his 'many studious and contemplative years altogether spent in the search of religious and civil knowledge,' to which allusion is again made with much feeling in the *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano*.[3] He was a proficient in the Hebrew tongue, which he strongly recommends should be gained 'at a set hour,' that the Scriptures may be 'read in their own original.'[4] His own knowledge of this language was probably acquired in his early youth, for in a letter to Young, written in 1625, he thanks him for his acceptable present of a Hebrew Bible; 'Biblia Hebræa, pergratum sane munus tuum, jampridem accepi.'[5] Aubrey and others, who obtained their information from his widow, have

[2] Prose Works, I. 208.
[3] Ibid. I. 225, 274. V. 199, 230, 233.
[4] Ibid. I. 281.
[5] Ibid. VI. 110.

related that as long as he lived it was his custom to begin the day with hearing a portion of the Hebrew Scriptures, which a person was employed to read to him; and during every period of his life his Sundays were wholly devoted to theology. The importance which he attached to these pursuits is further confirmed by what Birch relates of the system pursued by him with his pupils. 'The Sunday's work for his pupils was for the most part to read a chapter of the Greek Testament, and hear his exposition of it. The next work after this was to write from his dictation some part of a system of divinity which he collected from the most eminent writers upon that subject, as Amesius, Wollebius, &c.'[6] Some account of the treatises to which he is said to have been indebted for this compilation, will be found in p. 602, note 9.

Nourished with these studies, and imbued with a salutary abhorrence of indolence and licentious excess, the ordinary failings of youth, Milton's mind acquired from his earliest years that reverential and devotional cast which is perceptible in all his writings. In the sonnet written on attaining his three and twentieth year he unfolds the principle on which he acted.

. . . . . Be it less or more, or soon or slow,
It shall be still in strictest measure even
To that same lot, however mean or high,
Towards which time leads me, and the will of Heaven;
All is, if I have grace to use it so,
As ever in my great Taskmaster's eye.

The pious language in which, at a later period of his life, he speaks of his blindness, is not more affecting as a display of the mental

[6] *Account of the Life and Writings of Mr. J. Milton*, p. xxiii. 4to. London, 1753.

consolations whereby he was supported under his personal infirmities, than it is characteristic of his religious feelings. 'Sic denique habento; me sortis meæ neque pigere neque pœnitere; immotum atque fixum in sententia perstare; Deum iratum neque sentire neque habere; immo maximis in rebus clementiam ejus et benignitatem erga me paternam experiri atque agnoscere; in hoc præsertim, quod solante ipso atque animum confirmante in ejus divina voluntate acquiescam; quid is largitus mihi sit quam quid negaverit sæpius cogitans: postremo nolle me cum suo quovis rectissime facto facti mei conscientiam permutare, aut recordationem ejus gratam mihi semper atque tranquillam deponere. Ad cæcitatem denique quod attinet, malle me, si necesse est, meam, quam vel suam, More, vel tuam. Vestra imis sensibus immersa, ne quid sani videatis aut solidi, mentem obcæcat: mea, quam objicitis, colorem tantummodo rebus et superficiem demit; quod verum ac stabile in iis est contemplationi mentis non adimit. Quam multa deinde sunt quæ videre nollem; quam multa quæ possem, libens non videre; quam pauca reliqua sunt quæ videre cupiam! Sed neque ego cæcis, afflictis, mœrentibus, imbecillis, tametsi vos id miserum ducitis, aggregari me discrucior; quandoquidem spes est eo me propius ad misericordiam summi Patris atque tutelam pertinere. Est quoddam per imbecillitatem, præeunte apostolo, ad maximas vires iter: sim ego debilissimus, dummodo in mea debilitate immortalis ille et melior vigor eo se efficacius exerat; dummodo in meis tenebris divini vultus lumen eo clarius eluceat: tum enim infirmissimus ero simul et validissimus, cæcus eodem tempore et perspicacissimus; hac possim ego infirmitate consummari, hac perfici, possim in hac obscuritate sic ego irradiari. Et sane haud ultima Dei cura cæci sumus; qui nos, quo minus quicquam aliud præter ipsum cernere valemus, eo clementius atque

benignius respicere dignatur. Væ qui illudit nos, væ qui lædit, execratione publica devovendo: nos ab injuriis hominum non modo incolumes, sed pene sacros divina lex reddidit, divinus favor; nec tam oculorum hebetudine, quam cœlestium alarum umbra has nobis fecisse tenebras videtur, factas illustrare rursus interiore ac longe præstabiliore lumine haud raro solet.'[7]

Again, in the second book of *The Reason of Church Government*, a passage occurs of singular beauty, which shows how devotedly the author was attached to the illustration of sacred subjects, whether in works of imagination, or of pure reasoning. 'These abilities, wheresoever they be found, are the inspired gift of God rarely bestowed, but yet to some (though most abuse) in every nation; and are of power, beside the office of a pulpit, to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and public civility, to allay the perturbations of the mind, and set the affections in right tune; to celebrate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of God's almightiness, and what he works, and what he suffers to be wrought with high providence in his church; to sing victorious agonies of martyrs and saints, the deeds and triumphs of just and pious nations doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ; to deplore the general relapses of kingdoms and states from justice and God's true worship. Lastly, whatsoever in religion is holy and sublime, in virtue amiable or grave, whatsoever hath passion or admiration in all the changes of that which is called fortune from without, or the wily subtleties and refluxes of man's thoughts from within; all these things with a solid and treatable smoothness to paint out and describe; teaching

[7] *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano.* Prose Works, V. 216.

over the whole book of sanctity and virtue, through all the instances of example, with such delight, to those especially of soft and delicious temper, who will not so much as look upon truth herself unless they see her elegantly dressed, that whereas the paths of honesty and good life appear now rugged and difficult, though they be indeed easy and pleasant, they will then appear to all men both easy and pleasant, though they were rugged and difficult indeed.'[8]

To these quotations another of a different kind may be not improperly added, as well on account of the eloquence of the passage, as in proof that the author's opinions respecting the Trinity were at one time different from those which are disclosed in the present treatise. 'Which way to get out, or which way to end I know not, unless I turn mine eyes, and with your help lift up my hands, to that eternal and propitious throne, where nothing is readier than grace and refuge to the distresses of mortal suppliants: and it were a shame to leave these serious thoughts less piously than the heathen were wont to conclude their graver discourses. Thou, therefore, that sittest in light and glory unapproachable, Parent of angels and men! next thee I implore, omnipotent King, Redeemer of that lost remnant whose nature thou didst assume, ineffable and everlasting Love! And thou, the third subsistence of divine infinitude, illumining Spirit, the joy and solace of created things! one tripersonal Godhead! look upon this thy poor and almost spent and expiring church; leave her not thus a prey to these importunate wolves, that wait and think long till they devour thy tender flock; these wild boars that have broke into thy vineyard, and left the print of their polluting hoofs on the souls of thy servants. O let them not bring about their damned designs, that stand now at the entrance of the

[8] Prose Works, I. 120.

bottomless pit, expecting the watchword to open and let out those dreadful locusts and scorpions, to reinvolve us in that pitchy cloud of infernal darkness, where we shall never more see the sun of thy truth again, never hope for the chearful dawn, never more hear the bird of morning sing.'[9]

There is much reason for regretting that the prose works of Milton, where, in the midst of much that is coarse and intemperate, passages of such redeeming beauty occur, should be in the hands of so few readers, considering the advantage which might be derived to our literature from the study of their original and nervous eloquence. On their first appearance, indeed, they must inevitably have been received by some with indifference, by others with dislike, by many with resentment. The zeal of the author in the cause of the Parliament, and the bitter personality with which he too frequently advocates his civil and religious opinions, were not calculated to secure him a dispassionate hearing even from his most candid opponents. But in happier times, when it is less difficult to make allowance for the effervescence caused by the heat of conflicting politics, and when the judgement is no longer influenced by the animosities of party, the taste of the age may be profitably and safely recalled to those treatises of Milton which were not written to serve a mere temporary purpose. In one respect indeed they will be found to differ very materially from the work now published. The latter is distinguished in a remarkable degree by calmness of thought, as well as by moderation of language.

[9] *Of Reformation in England.* Prose Works, I. 56. See indeed the entire context of this and the preceding quotation. Compare also the eloquent conclusion of the fourth section of *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence,* I. 181—184.

ence to chapter and verse; I have chosen, on the contrary, to fill my pages even to redundance with quotations from Scripture, that so as little space as possible might be left for my own words, even where they arise from the context of revelation itself.'

In the course of so long a work, embracing such a variety of topics, many opportunities would often occur for allusion to the politics of the times, in which religion bore so important a part. To have abstained from any reference to these subjects, is no ordinary proof of discretion in one who had dedicated his time and talents with such unwearied zeal to promote the objects of his party. Scarcely a sentence, however, will be found, in which local or temporary interests can be suspected of having influenced the mind of the author. Sometimes indeed he lays a stress on certain particulars, to which the subjects then in dispute between the conflicting religious parties gave more importance than they now possess. The power of the keys, for instance, claimed by the Pope, was then a familiar topic of discussion. Hence he takes occasion to bring proof from Scripture, that the administration of ecclesiastical discipline is not committed exclusively to Peter and his successors, or to any individual pastor specifically, but to the whole particular church, whether consisting of few or of many members.[5] The subjects of Episcopacy and Covenants might have furnished him with opportunities not only of lashing the Royalists in general, but of renewing those attacks which he had formerly directed so pertinaciously against King Charles himself. It may be worth while to contrast his manner of treating the subject of Covenants in his political tracts, with some corresponding remarks in

[5] Page 500.

the following treatise. He says in his *Eiconoclastes*, 'Neither was the 'covenant superfluous, though former engagements, both religious and legal, bound us before;' but was the practice of all churches heretofore intending reformation. All Israel, though bound enough before by the law of Moses 'to all necessary duties,' yet with Asa their king entered into a new covenant at the beginning of a reformation: and the Jews after captivity, without consent demanded of that king who was their master, took solemn oath to walk in the commandments of God. All Protestant churches have done the like, notwithstanding former engagements to their several duties.'[6] Compare with this passage the observations to the same effect, in the beginning of the chapter on Church-discipline in this volume, where, although the events of his own times could not but have been present to his mind during the composition of a passage so similar, he nevertheless entirely abstains even from the remotest reference to them. 'It is a prudent as well as a pious custom, to solemnize the formation or re-establishment of a particular church by a public renewal of the covenant, as was frequently done in the reformations of the Jewish church, Deut. xxix. 1. The same took place under Asa, Ezra, Nehemiah, and others. So also, when an individual unites himself to a particular church, it is requisite that he should enter into a solemn covenant with God and the church to conduct himself in all respects, both towards the one and the other, so as to promote his own edification, and that of his brethren.'[7] Again, speaking of the penitential meditations and vows of Charles at Holmby, Milton says, in the same treatise which has been already quoted, 'It is not hard for any man who hath a Bible in his hands, to borrow good

[6] Prose Works, III. 28. [7] Page 498.

words and holy sayings in abundance; but to make them his own, is a work of grace only from above.'[8] A sentiment precisely similar occurs in this work, but not the most covert allusion is added which can recal to the mind of the reader the charge of insincerity formerly advanced against the unfortunate monarch in nearly the same language. He is equally cautious where he argues that marriage is only a civil contract, an opinion acted upon by his party during the Interregnum. In p. 597, a favourable opportunity presented itself for inveighing against Archbishop Laud's consecration of churches, at that time one of the favourite topics of abuse among the Puritanical party, and probably alluded to in *Paradise Lost:*

> ..... God attributes to place
> No sanctity, if none be thither brought
> By men who there frequent, or therein dwell. XI. 836.

But neither in this place, nor in his remarks on the sanctification of the Sabbath, another of the controverted subjects of his day, and not avoided by the author in his political writings (see *Eiconoclastes*, II. 405.) is a single expression employed which can expose him to the charge of substituting the language of the polemic for that of the divine, or of forgetting the calmness befitting the character of an inquirer after religious truth, to indulge in a second triumph over a political adversary.

Many doubts hitherto entertained respecting the real opinions of Milton on certain subjects are removed by the present treatise, to which, as originally intended for a posthumous work, no suspicion of insincerity can attach. Of all the charges indeed which private

[8] Prose Works, III. 69.

or political prejudice has created against the author, that of being a 'time-server,' according to the reproach of Warburton, seems to have been the least deserved. The honesty of his sentiments is sufficiently vindicated by the boldness with which he uniformly expressed them in times when freedom of speech was more than ordinarily dangerous, as well as by his consistent exposure of what he conceived to be erroneous, whether advocated by his own friends or by his opponents. Thus on discovering that 'new presbyter was but old priest writ large,' he resisted the encroachments of the presbyterians, as resolutely as he had before contributed to overthrow prelacy; and, if it were necessary, his political independence might be no less successfully vindicated by adducing the spirited language which he addressed to Cromwell in the zenith of his power. He has however been charged with concealing his opinions on a subject of no less importance than Popery, and even of entertaining a secret inclination in its favour. This imputation, considering the multifariousness of Milton's writings, may perhaps have received some colour from the silence which he generally observes with regard to the doctrines of the Church of Rome, although incidental phrases, sufficiently indicative of the soundness of his Protestant principles, sometimes occur. See particularly his '*Treatise on true Religion*,' in which he recommends the study of the Bible to all classes of men, as the best preservative against Popery. His reason for not entering upon the subject more at large is assigned in the preface to the present work, and it is simply this, that the cause of Protestantism appeared to be so firmly established, as to stand in no need of his services. He professed to employ his pen, as we learn from his own testimony,[9] only where, in his judgement, the good

[9] *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano.* Prose Works, V. 233.

of his country or the interests of religion required it. Acting on this principle, he undertook successively to oppose episcopacy, to advocate the cause of liberty, of education, and of a free press. But perceiving, as he tells us, that the strong holds of the reformed religion were sufficiently fortified, as far as they were exposed to danger from the Papists, he directed his attention to more neglected subjects, and exerted his talents in the defence of civil or of religious liberty.[1] Encouraged perhaps by this comparative silence, and presuming on the supposed absence of additional written evidence to falsify his statement, Titus Oates did not scruple to accuse Milton of being a member of a Popish Club. 'The Popish lord is not forgotten, or unknown, who brought a petition to the late regicides and usurpers, signed by about five hundred principal Papists in England; wherein was promised, upon condition of a toleration of the Popish religion here by law, their joint resolution to abjure and exclude the family of the Stuarts for ever from their undoubted right to the Crown. Who more disheartened the loyalty and patience of your best subjects than their confident scribblers, White and others? And MILTON was a known frequenter of a Popish club.' See the Address or Dedication to the King prefixed to 'A true Narrative of the Horrid Plot, &c. of the Popish party against the life of his Sacred Majesty, &c. By Titus Oates, D.D. folio, Lond. 1679.' This charge was subsequently copied into 'A History of all the Popish Plots, &c. from the first year of Elizabeth to this present year 1684, by Thos. Long, Prebendary of Exeter,' who says, p. 93. 'Milton was by very many suspected to be a Papist; and *if* Dr. Oates may be believed, was a known frequenter of *the* Popish Club, though he were Cromwell's Secretary.' The evidence furnished by the present publication will

[1] Preface, p. iv.

show how improbable it is that Milton, who, even within the precincts of the Papal dominions, had been at so little pains to moderate his zeal for the reformed religion, as to be exposed to insult and personal danger in consequence of his known principles, should have consented to sit at the same secret council-board with his alleged confederates. See particularly p. 245, on the marriage of priests; p. 331, on purgatory; p. 441, &c. on transubstantiation; p. 448, on the sacrifice of the mass; p. 449, &c. on the five Papistical sacraments; p. 455, on the authority of the Roman pontiffs; p. 479, on traditions; p. 493, on councils.

On the subject of *Divorce*, the line of argument pursued in this treatise coincides with the well-known opinions which Milton has elsewhere so zealously advocated. To his heterodoxy on this point must now be added, what hitherto has been unsuspected, his belief in the lawfulness of polygamy, to which he appears to have been led by the difficulty he found in reconciling the commonly received opinion with the practice of the patriarchs. It seems however no less easy to conceive that the Supreme Lawgiver might dispense with his own laws in the early ages of the world, for the sake of multiplying the population in a quicker ratio, than that marriages between brothers and sisters might be then permitted on account of the paucity of inhabitants on the face of the earth. Yet the existence of the latter practice in the primeval ages has never been alleged as a sufficient authority for the intermarriage of so near relations, now that the reason for the original permission has ceased to operate.

Doubts have always been entertained as to the real sentiments of Milton respecting the second person of the Trinity. Newton indeed is

assiduous in praising his theological views, although he once so far qualifies his assertion, as to content himself with pronouncing that Milton is 'generally truly orthodox.' Warton however has acknowledged the justice of Mr. Calton's remark on a memorable passage in Paradise Regained, (I. 161—167.) that not a word is there said of the Son of God, but what a Socinian, or at least an Arian, would allow. The truth is, that whoever takes the trouble of comparing with each other the passages referred to in the note below, will find real and important contradictions in the language of Milton on this subject.[2] That these contradictions should exist, will cease to appear extraordinary after a perusal of the chapter 'On the Son of God' in the ensuing pages. It is there asserted that the Son existed in the beginning, and was the first of the whole creation; by whose delegated power all things were made in heaven and earth; begotten, not by natural necessity, but by the decree of the Father, within the limits of time; endued with the divine nature and substance, but distinct from and inferior to the Father; one with the Father in love and unanimity of will, and receiving every thing, in his filial as well as in his mediatorial character, from the Father's gift. This summary will be sufficient to show that the opinions of Milton were in reality nearly Arian, ascribing to the Son as high a share of divinity as was compatible with the denial of his self-existence and eternal generation, but not admitting his co-equality and co-essentiality with the Father. That he entertained different views at other periods of his life, is evident from several expressions scattered through his works. The following stanza occurs in the ode on the morning of Christ's Nativity, written, according to Warton, as a college exercise at the age of twenty-one.

[2] Paradise Lost, III. 62—64. 138—140. 305—307. 350. 384—415. V. 603—605. 719, 720. VI. 676—884. X. 63—67. 85, 86. 225, 226.

That glorious form, that light unsufferable,
And that far-beaming blaze of majesty,
Wherewith he wont at Heav'n's high council-table
To sit the midst of Trinal Unity,
He laid aside; and here with us to be,
Forsook the courts of everlasting day,
And chose with us a darksome house of mortal clay.

A few years afterwards he wrote thus in his first controversial work: 'Witness the Arians and Pelagians, which were slain by the heathen for Christ's sake, yet we take both these for no true friends of Christ.'[3] In the same tract he speaks of the 'hard measure' dealt out to the 'faithful and invincible Athanasius;' and in the treatise 'On Prelatical Episcopacy,' published shortly afterwards, he holds the following important language: 'Suppose Tertullian had made an imparity where none was originally; should he move us, that goes about to prove an imparity between God the Father and God the Son?.....Believe him now for a faithful relater of tradition, whom you see such an unfaithful expounder of the Scripture.'[4] Whether Milton would have ceased to hold the doctrines espoused by him in his earlier years, had he lived subsequently to the times of Bishop Bull and of Waterland, it is now useless to conjecture. The pride of reason, though disclaimed by him with remarkable, and probably with sincere earnestness, formed a principal ingredient in his character, and would have presented, under any circumstances, a formidable obstacle to the reception of the true faith. But we may be permitted to regret that the mighty mind of Milton, in its conscientious, though mistaken search after truth, had not an opportunity of examining those masterly refutations of the Arian scheme, for which Christianity is in-

[3] *Of Reformation in England.* Prose Works, I. 7.

[4] Prose Works, I. 72.

debted to the labours of those distinguished ornaments of the English Church.

With respect to the cardinal doctrine of the atonement, the opinions of Milton are expressed throughout in the strongest and most unqualified manner. No attentive reader of Paradise Lost can have failed to remark, that the poem is constructed on the fundamental principle that the sacrifice of Christ was strictly vicarious; that not only was man redeemed, but a real price, 'life for life,' was paid for his redemption. The same system will be found fully and unequivocally maintained in this treatise; and much as it is to be regretted that it cannot be said, in the author's own words elsewhere, of the Son of God as delineated in the following pages, that

> ..... in him all his Father shone
> Substantially express'd,

yet the translator rejoices in being able to state that the doctrine of the satisfaction of Christ is so scripturally and unambiguously enforced, as to leave, on that point, nothing to be desired.

Milton's sentiments respecting the divine decrees are as clear, and perhaps as satisfactory, as can be expected on a subject in which it is wisest and safest to confess with the cautious Locke our inability to reconcile the universal prescience of God with the free agency of man, though we be as fully persuaded of both doctrines, as of any truths we most firmly assent to. His views may be thus summarily stated; that every thing is foreknown by God, though not decreed absolutely. He argues that the Deity, having in his power to confer or withhold the liberty of the will, showed his sovereignty in con-

ceding it to man, as effectually as he could have done in depriving him of it; that he therefore created him a free agent, foreseeing the use which he would make of his liberty, and shaping his decrees accordingly, inasmuch as the issue of events, though uncertain as regards man, by reason of the freedom of the human will, is perfectly known to God, by reason of the divine prescience. This is, on the one hand, in direct opposition to the doctrine of the Socinians, that there can be no certain foreknowledge of future contingencies; and on the other, to that of the Supralapsarians, that the Deity is the causal source of human actions, and consequently that the decrees of God are antecedent to his prescience. In treating of the latter topic, Milton justly protests against the use of a phraseology when speaking of the Deity, which properly applies to finite beings alone.

There are other subjects, and particularly that of the Holy Spirit, to which the translator had wished to have adverted, had he not been warned, by the length to which the preceding observations have already extended, to abstain from further comment. He cannot however conclude these preliminary remarks, without acknowledging his obligations to W. S. Walker, Esq. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, who has not only discharged the greater part of the laborious office of correcting the press, but whose valuable suggestions during the progress of the work have contributed to remove some of its imperfections.

CONTENTS.

Page

PREFACE 1

BOOK I.

OF THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD 9

CHAP. I.

Of the Christian Doctrine, and the Number of its Divisions ..... *ibid.*

CHAP. II.

Of God 13

CHAP. III.

Of the Divine Decrees 30

CHAP. IV.

Of Predestination 44

CHAP. V.

Of the Son of God 81

CHAP. VI.

Of the Holy Spirit 153

CHAP. VII.

Of the Creation 172

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Providence of God, or of his General Government of the Universe 199

CHAP. IX.

Of the Special Government of Angels 217

CHAP. X.

Of the Special Government of Man before the Fall; including the Institutions of the Sabbath and of Marriage 226

CHAP. XI.

Page
Of the Fall of our first Parents, and of Sin 260

CHAP. XII.

Of the Punishment of Sin 272

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Death of the Body 278

CHAP. XIV.

Of Man's Restoration, and of Christ as Redeemer 294

CHAP. XV.

Of the Functions of the Mediator, and of his threefold Office 308

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Ministry of Redemption 316

CHAP. XVII.

Of Man's Renovation, including his Calling 332

CHAP. XVIII.

Of Regeneration 342

CHAP. XIX.

Of Repentance 347

CHAP. XX.

Of Saving Faith 353

CHAP. XXI.

Of being planted in Christ, and its effects 360

CHAP. XXII.

Of Justification 369

CHAP. XXIII.

Of Adoption 379

CHAP XXIV.

Of Union and Fellowship with Christ and His Members; wherein is considered the Mystical or Invisible Church 382

CHAP. XXV.

Of Imperfect Glorification; wherein are considered the Doctrines of Assurance and Final Perseverance 386

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Manifestation of the Covenant of Grace, including the Law of God 400

CHAP. XXVII.

Page
Of the Gospel, and of Christian Liberty 407

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the External Sealing of the Covenant of Grace 429

CHAP. XXIX.

Of the Visible Church 451

CHAP. XXX.

Of the Holy Scriptures 465

CHAP. XXXI.

Of Particular Churches 481

CHAP. XXXII.

Of Church Discipline 497

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of Perfect Glorification; including the Second Advent of Christ, the Resurrection of the Dead, and the General Conflagration 505

BOOK II.

OF THE SERVICE OF GOD 527

CHAP. I.

Of Good Works ..... *ibid.*

CHAP. II.

Of the Proximate Causes of Good Works 537

CHAP. III.

Of the Virtues belonging to the Service of God 547

CHAP. IV.

Of External Service 557

CHAP. V.

Of Oaths and the Lot 579

CHAP. VI.

Of Zeal 593

CHAP. VII.

Page

Of the Time for Divine Worship; wherein are considered the Sabbath, Lord's Day, and Festivals 600

CHAP. VIII.

Of our Duties towards Man, and the general Virtues belonging thereto 613

CHAP. IX.

Of the first Class of Special Virtues connected with the Duty of Man towards himself .. 621

CHAP. X.

Of the second Class of Virtues connected with the Duty of Man towards himself..... 636

CHAP. XI.

Of the Duties of Man towards his Neighbour, and the Virtues comprehended under those Duties 639

CHAP. XII.

Of the Special Virtues or Duties which regard our Neighbour 650

CHAP. XIII.

Of the second Class of Special Duties towards our Neighbour 655

CHAP. XIV.

The second Class of Special Duties towards our Neighbour continued 672

CHAP. XV.

Of the Reciprocal Duties of Man towards his Neighbour; and specially of Private Duties 680

CHAP. XVI.

Of the remaining Class of Private Duties 691

CHAP. XVII.

Of Public Duties towards our Neighbour 696

LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY
OF
CALIFORNIA.

To the ~~Lord Generall Cromwell May 1652~~
~~On the proposalls~~ at 9 Committee ~~for Propagation~~ of the Gos

Cromwell, our cheif of men, who through a cloud
Not of warr onely, but detractions rude,
Guided by faith & matchless Fortitude
To peace & truth thy glorious way hast ploughd
And on the neck of crowned Fortune proud
Hast reard gods Trophies & his work pursud,
While Darwen stream wth blood of Scotts imbru'd,
And ~~Dunbar field~~ Worsters lauzeat weate resounds thy praises loud,
And ~~twinter battles more~~ Norsters lauzeat weate; yet much remaines
To conquer still; peace hath her victories
No less renownd then warr, new foes aries
Threatning to bind our soules wth secular chaines
Helpe us to save free Conscience from the paw
Of hireling wolves whose Gospell is their maw

Mee thought I saw my late espoused saint
brought to me like Alcestis from the grave
whom Joves great son to her glad husband gave
resew'd from death by force though pale and faint.
Mine as whom washt from spot of childe-bed taint
purification in the old law did save,
and such, as yet once more I trust to have
full sight of her in heaven without restraint,
came rested all in white, pure as her minde:
her face was vaild, yet to my fancied sight
love, sweetness, goodness in her persons kind
soe cleare, as in no face with more delight.
But o as to imbrace me she enclin'd,
I wak'd, she fled, and day brought back my night

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

JOHN MILTON,

TO ALL THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST,

AND TO ALL

WHO PROFESS THE CHRISTIAN FAITH THROUGHOUT THE WORLD,

PEACE, AND THE RECOGNITION OF THE TRUTH,

AND ETERNAL SALVATION

IN GOD THE FATHER, AND IN OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

Since the commencement of the last century, when religion began to be restored from the corruptions of more than thirteen hundred years to something of its original purity, many treatises of theology have been published, conducted according to sounder principles, wherein the chief heads of Christian doctrine are set forth sometimes briefly, sometimes in a more enlarged and methodical order. I think myself obliged, therefore, to declare in the first instance why, if any works have already appeared as perfect as the nature of the subject will admit, I have not remained contented with them—or, if all my predecessors have treated it unsuccessfully, why their failure has not deterred me from attempting an undertaking of a similar kind.

If I were to say that I had devoted myself to the study of the Christian religion because nothing else can so effectually rescue the lives and minds of men from those two detestable curses, slavery

and superstition,[1] I should seem to have acted rather from a regard to my highest earthly comforts, than from a religious motive.

But since it is only to the individual faith of each that the Deity has opened the way of eternal salvation, and as he requires that he who would be saved should have a personal belief of his own,[2] I resolved not to repose on the faith or judgement of others in matters relating to God; but on the one hand, having taken the grounds of my faith from divine revelation alone, and on the other, having neglected nothing which depended on my own industry, I thought fit to scrutinize and ascertain for myself the several points of my religious belief, by the most careful perusal and meditation of the Holy Scriptures themselves.

If therefore I mention what has proved beneficial in my own practice, it is in the hope that others, who have a similar wish of improving themselves, may be thereby invited to pursue the same method. I entered upon an assiduous course of study in my youth, beginning with the books of the Old and New Testament in their original languages, and going diligently through a few of the shorter systems of divines, in imitation of whom I was in the habit of classing under certain heads whatever passages of Scripture occurred

[1] 'Vota vestra et preces ardentissimas Deus, cum servitutis haud uno genere oppressi ad eum confugistis, benigne exaudiit. Quæ duo in vita hominum mala sane maxima sunt, et virtuti damnosissima, tyrannis et superstitio, iis vos gentium primos gloriose liberavit. *Pro. Pop. Anglican. Defens.* ad finem. Milton's Prose Works, Symmons's Edition, Vol. V. p. 195.

[2] ..... What but unbuild
His living temples, built by faith to stand,
Their own faith, not another's? *Paradise Lost*, XII. 526.

for extraction, to be made use of hereafter as occasion might require. At length I resorted with increased confidence to some of the more copious theological treatises, and to the examination of the arguments advanced by the conflicting parties respecting certain disputed points of faith. But, to speak the truth with freedom as well as candour, I was concerned to discover in many instances adverse reasonings either evaded by wretched shifts, or attempted to be refuted, rather speciously than with solidity, by an affected display of formal sophisms, or by a constant recourse to the quibbles of the grammarians; while what was most pertinaciously espoused as the true doctrine, seemed often defended, with more vehemence than strength of argument, by misconstructions of Scripture, or by the hasty deduction of erroneous inferences. Owing to these causes, the truth was sometimes as strenuously opposed as if it had been an error or a heresy—while errors and heresies were substituted for the truth, and valued rather from deference to custom and the spirit of party than from the authority of Scripture.

According to my judgement, therefore, neither my creed nor my hope of salvation could be safely trusted to such guides; and yet it appeared highly requisite to possess some methodical tractate of Christian doctrine, or at least to attempt such a disquisition as might be useful in establishing my faith or assisting my memory. I deemed it therefore safest and most advisable to compile for myself, by my own labour and study, some original treatise which should be always at hand, derived solely from the word of God itself, and executed with all possible fidelity, seeing that I could have no wish to practise any imposition on myself in such a matter.

After a diligent perseverance in this plan for several years, I perceived that the strong holds of the reformed religion were sufficiently fortified, as far as it was in danger from the Papists,—but neglected in many other quarters; neither competently strengthened with works of defence, nor adequately provided with champions. It was also evident to me, that, in religion as in other things, the offers of God were all directed, not to an indolent credulity, but to constant diligence, and to an unwearied search after truth; and that more than I was aware of still remained, which required to be more rigidly examined by the rule of Scripture, and reformed after a more accurate model. I so far satisfied myself in the prosecution of this plan as at length to trust that I had discovered, with regard to religion, what was matter of belief, and what only matter of opinion. It was also a great solace to me to have compiled, by God's assistance, a precious aid for my faith,—or rather to have laid up for myself a treasure which would be a provision for my future life, and would remove from my mind all grounds for hesitation, as often as it behoved me to render an account of the principles of my belief.

If I communicate the result of my inquiries to the world at large; if, as God is my witness, it be with a friendly and benignant feeling towards mankind, that I readily give as wide a circulation as possible to what I esteem my best and richest possession, I hope to meet with a candid reception from all parties, and that none at least will take unjust offence, even though many things should be brought to light which will at once be seen to differ from certain received opinions. I earnestly beseech all lovers of truth, not to cry out that the Church is thrown into confusion by that freedom of discussion and inquiry which

is granted to the schools, and ought certainly to be refused to no believer, since we are ordered *to prove all things*, and since the daily progress of the light of truth is productive far less of disturbance to the Church, than of illumination and edification. Nor do I see how the Church can be more disturbed by the investigation of truth, than were the Gentiles by the first promulgation of the gospel; since so far from recommending or imposing anything on my own authority, it is my particular advice that every one should suspend his opinion on whatever points he may not feel himself fully satisfied, till the evidence of Scripture prevail, and persuade his reason into assent and faith. Concealment is not my object; it is to the learned that I address myself, or if it be thought that the learned are not the best umpires and judges of such things, I should at least wish to submit my opinions to men of a mature and manly understanding, possessing a thorough knowledge of the doctrines of the gospel; on whose judgements I should rely with far more confidence, than on those of novices in these matters.[3] And whereas the greater part of those who have written most largely on these subjects have been wont to fill whole pages with explanations of their own opinions, thrusting into the margin the texts in support of their doctrine with a summary reference to the chapter and verse, I have chosen, on the contrary, to fill my pages even to redundance with quotations from Scripture, that so as little space as possible might be left for my own words, even when they arise from the context of revelation itself.

It has also been my object to make it appear from the opinions

[3] 'I seek not to seduce the simple and illiterate; my errand is to find out the choicest and the learnedest, who have this high gift of wisdom to answer solidly, or to be convinced.' *Address to the Parliament of England*, prefixed to *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*. Prose Works, I. 341.

I shall be found to have advanced, whether new or old, of how much consequence to the Christian religion is the liberty not only of winnowing and sifting every doctrine,[4] but also of thinking and even writing respecting it, according to our individual faith and persuasion;[5] an inference which will be stronger in proportion to the weight and importance of those opinions, or rather in proportion to the authority of Scripture, on the abundant testimony of which they rest. Without this liberty there is neither religion nor gospel—force alone prevails,—by which it is disgraceful for the Christian religion to be supported. Without this liberty we are still enslaved, not indeed, as formerly, under the divine law, but, what is worst of all, under the law of man, or to speak more truly, under a barbarous tyranny. But I do not expect from candid and judicious readers a conduct so unworthy of them,—that like certain unjust and foolish men, they should stamp with the invidious name of heretic or heresy whatever appears to them to differ from the received opinions, without trying the doctrine by a comparison with Scripture testimonies.[6] According

[4] 'Sad it is to think how that doctrine of the Gospel, planted by teachers divinely inspired, and by them winnowed and sifted from the chaff of overdated ceremonies,' &c. *Of Reformation in England.* Prose Works, I. 1.

[5] 'For me, I have determined to lay up as the best treasure and solace of a good old age, if God vouchsafe it me, the honest liberty of free speech from my youth, where I shall think it available in so dear a concernment as the Church's good.' *The Reason of Church-Government urged against Prelaty.* Prose Works, I. 116. 'To Protestants, therefore, whose common rule and touchstone is the Scripture, nothing can with more conscience, more equity, nothing more Protestantly can be permitted, than a free and lawful debate at all times by writing, conference, or disputation of what opinion soever, disputable by Scripture; concluding that no man in religion is properly a heretic at this day, but he who maintains traditions or opinions not probable by Scripture, who for aught I know is the Papist only; he the only heretic who counts all heretics but himself.' *Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes.* Prose Works, III. 326.

[6] 'But we shall not carry it thus; another Greek apparition stands in our way, Heresy and Heretic; in like manner also railed at to the people as in a tongue unknown.....

In

to their notions, to have branded any one at random with this opprobrious mark, is to have refuted him without any trouble, by a single word. By the simple imputation of the name of heretic, they think that they have despatched their man at one blow. To men of this kind I answer, that in the time of the apostles, ere the New Testament was written, whenever the charge of heresy was applied as a term of reproach, that alone was considered as heresy which was at variance with their doctrine orally delivered,—and that those only were looked upon as heretics, who according to Rom. xvi. 17, 18. *caused divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine* of the apostles.....*serving not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly.* By parity of reasoning therefore, since the compilation of the New Testament, I maintain that nothing but what is in contradiction to it can properly be called heresy.

For my own part, I adhere to the Holy Scriptures alone—I follow no other heresy or sect. I had not even read any of the works of heretics, so called, when the mistakes of those who are reckoned for orthodox,[7] and their incautious handling of Scripture, first taught

In apostolic time, therefore, ere the Scripture was written, heresy was a doctrine maintained against the doctrine by them delivered; which in these times can be no otherwise defined than a doctrine maintained against the light, which we now only have, of the Scripture.' *Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes.* Prose Works, III. 325. And again, in *The Reason of Church-Government urged against Prelaty.* 'As for those terrible names of sectaries and schismatics, which ye have got together, we know your manner of fight, when the quiver of your arguments, which is ever thin, and weakly stored, after the first brunt is quite empty, your course is to betake ye to your other quiver of slander, wherein lies your best archery. And whom you could not move by sophistical arguing, them you think to confute by scandalous misnaming; thereby inciting the blinder sort of people to mislike and deride sound doctrine and good Christianity, under two or three vile and hateful terms.' I. 104.

[7] 'Yea those that are reckoned for orthodox, began to make sad and shameful rents in the Church about the trivial celebration of feasts,' &c. *Of Reformation in England.* Prose Works, I. 15.

me to agree with their opponents whenever those opponents agreed with Scripture. If this be heresy, I confess with St. Paul, Acts xxiv. 14. *that after the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and the prophets*—to which I add, whatever is written in the New Testament. Any other judges or chief interpreters of the Christian belief, together with all implicit faith, as it is called, I, in common with the whole Protestant Church, refuse to recognize.[8]

For the rest, brethren, cultivate truth with brotherly love. Judge of my present undertaking according to the admonishing of the Spirit of God—and neither adopt my sentiments, nor reject them, unless every doubt has been removed from your belief by the clear testimony of revelation. Finally, live in the faith of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Farewell.

[8] 'With good and religious reason, therefore, all Protestant Churches with one consent, and particularly the Church of England in her thirty-nine Articles, Artic. 6th. 19th. 20th. 21st. and elsewhere, maintain these two points, as the main principles of true religion; that the rule of true religion is the word of God only: and that this faith ought not to be an implicit faith, that is, to believe, though as the Church believes, against or without express authority of Scripture.' *Of true Religion,* &c. Prose Works, IV. 260. And again, in the same treatise—'This is the direct way to bring in that papistical implicit faith, which we all disclaim.' IV. 268.

A POSTHUMOUS TREATISE

ON

THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE,

COMPILED FROM THE HOLY SCRIPTURES ALONE:

IN TWO BOOKS:

BY

JOHN MILTON.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE, AND THE NUMBER OF ITS DIVISIONS.

THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE is that DIVINE REVELATION disclosed to all ages by CHRIST (though he was not known under that name in the beginning) concerning the nature and worship of the Deity, for the promotion of the glory of God, and the salvation of mankind.

It is not unreasonable to assume that Christians believe in the Scriptures whence this doctrine is derived—but the authority of those Scriptures will be examined in the proper place.

CHRIST. Matt. xi. 27. *neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him.* John i. 4. *in him was life, and the life was the light of men.* v. 9. *that was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.* 1 Pet. iii. 19. *by which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison.*

Under the definition of CHRIST are also comprehended Moses and the Prophets, who were his forerunners, and the Apostles whom he sent. Gal. iii. 24. *the law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith.* Heb. xiii. 8. *Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.* Col. ii. 17. *which are a shadow of things to come: but the body is of Christ.* 1 Pet. i. 10, 11. *who prophesied of the grace that should come unto you: searching what, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify.* Rom. i. 1. *Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ:* in which manner he begins nearly all the rest of his epistles. 1 Cor. iv. 1. *let a man so account of us, as of the ministers of Christ.*

DIVINE REVELATION. Isai. li. 4. *a law shall proceed from me.* Matt. xvi. 17. *flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven.* John vi. 46. *they shall be all taught of God.* ix. 29. *we know that God spake unto Moses.* Gal. i. 11, 12. *the gospel which was preached of me is not after man; for I neither received it of man.* 1 Thess. iv. 9. *ye yourselves are taught of God.*

This doctrine, therefore, is to be obtained, not from the schools of the philosophers, nor from the laws of man, but from the Holy Scriptures alone, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. 2 Tim. i. 14. *that good thing which was committed unto thee keep by the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us.* Col. ii. 8. *lest any man spoil you through philosophy.* Dan. iii. 16. *we are not careful to answer thee in this matter.* Acts iv. 19. *whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye.*

In this treatise then no novelties of doctrine are taught; but, for the sake of assisting the memory, what is dispersed throughout the different parts of the Holy Scriptures is conveniently reduced into one compact body as it were, and digested under certain heads. This method might be easily defended on the ground of Christian prudence, but it seems better to rest its authority on the divine command; Matt. xiii. 52. *every*

scribe which is instructed unto the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man which is an householder, which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old. So also the Apostle says, 2 Tim. i. 13. *hold fast the form*—which the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews seems to have determined to adopt as the rule of his own conduct for teaching the heads of Christian doctrine in methodical arrangement: vi. 1—3. *of repentance from dead works, and of faith toward God, of the doctrine of baptisms, and of laying on of hands, and of resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgement; and this will we do, if God permit.* This usage of the Christians was admirably suited for Catechumens when first professing their faith in the Church. Allusion is made to the same system in Rom. vi. 17. *ye have obeyed from the heart that form of doctrine which was delivered you.* In this passage the Greek word τυπὸς, as well as ὑποτύπωσις 2 Tim. i. 13. seems to signify either that part of the evangelical Scriptures which were then written (as in Rom. ii. 20. μόρφωσις, *the form of knowledge and of the truth in the law,* signified the law itself) or some systematic course of instruction derived from them or from the whole doctrine of the gospel. Acts xx. 27. *I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God*—which must mean some entire body of doctrine, formed according to a certain plan, though probably not of great extent, since the whole was gone through, and perhaps even repeated several times during St. Paul's stay at Ephesus, which was about the space of three years.

Christian doctrine is comprehended under two divisions,—FAITH, or THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD,—and LOVE, or THE WORSHIP OF GOD. Gen. xvii. 1. *walk before me, and be thou perfect.* Psal. xxxvii. 3. *trust in Jehovah, and do good.* Luke xi. 28. *blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it.* Acts xxiv. 14. *believing all things*—and v. 16. *herein do I exercise myself.* 2 Tim. i. 13. *hold fast the form of sound words which thou hast heard of me, in faith and in love which is in Christ Jesus.* 1 Tim. i. 19. *holding faith and a good conscience.* Tit. iii. 8. *that they which have believed might be careful—.* 1 John. iii. 23. *that we should believe and love.*

These two divisions, though they are distinct in their own nature, and put asunder for the convenience of teaching, cannot be separated in practice. Rom. ii. 13. *not the hearers of the law, but the doers of the law shall be justified.* James i. 22. *be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only.* Besides, obedience and love are always the best guides to knowledge, and often lead the way from small beginnings, to a greater and more flourishing degree of proficiency. Psal. xxv. 14. *the secret of Jehovah is with them that fear him.* John vii. 17. *if any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine.* viii. 31, 32. *if ye continue in my word.....ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.* 1 John ii. 3. *hereby we do know that we know him, if we keep his commandments.*

It must be observed, that Faith in this division does not mean the habit of believing, but the things to be habitually believed. So Acts vi. 7. *were obedient to the faith.* Gal. i. 23. *he preacheth the faith.*

CHAP. II.

Of God.

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY CALIFORNIA.

THOUGH there be not a few who deny the existence of God,[9] for *the fool hath said in his heart, There is no God,* Psal. xiv. 1. yet the Deity has imprinted upon the human mind so many unquestionable tokens of himself, and so many traces of him are apparent throughout the whole of nature, that no one in his senses can remain ignorant of the truth. Job xii. 9. *who knoweth not in all these that the hand of Jehovah hath wrought this?* Psal. xix. 1. *the heavens declare the glory of God.* Acts xiv. 17. *he left not himself without witness.* xvii. 27, 28. *he is not far from every one of us.* Rom. i. 19, 20. *that which may be known of God is manifest in them.* and ii. 14, 15. *the Gentiles .... shew the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness.* 1 Cor. i. 21. *after that in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe.* There can be no doubt but that every thing in the world, by the beauty of its order, and the evidence of a determinate and beneficial purpose which pervades it, testifies that some supreme efficient Power must have pre-existed, by which the whole was ordained for a specific end.

[9] Unless there be who think not God at all:
If any be, they walk obscure;
Nor of such doctrine never was their school,
But the heart of the fool,
And no man therein doctor but himself. *Samson Agonistes,* 295.

There are some who pretend that nature or fate is this supreme Power:[1] but the very name of nature implies that it must owe its birth to some prior agent, or, to speak properly, signifies in itself nothing; but means either the essence of a thing, or that general law which is the origin of every thing, and under which every thing acts,—and fate can be nothing but a divine decree emanating from some almighty power.

Further, those who attribute the creation of every thing to nature, must necessarily associate chance with nature as a joint divinity; so that they gain nothing by this theory, except that in the place of that one God, whom they cannot tolerate, they are obliged, however reluctantly, to substitute two sovereign rulers of affairs, who must almost always be in opposition to each other. In short, many ocular demonstrations, many true predictions verified, many wonderful works have compelled all nations to believe, either that God, or that some evil power whose name was unknown, presided over the affairs of the world. Now that evil should prevail over good, and be the true supreme power, is as unmeet as it is incredible. Hence it follows as a necessary consequence, that God exists.

Again: the existence of God is further proved by that feeling, whether we term it conscience, or right reason,[2] which even in the worst of characters is not altogether extinguished. If there were no God, there

[1] ..... that Power
Which erring men call Chance—. *Comus*, 588.

In allusion to the doctrines of the Stoicks, &c. Seneca *De Beneficiis*, iv. 8. 'Sic hunc naturam vocas, fatum, fortunam; omnia ejusdem Dei nomina sunt, varie utentis sua potestate.' *Nat. Quæst.* ii. 45. 'Vis illum fatum vocare? non errabis.' The next clauses of this sentence contain in the original two of those conceits which are so frequent in Milton's works, and which can scarcely be preserved in a translation. The passage stands thus—'sed *natura natam* se fatetur, &c. ..... et *fatum* quid nisi *effatum* divinum omnipotentis cujuspiam numinis potest esse?'

[2] Since thy original lapse, true liberty
Is lost, which always with *right reason* dwells
Twinn'd. *Paradise Lost*, XII. 83.

'*Rectæ rationi* obtemperare discite.' *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano.* Prose Works, V. 266.

would be no distinction between right and wrong; the estimate of virtue and vice would entirely depend on the blind opinion of men; no one would follow virtue, no one would be restrained from vice by any sense of shame, or fear of the laws, unless conscience or right reason did from time to time convince every one, however unwilling, of the existence of God, the Lord and ruler of all things, to whom, sooner or later, each must give an account of his own actions, whether good or bad.

The whole tenor of Scripture proves the same thing; and the disciples of the doctrine of Christ may fairly be required to give assent to this truth in the first instance, according to the expression in Heb. xi. 6. *he that cometh to God, must believe that he is.* It is proved also by the dispersion of the ancient nation of the Jews throughout the whole world, according to what God often forewarned them would happen on account of their sins. Nor is it only to pay the penalty of their own guilt that they have been reserved in their scattered state, among the rest of the nations, through the revolution of successive ages, and even to the present day; but rather to be a perpetual and living testimony to all people under heaven, of the existence of God, and of the truth of the Holy Scriptures.

No one, however, can have right thoughts of God, with nature or reason alone as his guide, independent of the word, or message of God.[3] Rom. x. 14. *how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard?*

[3] Left only in those written records pure,
Though not but by the Spirit understood. *Paradise Lost,* XII. 513.

'It will require no great labour of exposition to unfold what is here meant by matters of religion; being as soon apprehended as defined, such things as belong chiefly to the knowledge and service of God, and are either above the reach and light of nature without revelation from above, and therefore liable to be variously understood by human reason, &c. *Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes.* Prose Works, III. 320. ('True religion is the true worship and service of God, learnt and believed from the word of God only. No man or angel can know how God would be worshipped and served, unless God reveal it.') *Of True Religion,* &c. IV. 259.

| God is known, so far as he is pleased to make us acquainted with himself, either from his own nature, or from his efficient power. |

When we speak of knowing God, it must be understood with reference to the imperfect comprehension of man; for to know God as he really is, far transcends the powers of man's thoughts, much more of his perception. 1 Tim. vi. 16. *dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto.* God therefore has made as full a revelation of himself as our minds can conceive, or the weakness of our nature can bear. Exod. xxxiii. 20, 23. *there shall no man see me, and live ..... but thou shalt see my back parts.* Isai. vi. 1. *I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple.* John i. 18. *no man hath seen God at any time.* vi. 46. *not that any man hath seen the Father, save he which is of God, he hath seen the Father.* v. 37. *ye have neither heard his voice at any time.* 1 Cor. xiii. 12. *we see through a glass, darkly ..... in part.*

Our safest way is to form in our minds such a conception of God, as shall correspond with his own delineation and representation of himself in the sacred writings. For granting that both in the literal and figurative descriptions of God, he is exhibited not as he really is, but in such a manner as may be within the scope of our comprehensions, yet we ought to entertain such a conception of him, as he, in condescending to accommodate himself to our capacities, has shewn that he desires we should conceive. For it is on this very account that he has lowered himself to our level, lest in our flights above the reach of human understanding, and beyond the written word of Scripture, we should be tempted to indulge in vague cogitations and subtleties.[4]

[4] Sollicit not thy thoughts with matters hid:
Leave them to God above; him serve and fear. *Paradise Lost,* VIII. 166.
..... Heaven is for thee too high
To know what passes there; so, lowly wise,
Think only what concerns thee, and thy being;
Dream not of other worlds, what creatures there
Live, in what state, condition, or degree———. 172.

There is no need then that theologians should have recourse here to what they call anthropopathy[5]—a figure invented by the grammarians to excuse the absurdities of the poets on the subject of the heathen divinities. We may be sure that sufficient care has been taken that the Holy Scriptures should contain nothing unsuitable to the character or dignity of God, and that God should say nothing of himself which could derogate from his own majesty. It is better therefore to contemplate the Deity, and to conceive of him, not with reference to human passions, that is, after the manner of men, who are never weary of forming subtle imaginations respecting him, but after the manner of Scripture, that is, in the way in which God has offered himself to our contemplation; nor should we think that he would say or direct anything to be written of himself, which is inconsistent with the opinion he wishes us to entertain of his character. Let us require no better authority than God himself for determining what is worthy or unworthy of him. If *it repented Jehovah that he had made man*, Gen. vi. 6. and *because of their groanings*, Judges ii. 18, let us believe that it did repent him, only taking care to remember that what is called repentance when applied to God, does not arise from inadvertency, as in men; for so he has himself cautioned us, Num. xxiii. 19. *God is not a man that he should lie, neither the son of man that he should repent.* See also 1 Sam. xv. 29. Again, if *it grieved the Lord at his heart*, Gen. vi. 6. and if *his soul were grieved for the misery of Israel*, Judges x. 16, let us believe that it did grieve him. For the affections which in a good man are good, and rank with virtues, in God are holy. If after the work of six days it be said of God that *he rested and was refreshed*, Exod. xxxi. 17. if it be said that *he feared the wrath of the enemy*, Deut. xxxii. 27, let us believe that it is not beneath the dignity of God to grieve in that for which he is grieved, or to be refreshed in that which refresheth him, or to fear in that he

[5] Two ways then may the Spirit of God be said to be grieved, in Himself, in his Saints; in Himself, by an *anthropopathie*, as we call it; in his Saints, by a sympathie; the former is by way of allusion to human passion and carriage. Bp. Hall's *Rem.* p. 106.

feareth. For however we may attempt to soften down such expressions by a latitude of interpretation, when applied to the Deity, it comes in the end to precisely the same. If God be said *to have made man in his own image, after his likeness,* Gen. i. 26. and that too not only as to his soul, but also as to his outward form[6] (unless the same words have different significations here and in chap. v. 3. *Adam begat a son in his own likeness, after his image*) and if God habitually assign to himself the members and form of man, why should we be afraid of attributing to him what he attributes to himself, so long as what is imperfection and weakness when viewed in reference to ourselves be considered as most complete and excellent whenever it is imputed to God. Questionless the glory and majesty of the Deity must have been so dear to him, that he would never say anything of himself which could be humiliating or degrading, and would ascribe to himself no personal attribute which he would not willingly have ascribed to him by his creatures. Let us be convinced that those have acquired the truest apprehension of the nature of God who submit their understandings to his word; inasmuch as he has accommodated his

[6] The Humanitarians held that God was to be understood as having really a human form. See Clarke's *Sermons,* Vol. I. p. 26. fol. edit. The drift of Milton's argument leads him to employ language which would appear at first sight to verge upon their doctrine, but it will be seen immediately that he guards himself against the charge of having adopted one of the most ignorant errors of the dark ages of the Church. The reasoning of Milton on this subject throws great light on a passage in Paradise Lost, put into the mouth of Raphael:

> .....What surmounts the reach
> Of human sense, I shall delineate so,
> By likening spiritual to corporal forms,
> As may express them best; though what if Earth
> Be but the shadow of Heaven, and things therein
> Each to other like, more than on earth is thought?

Here Newton observes the artful suggestion that there may be a greater similitude and resemblance between things in Heaven and things in Earth than is generally imagined, and supposes it may have been intended as an apology for the bold figures which the Poet has employed. We now see that his deliberate opinion seem to have leaned to the belief that the fabrick of the invisible world was the pattern of the visible. Mede introduces a hint of a similar kind in his tenth discourse, as Newton remarks.

word to their understandings, and has shown what he wishes their notion of the Deity should be.

To speak summarily, God either is, or is not, such as he represents himself to be. If he be really such, why should we think otherwise of him? If he be not such, on what authority do we say what God has not said? If at least it be his will that we should thus think of him, why does our imagination wander into some other conception? Why should we hesitate to conceive of God according to what he has not hesitated to declare explicitly respecting himself? For such knowledge of the Deity as was necessary for the salvation of man, he has himself of his goodness been pleased to reveal abundantly. Deut. xxix. 29. *the secret things belong unto Jehovah, but those things which are revealed belong unto us.....that we may do them.*

In arguing thus, we do not say that God is in fashion like unto man in all his parts and members, but that as far as we are concerned to know, he is of that form which he attributes to himself in the sacred writings. If therefore we persist in entertaining a different conception of the Deity than that which it is to be presumed he desires should be cherished, inasmuch as he has himself disclosed it to us, we frustrate the purposes of God instead of rendering him submissive obedience. As if, forsooth, we wished to show that it was not we who had thought too meanly of God, but God who had thought too meanly of us.

It is impossible to comprehend accurately under any form of definition the *divine nature*, for so it is called, 2 Pet. i. 4. *that ye might be partakers of the divine nature*—though nature does not here signify essence, but the divine image, as in Gal. iv. 8. *which by nature are no Gods*, and θεοτης Col. ii. 9. θειοτης Rom. i. 20. τὸ θεῖον Acts xvii. 29. which words are all translated *Godhead*. But though the nature of God cannot be defined, since he who has no efficient cause is essentially greatest of all, Isai. xxviii. 29. some description of it at least may be collected from his names and attributes.

The NAMES and ATTRIBUTES of God either show his nature, or his divine power and excellence. There are three names which seem principally to intimate the nature of God,—יְהוָה *Jehovah*—יָהּ *Jah*—אֶהְיֶה *Ehie*. Even the name of Jehovah was not forbidden to be pronounced, provided it was with due reverence. Exod. iii. 15. *Jehovah, God of your fathers.....this is my name for ever, and this is my memorial.* xx. 7. *thou shalt not take the name of Jehovah thy God in vain.* Again, it occurs pronounced, 1 Kings xvii. 12. *as Jehovah thy God liveth,* and so in many other places. This name both in the New Testament and in the Greek version of the Old is always translated Κύριος—THE LORD,—probably for no other reason than because the word Jehovah could not be expressed in Greek letters. Its signification is, *he who is,* or, *which is, and which was, and which is to come,* Rev. i. 4. Jah, which is a sort of contraction of the former name, has the same signification. Exod. xvii. 16. *Jah hath sworn*—and in other places. Exod. iii. 14. אֶהְיֶה Ehie, *I am that I am,* or *will be;*[7] and if the first person be changed into the third of the kindred verb, Jave, *who is,* or *will be,*—meaning the same as Jehovah, as some think, and more properly expressed thus than by the other words; but the name Jave appears to signify not only the existence of his nature, but also of his promises, or rather the completion of his promises; whence it is said, Exod. vi. 3. *by my name* JEHOVAH *was I not known to them.* And with

[7] The original of this passage presents considerable difficulty. It is thus written in the manuscript: 'Cap. iii. 14. אֶהְיֶה Ehie, *qui sum* vel *ero,* et persona prima in tertiam affinis verbi mutatur Jehovæ, *qui est* vel *erit,* idem quod Jehova, ut quidam putant illisque vocabulis rectius prolatum.' In the translation I have considered *Ehie qui sum* vel *ero,* as an absolute sentence; and conceiving the next clause to have been incorrectly transcribed, I have rendered it as if it had been written—et si persona prima in tertiam affinis verbi mutatur, Jave, *qui est,* vel *erit,* &c. Simon in his Hebrew Lexicon has the following remark on the word יְהוָה: 'יְהוָה nomen proprium Dei, a Mose demum introductum, *eum qui re præstiturus sit, quod olim promiserit,* ex ipsa loci Mosaici authentica explicatione, Exod. iii. 14. significans, adeoque יֶהְוֶה vel יַהְוֶה proprie efferendum, ut ex veteribus Theodoretus et Epiphanius *Jahe,* h. e. *Jave* scripserunt. If the sense of the passage has been rightly conceived, the kindred verb will be הָוָה *sidit, fuit* vel *factus est.* See Simon *in voce.* See also Buxtorf's *Lexicon ad Rad.* הָוָה and Cappelli *Vindic. Arcani Punctuationis,* lib. 1. §. 20.

what vowel points this name Jehovah ought to be pronounced, is shown by those proper names into the composition of which two of them enter, as Jehosaphat, Jehoram, Jehoiada, and the like. The third, or final vowel point may be supplied by analogy from the two other divine names, אֲדֹנָי and יָהּ.

I. The first of the attributes which show the inherent nature of God, is TRUTH. Jer. x. 10. *Jehovah is the true God.* John xvii. 3. *that they might know thee the only true God.* 1 Thess. i. 9. *the living and true God.* 1 John v. 20. *that we may know him that is true.*

II. Secondly, God considered in his most simple nature is a SPIRIT. Exod. iii. 14, 15. *I am that I am.* Rom. xi. 36. *of him and through him are all things.* John iv. 24. *God is a spirit.* What a spirit is, or rather what it is not, is shown, Isai. xxxi. 3. *flesh, and not spirit.* Luke xxiv. 39. *a spirit hath not flesh and bones.* Whence it is evident that the essence of God, being in itself most simple, can admit no compound quality; so that the term *hypostasis* Heb. i. 3.[8] which is differently translated *substance,* or *subsistence,* or *person,* can be nothing else but that most perfect essence by which God subsists by himself, in himself, and through himself. For neither *substance* nor *subsistence* make any addition to what is already a most perfect essence; and the word *person* in its later acceptation signifies any individual thing gifted with intelligence, while *hypostasis* denotes not the ens itself, but the essence of the ens in the abstract. Hypostasis, therefore, is clearly the same as essence, and thus many of the Latin commentators[9] render it in the passage already quoted. Therefore, as God is a most simple essence, so is he also a most simple subsistence.

[8] χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστασέως αὐτοῦ. *the express image of his* person. Authorized Transl. *exact image of his* substance. Macknight. 'Concerning the word ὑποστασέως, rendered in our Bibles, *person,* it hath been observed by commentators, that it did not obtain that signification till after the Council of Nice. Our translators have rendered ὑπόστασις, Heb. xi. 1. by the word *substance.*' Mackn. *in loc.*

[9] *Imago* essentiæ *ejus.* Tremellius.

III. IMMENSITY and INFINITY.[1] 1 Kings viii. 27. *the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain thee.* Job xi. 8. *it is as high as heaven.....deeper than hell.* xxxvi. 26. *God is great, and we know him not.*

IV. ETERNITY. It is universally acknowledged that nothing is eternal, strictly speaking, but what has neither beginning nor end,[2] both which properties are attributed to God, not indeed in each of the following passages separately, but as a plain deduction from the several texts when compared together. Job xxxvi. 26. *neither can the number of his years be searched out.* Gen. xxi. 33. *the everlasting God,* literally, *the God of old time* or *ages.* Psal. xc. 2. *from everlasting to everlasting, thou art God,* or *from age to age.* cii. 12. *but thou, O Jehovah, shalt endure for ever.* v. 24. *thy years are through all generations.* v. 27. *but thou art the same, and thy years shall have no end.* Psal. cxlv. 13. *thy kingdom is an everlasting kingdom.* Isai. xliii. 10. *before me there was no God formed, neither shall there be after me.* xliv. 6. *I am the first, and I am the last.* Habak. i. 12. *art thou not from everlasting,* literally, *from old time.*

The evidence of the New Testament is still clearer, because the Greek word signifies *to exist for ever.*[3] Rom. xvi. 26. *according to the*

[1] Thee Father, first they sung Omnipotent,
Immutable, Immortal, Infinite,
Eternal King. *Paradise Lost,* III. 372.

Another expression of great beauty is used in Samson Agonistes to denote the same attribute.

As if they would confine the Interminable,
And tie him to his own prescript. 307.

[2] The disputes among the schoolmen respecting the proper definition of eternity could not have been forgotten by Milton. It appears therefore that at this time the famous definition of Boëthius was generally rejected—*æternitas est interminabilis vitæ tota simul et perfecta possessio.* According to these terms God would not necessarily have been without a beginning.

[3] 'Sic etiam Deus dicitur *qui est, qui erat, et qui futurus est,* Apoc. i. 8. et iv. 8. Deo tamen ævum sive æternitas, non tempus, attribui solet: quid autem est ævum proprie, nisi duratio perpetua, Græce αἰὼν, quasi ἀεὶ ὤν, semper existens.' *Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio,* &c. Prose Works, VI. 224.

commandment of the everlasting God. 1 Tim. i. 17. *unto the King eternal.* Rev. i. 4. *from him which is, and which was, and which is to come.*

But all the words used in Scripture to denote eternity, often signify only of old time, or antiquity. Gen. vi. 4. *mighty men which were of old.* Job xx. 4. *knowest thou not this of old,* or *from eternity, since man was placed upon earth?* Isai. xlii. 14. *I have long time holden my peace.* David also seems to have understood that the term *for ever* only intimated *a great while to come.* 2 Sam. vii. 13. *I will stablish the throne of his kingdom for ever,* compared with v. 19. *thou hast spoken also of thy servant's house for a great while to come.* See also 1 Chron. xvii. 12, 14, 17. John ix. 32. *since the world began was it not heard that any man opened the eyes of one that was born blind.* Acts iii. 21. *which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began.* 2 Tim. i. 9. and Tit. i. 2. *before the world began:* and in Heb. xi. 3. the word is also used to signify this world, where the Syriac version translates it,—*before the worlds were framed.* From these and many similar texts it appears that the idea of eternity, properly so called, is conveyed in the Hebrew language rather by comparison and deduction than in express words.

V. The IMMUTABILITY of God has an immediate connection with the last attribute. Psal. cii. 27. *but thou art the same.* Mal. iii. 6. *I am Jehovah, I change not.* James i. 17. *with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning.*

VI. His INCORRUPTIBILITY is also derived from the fourth attribute. Psal. cii. 26. *thou shalt endure.* Rom. i. 23. *the uncorruptible God.* 1 Tim. i. 17. *unto the King immortal.*[4]

VII. The next attribute of God, his OMNIPRESENCE, arises from his infinity. Psal. cxxxix. 8, 9. *if I ascend up into heaven, thou art there,* &c. &c. Prov. xv. 3. *the eyes of Jehovah are in every place.*

[4] ἀφθαρτῷ. *incorruptibili.* Tremellius. *qui non corrumpitur.* Beza.

Jer. xxiii. 24. *do not I fill heaven and earth?* Eph. iv. 6. *who is above all, and through all, and in you all.* Our thoughts of the omnipresence of God, whatever may be the nature of the attribute, should be such as appear most suitable to the reverence due to the Deity.

VIII. OMNIPOTENCE. 2 Chron. xx. 6. *in thine hand is there not power and might?* Job xlii. 2. *I know that thou canst do every thing.* Psal. xxxiii. 9. *he spake, and it was done.* cxv. 3. *he hath done whatsoever he hath pleased.* See also cxxxv. 6. Matt. xix. 26. *with God all things are possible.* Luke i. 37. *with God nothing shall be impossible.* Hence the name of El Shaddai, applied to the Deity, Gen. xvii. 1. *I am the Almighty*[5] *God,* literally, *sufficient.* Ruth i. 21. *the Almighty hath afflicted me.* Jer. xxxii. 18. *the Great, the Mighty God, the Lord of Hosts.* Gen. xiv. 22. *Jehovah, the most high God, the possessor of heaven and earth.* Thus also the name אֲדֹנָי frequently occurs. In the New Testament, *the Lord Almighty,* 2 Cor. vi. 18, and Rev. i. 8. *the only Potentate, the King of kings and Lord of lords,* 1 Tim. vi. 15. There seems, therefore, an impropriety in the term of *actus purus,* or the active principle, which Aristotle[6] applies to God, for thus the Deity would have no choice of act, but what he did he would do of necessity, and could do in no other way, which would be inconsistent with his omnipotence and free agency. But it must be observed, that the power of God is not exerted in things which imply a contradiction.[7] 2 Tim. ii. 13. *he cannot deny himself.* Tit. i. 2. *God, that cannot lie.* Heb. vi. 18. *in which it was impossible for God to lie.*

[5] *Fortis omnipotens.* Tremellius. *Shaddai.* Hebr. *qui sum sufficiens.*

[6] See Aristot. *Metaph.* lib. 1. cap. ix. &c. lib. 14. cap. vi. Cudworth's *Intellectual System,* Vol. II. p. 322. Birch's Edit.

[7] Can he make deathless death? That were to make
Strange contradiction, which to God himself
Impossible is held; as argument
Of weakness, not of power. *Paradise Lost,* X. 798.

'Cum autem dico potentiæ Dei objectum omne esse possibile, per possibile intelligo illud quod non implicat contradictionem ut fiat. Nam quod contradictionem implicat, ne Deus quidem ipse potest.' Curcellæi *Institutio* II. 2.

IX. All the preceding attributes may be regarded as necessary causes of the ninth attribute, the UNITY of God; of which, however, other proofs are not wanting. Deut. iv. 35. *Jehovah he is God, there is none also beside him.* v. 39. *Jehovah he is God in heaven above, and upon the earth beneath: there is none else.* vi. 4. *hear, O Israel, Jehovah our God is one Jehovah.* xxxii. 39. *I, even I, am he, and there is no God with me.* 1 Kings viii. 60. *that all the people of the earth may know that Jehovah is God, and that there is none else.* 2 Kings xix. 15. *thou art the God, even thou alone, of all the kingdoms of the earth.* Isai. xliv. 6. *beside me there is no God.* v. 8. *is there a God beside me? yea, there is no God; I know not any.* xlv. 5. *I am Jehovah, and there is none else; there is no God beside me.* v. 21. *there is no God else beside me.....there is none beside me.* v. 22. *I am God, and there is none else*—that is, no spirit, no person, no being beside him is God; for *none* is an universal negative. xlvi. 9. *I am God, and there is none else; I am God, and there is none like me.* What can be plainer, what more distinct, what more suitable to general comprehension and the ordinary forms of speech in order that the people of God might understand that there was numerically one God and one Spirit, in the common acceptation of numerical unity?

For it was fitting and highly agreeable to reason, that what was the first and consequently the greatest commandment, scrupulous obedience to which was required by God even from the lowest of all the people, should be delivered in so plain a manner, that nothing ambiguous or obscure in its terms could lead his worshippers into error, or keep them in suspense or doubt. And thus the Israelites under the law and the prophets always understood it to mean, that God was numerically one God, that beside him there was none other, much less any equal. For those disputants of the schools had not yet appeared, who depending on their own sagacity, or rather on arguments of a purely contradictory tendency, cast a doubt upon that very unity of God which they pretended to assert. But as with regard to the omnipotence of the Deity, it is universally allowed, as has been stated before, that he can do nothing which involves

a contradiction; so must it also be remembered in this place, that nothing can be said of the one God, which is inconsistent with his unity, and which implies at the same time the unity and plurality of the Godhead.

Proceeding to the evidence of the New Testament, we find it equally clear, in so far as it goes over the former ground, and in one respect even clearer, inasmuch as it testifies that the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is that One God. Mark xii. 28, Christ having been asked, which was the first commandment of all, answers, v. 29. from Deut. vi. 4.—a passage quoted before, and evidently understood by our Lord in the same sense which had been always applied to it—*hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord.* To which answer the scribe assented, v. 32. *well, Master, thou hast said the truth; for there is one God, and there is none other but he.* John xvii. 3. *this is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God.* Rom. iii. 30. *seeing it is one God.* 1 Cor. viii. 4. *we know....that there is none other God but one.* v. 6. *to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things.* Gal. iii. 20. *a mediator is not a mediator of one; but God is one.* Eph. iv. 6. *one God and Father of all.* 1 Tim. ii. 5. *there is one God.* So too, though אֱלֹהִים be plural in the Hebrew, it is used notwithstanding for the One God, Gen. i. 1. אֱלֹהִים בָּרָא· Psal. vii. 10. and lxxxvi. 10. אֱלֹהִים־בַּדִּים; and elsewhere. But אֱלֹהַּ is also used in the singular, Psal. xviii. 31. *who is God save Jehovah, or who is a rock save our God?* which verse is sufficient to show that the singular and plural of this word both mean the same thing. More will be found on this subject in the fifth Chapter.

Hitherto those attributes only have been mentioned which describe the nature of God, partly in an affirmative sense, partly negatively, as where they deny the existence of those imperfections in the Deity, which belong to created things,—as, for instance, when we speak of his immensity, his infinity, his incorruptibility. The succeeding attributes are such as show his divine power and excellence under the ideas of VITALITY, INTELLIGENCE and WILL.

I. VITALITY. Deut. xxxii. 40. *I live for ever,* whence he is called *the living God.* Psal. xlii. 2. and in many other passages. John v. 26. *the Father hath life in himself.*

II. The attribute of OMNISCIENCE refers to the INTELLIGENCE of God. Gen. vi. 5. *God saw ..... every imagination of the thoughts of his heart.* Gen. xviii. 14. *is anything too hard for Jehovah?* 1 Chron. xxviii. 9. *Jehovah searcheth all hearts.* 2 Chron. vi. 30. *thou only knowest the hearts of the children of men.* Psal. xxxiii. 15. *he fashioneth their hearts alike; he considereth all their works.* cxxxix. 2. *thou understandest my thought afar off.* v. 4. *for there is not a word in my tongue, but, lo, O Jehovah, thou knowest it altogether.* cxlvii. 5. *his understanding is infinite.* Job xi. 7—9. *canst thou by searching find out God?* &c. xxvi. 6. *hell is naked before him.* Prov. xv. 11. *hell and destruction are before Jehovah; how much more then the hearts of the children of men.* xvi. 2. *Jehovah weigheth the spirits.* xvii. 3. *Jehovah trieth the hearts.* Isai. xl. 28. *there is no searching of his understanding.* Jer. xvii. 10. *I Jehovah search the heart, I try the reins,* whence, Acts i. 24. he is called *the Lord which knoweth the hearts of all men.* Jer. xxiii. 23, 24. *am I a God at hand, saith Jehovah, and not a God afar off? can any hide himself in secret places that I shall not see him?* Heb. iv. 13. *all things are naked and opened unto the eyes of him,* whence he is called the *only wise,* Dan. ii. 10. Rom. xvi. 27. 1 Tim. i. 17. So extensive is the prescience of God, that he knows beforehand the thoughts and actions of free agents as yet unborn, and many ages before those thoughts or actions have their origin. Deut. xxxi. 16. *behold, thou shalt sleep with thy fathers; and this people will rise up, and go a whoring after the gods of the strangers of the land,* &c. v. 20, 21. *then will they turn unto other gods,* &c. *for I know the imagination which they go about even now, before I have brought them into the land which I sware.* 2 Kings viii. 12. *I know the evil that thou wilt do unto the children of Israel.*

III. With reference to the WILL, God is, 1st. INFINITELY PURE AND HOLY. Exod. xv. 11. *glorious in holiness.* Josh. xxiv. 19. *he is an*

holy God. 1 Sam. ii. 2. *there is none holy as Jehovah.* vi. 20. *before this holy God Jehovah.* Job xv. 15. *the heavens are not clean in his sight.* Isai. vi. 2, 3. *he covered his face .... and said, Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Hosts.* xl. 25. *saith the Holy One.* xli. 20. *the Holy One of Israel.* Habak. i. 13. *thou art of purer eyes than to behold evil.*

2. He is MOST GRACIOUS. Exod. xxxiv. 6. *merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth.* See also Psal. lxxxvi. 15. and ciii. 8. v. 4. *neither shall evil dwell with thee.* xxv. 6. *thy loving-kindnesses .... have been ever of old.* ciii. 11. *great is his mercy toward them that fear him.* v. 17. *the mercy of Jehovah is from everlasting to everlasting.* cxix. 68. *thou art good, and doest good.* Lam. iii. 22. *it is of the mercies of Jehovah that we are not consumed.* Matt. xix. 17. *there is none good but one, that is, God.* Luke vi. 36. *be ye merciful, as your Father also is merciful.* 2 Cor. i. 3. *the Father of mercies.* Eph. ii. 4. *rich in mercy.* 1 John iv. 8. *God is love.* And thus again God may be proved to be immutable, from the consideration of his infinite wisdom and goodness; since a being of infinite wisdom and goodness would neither wish to change an infinitely good state for another, nor would he be able to change it without contradicting his own attributes.

3. As God is true by nature, so is he also TRUE and FAITHFUL in respect of his will. Psal. xix. 7. *the testimony of Jehovah is sure.* John vii. 28. *he that sent me is true.* Rom. iii. 4. *let God be true, but every man a liar.* 2 Tim. ii. 13. *if we believe not, yet he abideth faithful.* 1 Cor. i. 9. and x. 13. *God is faithful.* Rev. vi. 10. *O Lord, holy and true.*

4. He is also JUST. Deut. xxxii. 4. *all his ways are judgement, a God of truth and without iniquity, just and right is he.* Psal. xxxvi. 6. *thy righteousness is like the great mountains.* cxix. 137. *righteous art thou, O Jehovah, and upright are thy judgements.* Isai. v. 16. *God .... shall be sanctified in righteousness.* It is not requisite to discuss at large in

this place what is consistent or inconsistent with the justice of God, since if it be necessary to say anything on so clear a subject, occasions will arise for introducing such observations as may be required in other parts of this work. Severity also is attributed to God. Rom. xi. 22. *on them which fell, severity.*

From all these attributes springs that infinite excellence of God which constitutes his true perfection, and causes him to abound in glory, and to be most deservedly and justly the supreme Lord of all things, according to the qualities so frequently ascribed to him. Psal. xvi. 11. *in thy presence is fulness of joy.* civ. 1. *thou art clothed with honour and majesty.* Dan. vii. 10. *thousand thousands ministered unto him.* Matt. v. 48. *as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.* 1 Tim. i. 11. *the blessed God.* vi. 15. *who is the blessed .... potentate.*

Some description of this divine glory has been revealed, so far as it falls within the scope of human comprehension. Exod. xix. 18, &c. *mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke—.* xxiv. 10, &c. *they saw the God of Israel, and there was under his feet as it were a paved work of a sapphire stone, and as it were the body of heaven in his clearness.* xxxiii. 9, 10. *the cloudy pillar descended,* &c. &c.— and v. 18, &c. 1 Kings xix. 11. *behold, Jehovah passed by.* viii. 10, 11. *the cloud filled the house of Jehovah.* xxii. 19. *I saw Jehovah sitting on his throne.* Psal. xviii. 8, &c. and civ. Micah i. 3, &c. Nahum i. 3, &c. Isai. vi. Ezek. i. and viii. 1—3. and x. 1, &c. and xliii. 2, 3. Habak. iii. 3, &c. Dan. vii. 9. Rev. iv.

It follows, finally, that God must be styled by us WONDERFUL, and INCOMPREHENSIBLE. Judges xiii. 18. *why askest thou thus after my name, seeing it is secret?* Psal. cxlv. 3. *his greatness is unsearchable.* Isai. xl. 28. *there is no searching of his understanding.*

CHAP. III.

Of the Divine Decrees.

HITHERTO I have considered that knowledge of God which is to be obtained from his nature. That which is derived from his efficiency is the next subject of inquiry.

The EFFICIENCY OF GOD is either INTERNAL or EXTERNAL.

The INTERNAL EFFICIENCY of God is that which is independent of all extraneous agency. Such are his decrees. Eph. i. 9. *which he hath purposed in himself.*

The DECREES OF GOD are GENERAL or SPECIAL. GOD'S GENERAL DECREE is that WHEREBY HE HAS DECREED FROM ALL ETERNITY OF HIS OWN MOST FREE AND WISE AND HOLY PURPOSE, WHATEVER HE WILLED, OR WHATEVER HE WAS HIMSELF ABOUT TO DO.

WHATEVER, &c. Eph. i. 11. *who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will;* which comprehends whatever he himself works or wills singly, not what is done by others, or by himself in co-operation with those to whom he has conceded the natural power of free agency. The creation of the world, and the removal of the curse from the ground, Gen. viii. 21. are among his sole decrees.

FROM ALL ETERNITY. Acts xv. 18. *known unto God are all his works from the beginning of the world.* 1 Cor. ii. 7. *even the hidden wisdom which God ordained before the world.*

OF HIS OWN MOST FREE—; that is, without controul, impelled by no necessity, but according to his own will. Eph. i. 11. as before.

MOST WISE—; that is, according to his perfect foreknowledge of all things that were to be created. Acts ii. 23. *by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God.* iv. 28. *for to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done.* xv. 18. *known unto God are all his works from the beginning of the world.* 1 Cor. ii. 7. *the hidden widom which God ordained before the world.* Eph. iii. 10, 11. *the manifold wisdom of God, according to the eternal purpose which he purposed.*

There is an absurdity, therefore, in separating the decrees or will of the Deity from his eternal counsel and foreknowledge, or in giving them priority of order. For the foreknowledge of God is nothing but the wisdom of God, under another name, or that idea of every thing, which he had in his mind, to use the language of men, before he decreed anything.

Thus it is to be understood that God decreed nothing absolutely, which he left in the power of free agents,—a doctrine which is shewn by the whole canon of Scripture.[8] Gen. xix. 17, 21. *escape to*

[8] The following lines contain the sum of the doctrine laid down by Milton in this and the following chapter, and the coincidences of expression are not unfrequently as striking as the similarity of reasoning.

> ..... So will fall
> He and his faithless progeny: Whose fault?
> Whose but his own? Ingrate, he had of me
> All he could have; I made him just and right,
> Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall.
> Such I created all the ethereal Powers
> And Spirits, both them who stood, and them who fail'd;
> Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell.
> Not free, what proof could they have given sincere
> Of true allegiance, constant faith, or love,

Where

the mountain, lest thou be consumed ..... see, I have accepted thee concerning this thing also, that I will not overthrow this city for the which thou hast spoken. Exod. iii. 8, 17. *I am come down to deliver them .... and to bring them up unto a good land*—though these very individuals actually perished in the wilderness. God also had determined to deliver his people by the hand of Moses, yet he would have killed that same Moses, Exod. iv. 24. if he had not immediately circumcised his son. 1 Sam. ii. 30. *I said indeed..... but now Jehovah saith, Be it far from me;*—and the reason for this change is added,—*for, them that honour me I will honour.* xiii. 13, 14. *now would Jehovah have established thy kingdom ..... but now thy kingdom shall not continue.* Again, God had said, 2 Kings xx. 1. that Hezekiah should die immediately, which however did not happen, and therefore could not have been decreed without reservation. The death of Josiah was not decreed peremptorily, but he would not hearken to the voice of Necho when he warned him according to the word of the Lord, not to come out against him; 2 Chron. xxxv. 22. Again, Jer. xviii. 9, 10. *at what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to build and to plant it; if it do evil in my sight, that it obey not my voice, then I will repent of the good wherewith I said I would benefit them,*—that is, I will

> Where only what they needs must do appear'd,
> Not what they would? what praise could they receive,
> What pleasure I, from such obedience paid,
> When will and reason (reason also is choice)
> Useless and vain, of freedom both despoil'd,
> Made passive both, had serv'd necessity,
> Not me? They therefore as to right belong'd,
> So were created, nor can justly accuse
> Their Maker, or their making, or their fate,
> As if predestination over-rul'd
> Their will, dispos'd by absolute decree
> Or high foreknowledge; they themselves decreed
> Their own revolt, not I; if I foreknew,
> Foreknowledge had no influence on their fault,
> Which had no less prov'd certain, unforeknown, &c. &c.
>
> *Paradise Lost,* III. 95.

rescind the decree, because that people hath not kept the condition on which the decree rested. Here then is a rule laid down by God himself, according to which he would always have his decrees understood,—namely, that regard should be paid to the conditionate terms attached to them. Jer. xxvi. 3. *if so be they will hearken, and turn every man from his evil way, that I may repent me of the evil, which I purpose to do unto them because of the evil of their doings.* So also God had not even decreed absolutely the burning of Jerusalem. Jer. xxxviii. 17, &c. *thus saith Jehovah .... if thou wilt assuredly go forth unto the king of Babylon's princes, then thy soul shall live, and this city shall not be burned with fire.* Jonah iii. 4. *yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown*—but it appears from the tenth verse, that when God saw that they turned from their evil way, he repented of his purpose, though Jonah was angry and thought the change unworthy of God. Acts xxvii. 24, 31. *God hath given thee all them that sail with thee*—and again—*except these abide in the ship, ye cannot be saved,* where Paul revokes the declaration he had previously made on the authority of God; or rather, God revokes the gift he had made to Paul, except on condition that they should consult for their own safety by their own personal exertions[9].

It appears, therefore, from these passages of Scripture, and from many others which occur of the same kind, to the paramount authority of which we must bow, that the most high God has not decreed all things absolutely.

If, however, it be allowable to examine the divine decrees by the laws of human reason, since so many arguments have been maintained on this subject by controvertists on both sides with more of subtlety than

[9] 'Ex his verbis (*nisi isti in navi manserint,* &c.) liquet apostolum, qui optime mentem divini promissi intelligebat, non credidisse Deum absolute velle salvare eos omnes qui in navi erant; sed tantum sub hac conditione, si nihil eorum omitterent quæ ad suam incolumitatem facere poterant..... Sed conditionem in promisso quod acceperat inclusam fuisse, non obscure liquet ex verbis quibus conceptum fuit, ecce Deus κεχάρισταί σοι omnes qui tecum navigant, id est, largitus est tibi hanc gratiam, ut eos omnes tuo consilio a morte liberes, si illi obtemperarint; alioqui de iis actum erit, et ipsi culpa sua peribunt.' Curcellæi *Institutio,* iii. 11. 4.

of solid argument, this theory of contingent decrees may be defended even on the principles of men, as most wise, and in no respect unworthy of the Deity. For if those decrees of God which have been referred to above, and such others of the same class as occur perpetually, were to be understood in an absolute sense, without any implied conditions, God would contradict himself, and appear inconsistent.

It is argued, however, that in such instances not only was the ultimate purpose predestinated, but even the means themselves were predestinated with a view to it. So indeed it is asserted, but Scripture nowhere confirms the rule, which alone would be a sufficient reason for rejecting it. But it is also attended by this additional inconvenience, that it would entirely take away from human affairs all liberty of action, all endeavour and desire to do right. For the course of argument would be of this kind—If God have at all events decreed my salvation, whatever I may do against it, I shall not perish. But God has also decreed as the means of salvation that you should do rightly. I cannot, therefore, but do rightly at some time or other, since God has decreed that also,—in the mean time I will act as I please; if I never do rightly, it will be seen that I was never predestinated to salvation, and that whatever good I might have done would have been to no purpose. See more on this subject in the following Chapter.

Nor is it sufficient to affirm in reply, that the kind of necessity intended is not compulsory, but a necessity arising from the immutability of God, whereby all things are decreed, or a necessity arising from his infallibility or prescience, whereby all things are foreknown. I shall satisfactorily dispose in another place of these two alleged species of necessity recognized by the schools:[1] in the mean time no other law

[1] 'But when I say that the divine decree or promise imprints a necessity upon things, it may to prevent misapprehension be needful to explain what kind of necessity this is, that so the liberty of second causes be not thereby wholly cashiered and taken away. For this therefore we are to observe that the schools distinguish of a twofold necessity, physical and logical, or causal and consequential; which terms are commonly thus explained; viz. that physical or causal

of necessity can be admitted than what logic, or in other words, what sound reason teaches; that is to say, when the efficient either causes some determinate and uniform effect by its own inherent propensity, as for example, when fire burns, which kind is denominated physical necessity; or when the efficient is compelled by some extraneous force to operate the effect, which is called compulsory necessity, and in the latter case, whatever effect the efficient produces, it produces *per accidens.*[2] Now any necessity arising from external causes influences the agent either determinately or compulsorily; and it is apparent that in either alternative his liberty would be wholly annihilated. But though a certain immutable and internal necessity of acting right, independent of all extraneous influence whatever, may exist in God conjointly with the most perfect liberty, both which principles in the same divine nature tend to the same point, it does not therefore follow that the same thing can be conceded with regard to two different natures, as the nature of God and the nature of man, in which case the external immutability of one party may be in opposition to the internal liberty of the other, and may prevent unity of will. Nor is it admitted that the actions of God are in them-

causal necessity is when a thing by an efficient productive influence certainly and naturally produces such an effect,' &c. South's *Sermon on the Resurrection,* Vol. III. p. 398. 'Graviter itaque errare censendi sunt, qui duplicem necessitatem rebus tribuunt, ex providentia divina, unam *immutabilitatis,* quia cum Deus non mutet decretum, sicut dicitur Psal. xxxiii. 11. Mal. iii. 6. quicquid omnino decrevit, certissime evenit: alteram *infallibilitatis,* quia,' &c. Curcellæi *Institutio.* iii. 12. 16. See also lib. iv. 2. 5.

[2] 'Tertio causa efficiens per se efficit, aut per accidens. Tertium hoc par modorum efficiendi est, ab Aristotele etiam et veteribus notatum.' *Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio.* Prose Works, VI. 208. And again—'Quæ autem natura necessario, quæ consilio, libere agunt; necessario agit quæ aliter agere non potest, sed ad unum quidpiam agendum determinatur, idque solum sua propensione agit, quæ necessitas naturæ dicitur .... Libere agit efficiens non hoc duntaxat ut naturale agens, sed hoc vel illud pro arbitrio, idque absolute, vel ex hypothesi .... Per accidens efficit causa quæ externa facultate efficit; id est, non sua; cum principium effecti est extra efficientem, externumque principium interno oppositum; sic nempe efficiens non efficit per se, sed per aliud ..... Coactione fit aliquid, cum efficiens vi cogitur ad effectum. Ut cum lapis sursum vel recta projicitur, qui suapte natura deorsum fertur. Hæc necessitas coactionis dicitur, et causis etiam liberis nonnunquam accidere potest.' *ibid.* 209

selves necessary, but only that he has a necessary existence; for Scripture itself testifies that his decrees, and therefore his actions, of what kind soever they be, are perfectly free.

But it is objected that no constraint is put upon the liberty of free agents by divine necessity or first causes. I answer,—if it do not constrain, it either determines, or co-operates, or is wholly inefficient. If it determine or co-operate, it is either the sole or the joint and principal cause of all the actions, whether good or bad, of free agents.[3] If it be wholly inefficient, it cannot be called a cause in any sense, much less can it be termed necessity.

Nor do we imagine anything unworthy of God, when we assert that those conditional events depend on the human will, which God himself has chosen to place at the free disposal of man; since the Deity purposely framed his own decrees with reference to particular circumstances, in order that he might permit free causes to act conformably to that liberty with which he had endued them. On the contrary, it would be much more unworthy of God, that man should nominally enjoy a liberty of which he was virtually deprived, which would be the case were that liberty to be oppressed or even obscured under the pretext of some sophistical necessity of immutability or infallibility, though not of compulsion,—a notion which has led, and still continues to lead many individuals into error.

However, properly speaking, the divine counsels can be said to depend on nothing, but on the wisdom of God himself, whereby he perfectly foreknew in his own mind from the beginning what would

[3] The allusion appears to be to the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas and the Dominicans, who held that God predetermined the will by a physical influence, so that the Deity was the first cause of the action, and the creature the second cause, all the guilt of the sin being attributed to the latter party. With regard to the logical distinction, nearly the very words of the original occur elsewhere. 'Secundo, causa efficiens sola efficit, aut cum aliis. Earumque omnium sæpe alia principalis, alia minus principalis, sive adjuvans et ministra.' *Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio.* Prose Works, VI. 206.

be the nature and event of every future occurrence when its appointed season should arrive.

But it is asked how events, which are uncertain, inasmuch as they depend on the human will, can harmonize with the decrees of God, which are immutably fixed?[4] for it is written, Psal. xxxiii. 11. *the counsel of Jehovah standeth for ever.* See also Prov. xix. 21. and Isai. xlvi. 10. Heb. vi. 17. *the immutability of his counsel.* To this objection it may be answered, first, that to God the issue of events is not uncertain, but foreknown with the utmost certainty, though they be not decreed necessarily, as will appear afterwards.—Secondly, in all the passages referred to, the divine counsel is said to stand against all human power and counsel, but not against the liberty of will with regard to such things as God himself had placed at man's disposal, and had determined so to place from all eternity. For otherwise one of God's decrees would be in direct opposition to another, and that very consequence would ensue which the objector imputes to the doctrine of his opponents, namely, that by considering those things as necessary which the Deity had left to the uncontrouled decision of man, God would be rendered mutable. But God is not mutable, so long as he decrees nothing absolutely which could happen otherwise through the liberty assigned to man; whereas he would then be mutable, then his counsel would not stand, if he were to obstruct by another decree that liberty which he had already decreed, or were to darken it with the least shadow of necessity.[5]

[4] Yet more there be who doubt his ways not just,
As to his own edicts found contradicting—. *Samson Agonistes,* 300.

[5] So without least impulse or shadow of fate,
Or aught by me immutably foreseen,
They trespass, authors to themselves in all
Both what they judge, and what they choose; for so
I form'd them free; and free they must remain,
Till they enthrall themselves; I else must change
Their nature, and revoke the high decree
Unchangeable, eternal, which ordain'd
Their freedom; they themselves ordain'd their fall. *Paradise Lost,* III. 120.

It follows, therefore, that the liberty of man must be considered entirely independent of necessity,[6] and no admission can be made in favour of that modification of the principle which is founded on the doctrine of God's immutability and prescience. If there be any necessity at all, as has been stated before, it either determines free agents to a particular line of conduct, or it constrains them against their will, or it co-operates with them in conjunction with their will, or it is altogether inoperative. If it determine free agents to a particular line of conduct, man will be rendered the natural cause of all his actions, and consequently of his sins, and formed as it were with an inclination for sinning. If it constrain them against their will, man who is subject to this compulsory decree will be rendered the cause of sins only *per accidens*, God being the cause of sins *per se*. If it co-operate with them in conjunction with their will, then God becomes either the principal or the joint cause of sins with man. If finally it be altogether inoperative, there is no such thing as necessity, it virtually destroys itself by being without operation. For it is wholly impossible, that God should have decreed necessarily what we know at the same time to be in the power of man; or that that should be immutable which it remains for subsequent contingent circumstances either to fulfil or frustrate.

Whatever, therefore, was left to the free will of our first parents, could not have been decreed immutably or absolutely from all eternity; and questionless, either nothing was ever placed in man's power, or if it were, God cannot be said to have determined finally respecting it without reference to possible contingencies.

If it be objected, that this doctrine leads to absurd consequences, we reply, either the consequences are not absurd, or they are not the consequences of the doctrine. For it is neither impious nor absurd to say, that the idea of certain things or events might be suggested to

[6] ..... Beyond this, had been force,
And force upon free will hath here no place. *Paradise Lost*, IX. 1174.

God from some extraneous source; for since God had determined from all eternity, that man should so far be a free agent, that it remained with himself to decide whether he would stand or fall,[7] the idea of that evil event, or of the fall of man, was suggested to God from an extraneous source,—a truth which all confess.

Nor does it follow from hence, that what is merely temporal becomes the cause of, or a restriction upon what is eternal, for it was not any thing temporal, but the wisdom of the eternal mind that gave occasion for framing the divine counsel.

Whatever therefore was the subject of the divine counsel, whether man or angel[8] who was to be gifted with free will, so that his fall might depend upon his own volition, such without doubt was the nature of the decree itself, so that all the evil consequences which ensued were contingent upon man's will; wherefore the covenant stood thus—if thou remain faithful, thou shalt abide in Paradise; if thou fall, thou

[7] .....such discourse bring on
As may advise him of his happy state,
Happiness in his power left free to will,
Left to his own free will, his will though free,
Yet mutable; whence warn him to beware
He swerve not, too secure. *Paradise Lost*, V. 233.

[8] So Satan, speaking of himself:

Hadst thou the same free will and power to stand?
Thou hadst; whom hast thou then or what to accuse,
But Heaven's free love dealt equally to all? IV. 66.

And Raphael:

Myself, and all the angelick host, that stand
In sight of God, enthron'd, our happy state
Hold, as you your's, while our obedience holds;
On other surety none; freely we serve
Because we freely love, as in our will
To love or not; in this we stand or fall:
And some are fallen——. V. 535.

shalt be cast out: if thou dost not eat the forbidden fruit, thou shalt live; if thou eat, thou shalt die.[9]

Hence, those who contend that the liberty of actions is subject to an absolute decree, erroneously conclude that the decree of God is the cause of his foreknowledge, and antecedent in order of time.[1] If we must apply to God a phraseology borrowed from our own habits and understanding, that his decrees should have been the consequence of his foreknowledge seems more agreeable to reason, as well as to Scripture, and to the nature of God himself, who, as has just been proved, decreed every thing according to his infinite wisdom by virtue of his foreknowledge.

It is not intended to deny that the will of God is the first cause of all things, but we do not separate his prescience and wisdom from his will, much less do we think them subsequent to the latter in point of time. Finally, the will of God is not less the universal first cause, because he has himself decreed that some things should be left to our own free will, than if each particular event had been decreed necessarily.

To comprehend the whole matter in a few words, the sum of the argument may be thus stated in strict conformity with reason. God of his wisdom determined to create men and angels reasonable beings,[2] and therefore free agents; at the same time he foresaw which way the bias of their will would incline, in the exercise of their own un-

[9] .....thine and of all thy sons
The weal or woe in thee is plac'd; beware.
I in thy persevering shall rejoice,
And all the blest; stand fast, to stand or fall
Free in thine own arbitrement it lies. *Paradise Lost*, VIII. 637.

[1] According to the Supralapsarian doctrine, that a prescience of future contingents, antecedent to the divine decree, is an absurdity and impossibility.

[2] ...God left free the will, for what obeys
Reason, is free; and reason he made right,
But bid her well be ware, and still erect. IX. 351.

controuled liberty.[3] What then? shall we say that this foresight or foreknowledge on the part of God imposed on them the necessity of acting in any definite way? No more than if the future event had been foreseen by any human being. For what any human being has foreseen as certain to happen, will not less certainly happen than what God himself has predicted. Thus Elisha foresaw how much evil Hazael would bring upon the children of Israel in the course of a few years, 2 Kings viii. 12. Yet no one would affirm that the evil took place necessarily on account of the foreknowledge of Elisha; for had he never foreknown it, the event would have occurred with equal certainty, through the free will of the agent. So neither does any thing happen because God has foreseen it; but he foresees the event of every action, because he is acquainted with their natural causes, which, in pursuance of his own decree, are left at liberty to exert their legitimate influence. Consequently the issue does not depend on God who foresees it, but on him alone who is the object of his foresight. Since therefore, as has before been shown, there can be no absolute decree of God regarding free agents, undoubtedly the prescience of the Deity (which can no more bias free agents than the prescience of man, that is, not at all, since the action in both cases is intransitive, and has no external influence,) can neither impose any necessity of itself, nor can it be considered at all the cause of free actions. If it be so considered, the very name of liberty must be altogether abolished as an unmeaning sound; and that not only in matters of religion, but even in questions of morality and indifferent things. There can be nothing but what will happen necessarily, since there is nothing but what is foreknown by God.

That this long discussion may be at length concluded by a brief summary of the whole matter, we must hold that God foreknows all

[3] ..... What can 'scape the eye
Of God all-seeing, or deceive his heart
Omniscient? who in all things wise and just
Hinder'd not Satan to attempt the mind
Of Man, with strength entire and free will arm'd
Complete to have discover'd and repuls'd
Whatever wiles of foe or seeming friend. *Paradise Lost*, X. 5.

future events, but that he has not decreed them all absolutely: lest all sin should be imputed to the Deity, and evil spirits and wicked men should be exempted from blame.[4] Does my opponent avail himself of this, and think the concession enough to prove either that God does not foreknow every thing, or that all future events must therefore happen necessarily, because God has foreknown them? I allow that future events which God has foreseen, will happen certainly, but not of necessity. They will happen certainly, because the divine prescience cannot be deceived, but they will not happen necessarily, because prescience can have no influence on the object foreknown, inasmuch as it is only an intransitive action. What therefore is to happen according to contingency and the free will of man, is not the effect of God's prescience, but is produced by the free agency of its own natural causes, the future spontaneous inclination of which is perfectly known to God. Thus God foreknew that Adam would fall of his own free will; his fall therefore was certain, but not necessary, since it proceeded from his own free will, which is incompatible with necessity.[5] Thus too God foreknew that the Israelites would revolt from the true worship to strange gods, Deut. xxxi. 16. If they were to be led to revolt necessarily on account of this prescience on the part of God, it was unjust to threaten them with the many evils which he was about to send upon them, ver. 17. it would have been to no purpose that a song was ordered to be written, which should be a witness for him against the children of Israel, because their sin would have been of necessity. But the prescience of God, like that of Moses, v. 27. had no extraneous influence, and God testifies, v. 16. that he foreknew they would sin from their own voluntary impulse, and of their own accord,—*this people will rise up*, &c. and v. 18. *I will surely hide my face in that day.....in that they are turned unto other*

[4] 'Hoc tantum obiter; fatum sive decretum Dei cogere neminem male facere; et ex hypothesi divinæ præscientiæ certa quidem esse omnia, non necessaria.' *Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio.* Prose Works, VI. 210.

[5] .....no decree of mine
Concurring to necessitate his fall,
Or touch with lightest moment of impulse
His free will, to her own inclining left
In even scale. *Paradise Lost,* X. 42.

gods. Now the revolt of the Israelites which subsequently took place, was not the consequence of God's foreknowledge of that event, but God foreknew that, although they were free agents, they would certainly revolt, owing to causes with which he was well acquainted. v. 20, 21. *when they shall have eaten and filled themselves, and waxen fat, then will they turn unto other gods.....I know their imagination which they go about, even now before I have brought them into the land which I sware.*

From what has been said it is sufficiently evident, that free causes are not impeded by any law of necessity arising from the decrees or prescience of God. There are some who in their zeal to oppose this doctrine, do not hesitate even to assert that God is himself the cause and origin of sin. Such men, if they are not to be looked upon as misguided rather than mischievous, should be ranked among the most abandoned of all blasphemers. An attempt to refute them, would be nothing more than an argument to prove that God was not the evil spirit.

Thus far of the GENERAL DECREE of God. Of his SPECIAL DECREES the first and most important is that which regards his SON, and from which he primarily derives his name of FATHER. Psal. ii. 7. *I will declare the decree: Jehovah hath said unto me, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.* Heb. i. 5. *unto which of the angels said he at any time, Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee? And again, I will be to him a Father, and he shall be to me a Son.* 1 Pet. i. 19, 20. *Christ.....who verily was fore-ordained before the foundation of the world.* Isai. xlii. 1. *mine elect, in whom my soul delighteth.* 1 Pet. ii. 4. *chosen of God, and precious.* From all these passages it appears that the Son of God was begotten by the decree of the Father.

There is no express mention made of any SPECIAL DECREE respecting THE ANGELS, but its existence seems to be implied, 1 Tim. v. 21. *the elect angels.* Eph. i. 9, 10. *the mystery of his will.....that he might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth.*

CHAP. IV.

Of Predestination.

The principal special decree of God relating to man is termed Predestination, whereby God in pity to mankind, though foreseeing that they would fall of their own accord, predestinated to eternal salvation before the foundation of the world those who should believe and continue in the faith; for a manifestation of the glory of his mercy, grace, and wisdom, according to his purpose in Christ.

It has been the practice of the schools to use the word predestination, not only in the sense of election, but also of reprobation. This is not consistent with the caution necessary on so momentous a subject, since wherever it is mentioned in Scripture, election alone is uniformly intended. Rom. viii. 29, 30. *whom he did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son ..... moreover whom he did predestinate, them he also called: and whom he called, them he also justified: and whom he justified, them he also glorified.* 1 Cor. ii. 7. *the hidden wisdom, which God ordained before the world unto our glory.* Eph. i. 5. *having predestinated us unto the adoption.* v. 11. *in whom also we have obtained an inheritance, being predestinated according to his purpose.* Acts ii. 23. compared with iv. 28. *him being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God they have taken ..... for to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done,* namely, as a means of procuring the salvation of man.

In other modes of expression, where predestination is alluded to, it is always in the same sense of election alone. Rom. viii. 28. *to them who are the called according to his purpose.* ix. 23, 24. *the vessels of mercy which he had afore prepared unto glory, even us, whom he hath called.* Eph. iii. 11. *according to the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus.* 2 Tim. i. 9. *according to his own purpose and grace.* For when it is said negatively, 1 Thess. v. 9. *God hath not appointed us to wrath, but to obtain salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ,* it does not follow by implication that there are others who are appointed to wrath. Nor does the expression in 1 Pet. ii. 8. *whereunto also they were appointed,* signify that they were appointed from all eternity, but from some time subsequent to their defection, as the Apostles are said to be *chosen* in time, *and ordained* by Christ to their office, John xv. 16.

Again, if an argument of any weight in the discussion of so controverted a subject can be derived from allegory and metaphorical expressions, mention is frequently made of those who are written among the living, and of the book of life, but never of the book of death.[6] Isai. iv. 3. *written among the living.* Dan. xii. 1. *at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book.* Luke x. 20. *rather rejoice, because your names are written in heaven.* Philipp. iv. 3. *whose names are in the book of life.* At the same time this figure of enrolment in the book of life does not appear to signify eternal predestination, which is general, but some temporary and particular decision of God applied to certain men, on account of their works. Psal. lxix. 28. *let them be blotted out of the book of the living, and not be written with the righteous;* whence it appears that they had not been written from everlasting. Isai. lxv. 6. *behold it is written before me; I will not keep silence, but will recompense.* Rev. xx. 12. *the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works.* It is clear, therefore, that it was not the book of eternal predestination, but of their works. In

[6] .....blotted out and ras'd
By their rebellion from the book of life. *Paradise Lost,* I. 362.

the same way neither were those ordained from everlasting who are said, Jude 4. to have been *before of old ordained to this condemnation.* For why should we give so extensive a signification to the term *of old,* instead of defining it to mean, from the time when they had become inveterate and hardened sinners? Why must we understand it to imply so remote a period, either in this text, or in the passage whence it seems to be taken? 2 Pet. ii. 3. *whose judgement now of a long time lingereth not, and their damnation slumbereth not,*—that is, from the time of their apostacy, however long they had dissembled it.

The text, Prov. xvi. 4. is also objected,—*Jehovah hath made all things for himself; yea, even the wicked for the day of evil.* But God did not make him wicked, much less did he make him so *for himself* All that he did was to sentence the wicked to deserved punishment, as was most fitting, but he did not predestinate him, if innocent, to the same fate. It is more clearly expressed, Eccles. vii. 29. *God hath made man upright; but they have sought out many inventions,* whence the day of evil ensues as certainly, as if the wicked had been made for it.

PREDESTINATION, therefore, must always be referred to election, and seems often to be put for it. What St. Paul says, Rom. viii. 29. *whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate,* is thus expressed 1 Pet. i. 2. *elect according to the foreknowledge.* Rom. ix. 11. *the purpose of God according to election.* xi. 5. *according to the election of grace.* Eph. i. 4. *he hath chosen us in him.* Col. iii. 12. *as the elect of God, holy and beloved.* 2 Thess. ii. 13. *because God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation.* Reprobation, therefore, could not be included under the title of predestination. 1 Tim. ii. 4. *who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth.* 2 Pet. iii. 9. *the Lord .... is long-suffering to us-ward, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance,*—to us-ward, that is, towards all men, not towards the elect only, as some interpret it, but particularly towards the wicked, as it is said, Rom. ix. 22. *God endured .... the vessels of wrath.* For if,

as some object, Peter would scarcely have included himself among the unbelievers, much less would he have numbered himself among such of the elect as had not yet come to repentance. Nor does God delay on account of the elect, but rather hastens the time. Matt. xxiv. 22. *for the elect's sake those days shall be shortened.*

I understand by the term election, not that general or national election, by which God chose the whole nation of Israel for his own people,[7] Deut. iv. 37. *because he loved thy fathers, therefore he chose their seed after them*, and vii. 6—8. *Jehovah thy God hath chosen thee to be a special people unto himself*, Isai. xlv. 4. *for Israel mine elect.* Nor do I mean that election by which God, after rejecting the Jews, chose the Gentiles as those to whom the Gospel should be announced in preference, of which the apostle speaks particularly Rom. ix. and xi. Nor am I referring to that election by which an individual is selected for the performance of some office,[8] as 1 Sam. x. 24. *see ye him whom the Lord hath chosen?* John vi. 70. *have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil?* whence those are sometimes called elect who are eminent for any particular excellence, as 2 John 1. *the elect lady*, that is, most precious, and v. 13. *thy elect sister.* 1 Pet. ii. 6. *a chief corner stone, elect and precious.* 1 Tim. v. 21. *the elect angels.* But that special election is here intended, which is nearly synonymous with eternal predestination. Election, therefore, is not a part of predestination; much less then is reprobation. For, speaking accurately, the ultimate purpose of predestination is the salvation of believers,—a thing in itself desirable,—but on the contrary the object which reprobation has in view is the destruction of unbelievers, a thing in itself ungrateful and odious; whence it is clear that God

[7] ..... Resolving from thenceforth
To leave them to their own polluted ways;
And one peculiar nation to select
From all the rest. *Paradise Lost*, XII. 109.

[8] ..... such as thou hast solemnly elected
With gifts and graces eminently adorn'd
To some great work, thy glory—. *Samson Agonistes*, 679.

could never have predestinated reprobation, or proposed it to himself as an end. Ezek. xviii. 32. *I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth.* xxxiii. 11. *as I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked should turn from his way and live.* If therefore the Deity have no pleasure either in sin, or in the death of the sinner, that is, either in the cause or the effect of reprobation, certainly he cannot delight in reprobation itself. It follows, that reprobation forms no part of what is meant by God's predestination.

WHEREBY GOD, &c. that is, God the Father. Luke xii. 32. *it is your Father's good pleasure.* So it is stated wherever mention is made of the divine decrees or counsel: John xvii. 2. *as many as thou hast given him.* v. 6, 11, 24. *the men which thou gavest me out of the world.* Eph. i. 4. *he hath chosen us in him.* v. 5. *having predestinated us.* v. 11. *being predestinated according to his purpose.*

BEFORE THE FOUNDATION OF THE WORLD, Eph. i. 4. 2 Tim. i. 9. *before the world began.* See also Tit. i. 2.

IN PITY TO MANKIND, THOUGH FORESEEING THAT THEY WOULD FALL OF THEIR OWN ACCORD. It was not simply man as a being who was to be created, but man as a being who was to fall of his own accord, that was the matter or object of predestination;[9] for that manifestation of divine grace and mercy which God designed as the ultimate purpose of predestination, presupposes the existence of sin and misery in man, originating from himself alone. It is universally admitted that the fall of man was not necessary; but if on the other hand the nature of the divine decree was such, that his fall became really inevitable,—which contradictory opinions are sometimes held in conjunction by the same persons,—then the restoration of man, who had fallen of necessity, became no longer a matter of grace, but of simple

[9] According to a part of the Sublapsarian scheme, taught by St. Augustine and maintained by the Synod of Dort.

justice on the part of God. For if it be granted that he lapsed, though not against his own will, yet of necessity, it will be impossible not to think that the admitted necessity must have overruled or influenced his will by some secret force or guidance. But if God foresaw that man would fall of his own free will, there was no occasion for any decree relative to the fall itself, but only relative to the provision to be made for man, whose future fall was foreseen. Since then the apostacy of the first man was not decreed, but only foreknown by the infinite wisdom of God, it follows that predestination was not an absolute decree before the fall of man; and even after his fall, it ought always to be considered and defined as arising, not so much from a decree itself, as from the immutable conditions of a decree.

PREDESTINATED; that is, designated, elected: proposed to himself the salvation of man as the scope and end of his counsel. Hence may be refuted the notion of an abandonment and desertion from all eternity, in direct opposition to which God explicitly and frequently declares, as has been quoted above, that he desires not the death of any one, but the salvation of all; that he hates nothing that he has made; and that he has omitted nothing which might suffice for universal salvation.

FOR A MANIFESTATION OF THE GLORY OF HIS MERCY, GRACE, AND WISDOM. This is the chief end of predestination. Rom. ix. 23. *that he might make known the riches of his glory on the vessels of mercy.* 1 Cor. ii. 7. *we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom which God ordained before the world unto our glory.* Eph. i. 6. *to the praise of the glory of his grace.*

ACCORDING TO HIS PURPOSE IN CHRIST. Eph. iii. 10, 11. *the manifold wisdom of God, according to the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord.* i. 4, 5. *he hath chosen us in him; having predestinated us unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ.* v. 11. *in him, in whom also we have obtained an inheritance, being predestinated according to his purpose.* This is the source of that love of God, declared to us

in Christ. John iii. 16. *God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son.* Eph. ii. 4, 5. *for his great love wherewith he loved us.... by grace ye are saved.* 1 John iv. 9, 10. *in this was manifested the love of God toward us, because that God sent his only begotten Son into the world,* &c. Wherefore there was no grace decreed for man who was to fall, no mode of reconciliation with God, independently of the foreknown sacrifice of Christ;[1] and since God has so plainly declared that predestination is the effect of his mercy, and love, and grace, and wisdom in Christ, it is to these qualities that we ought to attribute it, and not, as is generally done, to his absolute and secret will, even in those passages where mention is made of his will only. Exod. xxxiii. 19. *I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious,* that is, not to enter more largely into the causes of this graciousness at present, Rom. ix. 18. *he hath mercy on whom he will have mercy,* by that method, namely, which he had appointed in Christ. Or it will appear on an examination of the particular texts, that in passages of this kind God is generally speaking of some extraordinary manifestation of his grace and mercy. Thus Luke xii. 32. *it is your Father's good pleasure.* Eph. i. 5, 11. *by Jesus Christ to himself, according to the good pleasure of his will: in whom also we have obtained an inheritance ..... after the counsel of his own will.* James i. 18. *of his own will,*—that is, in Christ, who is the word and truth of God,—*begat he us with the word of truth.*

THOSE WHO SHOULD BELIEVE, AND CONTINUE IN THE FAITH. This condition is immutably attached to the decree; it attributes no mutability, either to God or to his decrees; 2 Tim. ii. 19. *the foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are his:* or according to the explanation in the same verse, all who *name the name of Christ, and depart from iniquity;* that is, whoever believes: the mutability is entirely on the side of them who renounce their faith, as it is said, 2 Tim. ii. 13. *if we believe not, yet he abideth faithful; he cannot*

[1] ..... in thee
As from a second root, shall be restor'd
As many as are restor'd, without thee none. *Paradise Lost,* III. 287.

deny himself. (It seems then that there is no particular predestination or election, but only general,—or in other words, that the privilege belongs to all who heartily believe and continue in their belief,—that none are predestinated or elected irrespectively) e. g. that Peter is not elected as Peter, or John as John, but inasmuch as they are believers, and continue in their belief,—and that thus the general decree of election becomes personally applicable to each particular believer, and is ratified to all who remain stedfast in the faith.

This is most explicitly declared by the whole of Scripture, which offers salvation and eternal life equally to all, under the condition of obedience in the Old Testament, and of faith in the New. There can be no doubt that the tenor of the decree in its promulgation was in conformity with the decree itself,—otherwise the integrity of God would be impugned, as expressing one intention, and concealing another within his breast. Such a charge is in effect made by the scholastic distinction which ascribes a two-fold will to God; his revealed will, whereby he prescribes the way in which he desires us to act, and his hidden will, whereby he decrees that we shall never so act:[2] which is much the same as to attribute to the Deity two distinct wills, whereof one is in direct contradiction to the other. It is, however, asserted that the Scriptures contain two opposite statements respecting the same thing;—it was the will of God that Pharaoh should let the people go, for such was the divine command,—but it was also not his will, for he hardened Pharaoh's heart. The truth however is, that it was God alone who willed their departure, and Pharaoh alone who was unwilling;

[2] 'Voluntas Dei in varias species distingui solet, ut absolutam et conditionatam; antecedentem et consequentem; signi et beneplaciti, &c.....Voluntas signi dicitur cum Deus verbo suo significat quid velit aut nolit ab hominibus fieri, et mandatis ejus continetur; beneplaciti vero, qua Deus apud se premit et occultat id quod vult facere.' Curcellæi *Institutio,* ii. 9. 6, 7. 'Thomas Aquinas and his disciples frame another distinction to elude the text in Timothy (1 Tim. ii. 4.) and tell us of a will *revealed,* and of another *hidden,* which is, many times at least, contrary to that revealed.....a distinction rejected by our 17th Article, which directs us to follow, not this supposed hidden will of God, but that which is expressly declared in his word.' Glocester Ridley's *Sixth Sermon on the Divinity and Operations of the Holy Ghost.*

and that he might be the more unwilling, God hardened his heart,[3] and himself deferred the execution of his own pleasure, which was in opposition to that of Pharaoh, that he might afflict him with heavier punishment on account of the reluctance of his will. Neither in his mode of dealing with our common father Adam, nor with those whom he calls and invites to accept of grace, can God be charged with commanding righteousness, while he decrees our disobedience to the command. What can be imagined more absurd than a necessity which does not necessitate, and a will without volition?

The tenor of the decree in its promulgation (which was the other point to be proved) is uniformly conditional. Gen. ii. 17. *thou shalt not eat of it; for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die,*— which is the same as if God had said, I will that thou shalt not eat of it; I have not therefore decreed that thou shalt eat of it; for if thou eat, thou shalt die; if thou eat not, thou shalt live. Thus the decree itself was conditional before the fall; which from numberless other passages appears to have been also the case after the fall. Gen. iv. 7. *if thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door,* or, *the punishment of sin watcheth for thee.* Exod. xxxii. 32, 33. *blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written.....whosoever hath sinned against me, him will I blot out of my*

[3] This my long sufferance, and my day of grace
They who neglect and scorn, shall never taste;
But hard be harden'd, blind be blinded more,
That they may stumble on, and deeper fall;
And none but such from mercy I exclude. *Paradise Lost,* III. 198.

.....the will
And high permission of all-ruling Heaven
Left him at large to his own dark designs,
That with reiterated crimes he might
Heap on himself damnation, while he sought
Evil to others, and, enrag'd, might see
How all his malice serv'd but to bring forth
Infinite goodness, grace, and mercy, shewn
On man, by him seduc'd; but on himself
Treble confusion, wrath, and vengeance pour'd. I. 211.

book. Such was the love of Moses for his nation, that he either did not remember that believers, so long as they continued such, could not be blotted out, or the expression must be understood in a modified sense, as in Rom. ix. 1, &c. *I could wish, if it were possible—:* but the answer of God, although metaphorical, explains with sufficient clearness that the principle of predestination is founded upon a condition,—*whosoever hath sinned, him will I blot out.* This is announced more fully in the enforcement of the legal covenant, Deut. vii. 6—8. where God particularly declares his choice and love of his people to have been gratuitous; and in v. 9. where he desires to be known as *a faithful God which keepeth his covenant and mercy,* he yet adds as a condition, *with them that love him and keep his commandments.* Again, it is said still more clearly, v. 12. *it shall come to pass, if ye hearken to these judgements, and keep and do them, that Jehovah thy God shall keep unto thee the covenant and the mercy which he sware unto thy fathers.* Though these and similar passages seem chiefly to refer either to the universal election of a nation to the service of God, or of a particular individual or family to some office (for in the Old Testament it is perhaps difficult to trace even a single expression which refers to election properly so called, that is, election to eternal life), yet the principle of the divine decree is in all cases the same. Thus it is said of Solomon, as of another Christ, 1 Chron. xxviii. 6, 7, 9. *I have chosen him to be my son, and I will be his father.* But what are the terms of the covenant?—*if he be constant to do my commandments and my judgements, as at this day.....if thou seek him, he will be found of thee; but if thou forsake him, he will cast thee off for ever.* The election of his posterity also depended on the same stipulation. 2 Chron. vi. 16. *so that thy children take heed to their way, to walk in my law.* See also xxxiii. 8. and xv. 2. *the Lord is with you, while ye be with him.....but if ye forsake him, he will forsake you;* whence Isaiah does not scruple to say, xiv. 1, *the Lord will yet choose Israel.* See also Zech. i. 16. Isaiah also shows who are the elect; lxv. 9, 10. *mine elect shall inherit it.....and Sharon shall be.....for my people that have sought me.* Jer. xxii. 24. *though Coniah were the signet upon my right hand, yet would I pluck thee thence.*

The same thing must be observed in the covenant of grace, wherever the condition is not added. This however seldom happens. Mark xvi. 16. *he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.* If we could conceive God originally predestinating mankind on such conditional terms as these, endless controversies might be decided by this single sentence, or by John iii. 16. *God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.* xv. 6. *if a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch.* v. 10. *if ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love, even as I have kept my Father's commandment.* xvii. 20. *neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word.* Such therefore were those who were predestinated by the Father. So also, Luke vii. 30. *the Pharisees and lawyers rejected the counsel of God against themselves, being not baptized of him;* whence it appears that even they might previously have been predestinated, if they would have believed. Who was more certainly chosen than Peter? and yet a condition is expressly interposed, John xiii. 8. *if I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me.* What then ensued? Peter readily complied, and consequently had part with his Lord: had he not complied, he would have had no part with him. For though Judas is not only said to have been chosen, which may refer to his apostleship, but even to have been given to Christ by the Father, he yet attained not salvation. John xvii. 12. *those that thou gavest me I have kept, and none of them is lost, but the son of perdition; that the Scripture might be fulfilled.* i. 11, 12. *he came unto his own, and his own received him not. But as many as received him, to them gave he power,* &c., that is, to those who believed in his name; to whom he did not give power before they had received and believed in him, not even to those who were specially called his own. So St. Paul, Eph. i. 13. *in whom also after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that holy spirit of promise.* Undoubtedly those whom in the beginning of his epistle he calls holy, who were not sealed till after that they had believed, were not individually predestinated before that period. 2 Cor. vi. 1. *we beseech you also that ye receive not the grace of God in vain.*

Rev. iii. 5. *he that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment, and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life.* On the other hand it is said, xxii. 19. *if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life.*

Again, if God have predestinated us *in Christ*, as has been proved already, it certainly must be on the condition of faith in Christ. 2 Thess. ii. 13. *God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit, and belief of the truth.* Therefore it is only future *believers* who are chosen. Tit. i. 1. *according to the faith of God's elect, and the acknowledging of the truth which is after godliness.* Heb. xi. 6. *without faith it is impossible to please God,*— and thus become one of the elect; whence I conclude that believers are the same as the elect, and that the terms are used indiscriminately. So Matt. xx. 16. *many be called, but few chosen*, only signifies that they which believe are few. Rom. viii. 33. *who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect?* that is, of believers: otherwise by separating election from faith, and therefore from Christ, we should be entangled in hard, not to say detestable and absurd doctrines. So also, Rom. xi. 7. *the election have obtained it;* that is, believers, as is clear from the twentieth verse, *thou*, that is, thou that art elect, *standest by faith;* and v. 22. *if thou continue in his goodness; otherwise thou also shalt be cut off.* Such is St. Paul's interpretation of the doctrine in his own case; 1 Cor. ix. 27. *lest that by any means when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway.* Philipp. iii. 12. *not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect; but I follow after, if that I may apprehend that for which also I am apprehended of Christ Jesus.* 2 Tim. ii. 10, 12. *I endure all things for the elect's sakes, that they may also obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus*, &c. yet it is said in the next verse, *if we believe not, yet he abideth*, &c.

Two difficult texts remain to be explained from analogy by the aid of so many plainer passages; for what is obscure must be illustrated by what is clear, not what is clear by what is obscure. The first passage

occurs Acts xiii. 48. the other Rom. viii. 28—30. which, as being in my judgement the least difficult of the two, I shall discuss first. The words are as follow: *we know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are the called according to his purpose: for whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son,* &c. *moreover whom he did predestinate, them he also called; and whom he called, them he also justified; and whom he justified, them he also glorified.*

In the first place it must be remarked, that it appears from v. 28, that those *who love God* are the same as those *who are the called according to his purpose,* and consequently as those *whom he did foreknow,* and *whom he did predestinate,* for *them he also called,* as is said in v. 30. Hence it is apparent that the apostle is here propounding the scheme and order of predestination in general, not of the predestination of certain individuals in preference to others. As if he had said, We know that all things work together for good to those who love God, that is, to those who believe, for those who love God believe in him. The order of this scheme is also explained. First, God foreknew those who should believe, that is, he decreed or announced it as his pleasure that it should be those alone who should find grace in his sight through Christ, that is, all men, if they would believe. These he predestinated to salvation, and to this end he, in various ways, called all mankind to believe, or in other words, to acknowledge God in truth; those who actually thus believed he justified; and those who continued in the faith unto the end he finally glorified. But that it may be more clear who those are whom God has foreknown, it must be observed that there are three ways in which any person or thing is said to be known to God. First, by his universal knowledge, as Acts xv. 18. *known unto God are all his works from the beginning of the world.* Secondly, by his approving or gracious knowledge,[4] which is an

[4] .....when God
Looking on the earth, with approbation marks
The just man, and divulges him through heaven
To all his angels. *Paradise Regained,* III. 60.

Hebraism, and therefore requires more explanation. Exod. xxxiii. 12. *I know thee by name, and thou hast also found grace in my sight.* Psal. i. 6. *Jehovah knoweth the way of the righteous.* Matt. vii. 23. *I never knew you.* Thirdly, by a knowledge attended with displeasure. Deut. xxxi. 21. *I know their imagination which they go about,* &c. 2 Kings xix. 27. *I know.....thy coming in, and thy rage against me.* Rev. iii. 1. *I know thy works, that thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead.* In the passage under discussion it is evident that the approving knowledge of God can be alone intended; but he foreknew or approved no one, except in Christ, and no one in Christ except a believer. Those therefore who were about to love, that is, to believe in God, God foreknew or approved;[5]—or in general all men, if they should believe; those whom he thus foreknew, he predestinated, and called them that they might believe; those who believed, he justified. But if God justified believers, and believers only, inasmuch as it is faith alone that justifieth, he foreknew those only who would believe, for those whom he foreknew he justified; those therefore whom he justified he also foreknew, namely, those alone who were about to believe. So Rom. xi. 2. *God hath not cast away his people which he foreknew,* that is, believers, as appears from v. 20. 2 Tim. ii. 19. *the Lord knoweth them that are his,* that is, *all who name the name of Christ, and depart from iniquity;* or in other words, all believers. 1 Pet. i. 2. *elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ.* This can be applicable to none but believers, whom the Father has chosen, according to his foreknowledge and approbation of them, through the sanctification of the Spirit and faith, without which the sprinkling of the blood of Christ would avail them nothing. Hence it seems that the generality of commentators are wrong in interpreting the foreknowledge of God in these passages

[5] In the original it is—qui igitur dilecti dilecturi erant, id est, credituri, eos prænovit Deus, &c.—which scarcely seems to have any sense, unless some allusion be intended to John xvi. 27. *the Father himself loveth you,* &c. It seems more probable that *dilecti* has been inserted by the carelessness of the transcriber.

in the sense of prescience; since the prescience of God seems to have no connection with the principle or essence of predestination; for God has predestinated and elected whoever believes and continues in the faith. Of what consequence is it to us to know whether the prescience of God foresees who will, or will not, subsequently believe? for no one believes because God has foreseen his belief, but God foresees his belief because he was about to believe. Nor is it easy to understand how the prescience or foreknowledge of God with regard to particular persons can be brought to bear at all upon the doctrine of predestination, except for the purpose of raising a number of useless and utterly inapplicable questions. For why should God foreknow particular individuals, or what could he foreknow in them which should induce him to predestinate them in particular, rather than all in general, seeing that the common condition of faith had been established? Without searching deeper into this subject, let us be contented with only knowing, that God, out of his infinite mercy and grace in Christ, has predestinated to salvation all who should believe.[6]

The other passage is Acts xiii. 48. *when the Gentiles heard this, they were glad, and glorified the word of the Lord; and as many as were ordained to eternal life, believed.* The difficulty is caused by the abrupt introduction of an opinion of the historian, in which he at first sight appears to contradict himself as well as the rest of Scripture, for he had before attributed to Peter this saying, chap. x. 34, 35. *of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.* *Accepted* certainly means chosen; and lest it should be urged that Cornelius had already been a proselyte before, St. Paul says the same thing even of those who had never known the law, Rom. ii. 10, 14. *there is no respect of persons with God,* &c. *when the Gentiles which have not the law,* &c.

[6] Thy ransom paid, which man from death redeems,
His death for man, as many as offer'd life
Neglect not, and the benefit embrace
By faith not void of works. *Paradise Lost,* XII. 424.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY

1 Pet. i. 17. *the Father, who without respect of persons judgeth according to every man's work.* Now those who hold the doctrine that a man believes because he is ordained to eternal life, not that he is ordained to eternal life because he will believe, cannot avoid attributing to God the character of a respecter of persons, which he so constantly disclaims. Besides, if the Gentiles believed because they were ordained to eternal life, the same must have been the primary cause of the unbelief of the Jews, v. 46. which will plead greatly in their excuse, since it would seem that eternal life had only been placed in their view, not offered to their acceptance. Nor would such a dispensation be calculated to encourage the other nations, who would immediately conclude from it that there was no occasion for any will or works of their own in order to obtain eternal life, but that the whole depended on some fatal ordinance; whereas on the contrary Scripture uniformly shows in the clearest manner, that as many as have been ordained to eternal life believe, not simply because they have been so ordained, but because they have been ordained on condition of believing.

For these reasons other interpreters of more sagacity,[7] according to my judgement, have thought that there is some ambiguity in the Greek word τεταγμένος, which is translated *ordained*, and that it has the same force as εὖ ἤτοι μετρίως διατεθειμένοι, *well or moderately disposed or affected*, of a composed, attentive, upright, and not disorderly mind; of a different spirit from those Jews, as touching eternal life, who had *put from them the word of God*, and had shown themselves *unworthy of everlasting life*. The Greeks use the word in a similar sense, as in Plutarch,[8] and 2 Thess. iii. 6, 11. *there are some which walk disorderly,*

[7] This is the interpretation of Hammond and Whitby, and of Wolfius, *Cur. Philol.* in loc. See also the Commentators quoted in Mr. Horne's note, *Introduction to the Critical Study of the Scriptures*, Vol. II. p. 759.

[8] φύσει γὰρ ἦν σώφρων καὶ τεταγμένος ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις. Plutarch. *in Pompeio.* Derivatives from this word are used with the same metaphorical signification. ὅστις παραλαβὼν πολεμουμένας τὰς πόλεις, ἔξωθεν μὲν ὑπὸ πλήθους καὶ μανίας βαρβαρικῆς, ἔνδοθεν δὲ ὑπὸ στρατιωτικῆς ἀταξίας, καὶ τῆς τῶν ταξιαρχῶν πλεονεξίας—. Synes. *Epist.* 62. νουθετεῖτε τοὺς ἀτάκτους. 1 *Thess.* v. 14.

certainly with reference to eternal life. This sense of the word, and even the particular application which is here intended, frequently occurs in Scripture in other terms. Luke ix. 62. εὔθετος, *well disposed* or *fit for the kingdom of God.* Mark xii. 34. *not far from the kingdom of God.* 2 Tim. ii. 21. *a vessel...meet for the master's use, and prepared for every good work.*[9] For, as will be shown hereafter, there are some remnants of the divine image left in man,[1] the union of which in one individual renders him more fit and disposed for the kingdom of God than another. Since therefore we are not merely senseless stocks, some cause at least must be discovered in the nature of man himself, why divine grace is rejected by some and embraced by others. One thing appears certain, that though all men be dead in sin and children of wrath, yet some are worse than others; and this difference may not only be perceived daily in the nature, disposition and habits of those who are most alienated from the grace of God, but may also be inferred from the expressions used in the parable, Matt. xiii. where the nature of the soil is variously described in three or four ways, part as stony ground, part overrun with thorns, part good ground, at least in comparison of the others, before it had as yet received any seed. See also Matt. x. 11, &c. *inquire who in it is worthy,* &c....*and if the house be worthy, let your peace come upon it.* How could any one be worthy before the Gospel had been preached, unless on account of his being *ordained*, that is, well inclined or disposed, to eternal life? which Christ teaches that the rest will perceive in their own punishments after death. Matt. xi. 22. *it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the day of judgement, than for you.* Luke xii. 47, 48. *that servant which knew his Lord's will.....shall be beaten with many stripes: but he that knew*

[9] Milton employs the word *fitted* in a similar sense in his *Hist. of Britain,* Book V. c. 1. 'But when God hath decreed servitude on a sinful nation, *fitted* by their own vices for no condition but servile, all estates of government are alike unable to avoid it.'

[1] .....Why should not man
Retaining still divine similitude
In part, from such deformities be free,
And for his Maker's image sake, exempt? *Paradise Lost,* XI. 511.

not.....shall be beaten with few stripes. And, lastly, the gift of reason has been implanted in all, by which they may of themselves resist bad desires, so that no one can complain of, or allege in excuse, the depravity of his own nature compared with that of others.

But, it is objected, God has no regard to the less depraved among the wicked in his choice, but often prefers the worse to the better. Deut. ix. 5. *not for thy righteousness, or for the uprightness of thine heart, dost thou go to possess their land.* Luke x. 13. *if the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon, which have been done in you, they had a great while ago repented, sitting in sackcloth and ashes.* I answer, that it cannot be determined from these passages, what God regards in those whom he chooses; for in the first place, I have not argued that he has regarded righteousness even in the least degree.[2] Secondly, in the former passage the question is not respecting election to life eternal, but concerning the gift of the land of Canaan to the Israelites, a gift assigned them for other reasons than those for which eternal life would have been given,—partly on account of the wickedness of the original inhabitants, and partly that the promise might be fulfilled which had been ratified by an oath to their forefathers; wherein there is nothing that contradicts my doctrine. In the latter passage, it is not the elect who are compared with the reprobate, but the reprobate who are compared with each other, the Tyrians with the unbelieving Jews, neither of which nations had repented. Nor would the Tyrians ever have truly repented, even if these miracles had been wrought among them, for if God had foreseen that they would have repented, he would never have forsaken them; but the expression is to be understood in the same sense as Matt. xxi. 31. *the publicans and the harlots go into the kingdom of God before you.*

[2] ..... thou oft,
Amidst their heighth of noon,
Changest thy countenance, and thy hand, with no regard
Of highest favours past
From thee on them, or them to thee of service.
Samson Agonistes, 682.

Lastly, it will be objected that *it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy,* Rom. ix. 16. I answer, that my argument does not presuppose one that willeth or that runneth, but one that is less reluctant, less backward, less resisting than another—that it is, nevertheless, God who showeth mercy, and who is at the same time infinitely wise and just. Meanwhile, when it is said that *it is not of him that willeth nor of him that runneth,* it is not denied that there is one who wills, and one who runs, only care is taken not to assign to him any portion of merit or praise. But when God determined to restore mankind, he also without doubt decreed that the liberty of will which had been lost should be at least partially regained by them, which was but reasonable. Whomsoever therefore in the exercise of that degree of freedom which their will had acquired either previously to their call, or by reason of the call itself, God had seen in any respect willing or running, (who it is probable are here meant by the ordained) to them he gave a greater power of willing and running, that is, of believing. Thus it is said, 1 Sam. xvi. 7. *Jehovah looketh on the heart,* namely, on the disposition of men either as it is by nature, or after grace has been received from him that calleth them. To the same purport is that well known saying,—*to him that hath shall be given.* This may be illustrated by the example of the centurion, Matt. viii. 10. *I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel,*—of the woman of Canaan, Matt. xv. 28. *O woman, great is thy faith,*—of the father of the demoniac, Mark ix. 24. *Lord, I believe; help thou mine unbelief,*—and of Zaccheus, Luke xix. 3. *he sought to see Jesus who he was,* whence, v. 9. *Jesus said unto him, This day is salvation come to this house.* Zaccheus therefore had not been ordained from all eternity, but from the time when he had shewn himself eagerly desirous of knowing Christ.

Nor is it less on this account *of God that showeth mercy,* since the principal is often put for the sole cause without impropriety, not only in common discourse, but even in the language of logicians; and certainly unless God had first shown mercy, it would have been in the

power of no one either to will or to run. Philipp. ii. 13. *for it is God that worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure.* 2 Cor. iii. 5. *not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think any thing as of ourselves; but our sufficiency is of God,* without whose mercy he that willeth or he that runneth would gain nothing.[3]

I think therefore it must be sufficiently clear from the analogy of all the rest of Scripture, who those are that are said in the passage quoted from the Acts to have been ordained to eternal life. On a review of the whole, I should conjecture, that Luke had not intended to advance in so abrupt a manner any new doctrine, but simply to confirm by a fresh example the saying of Peter respecting Cornelius, Acts x. 34, 35. Cornelius and the Gentiles with him believed, as many at least as feared God and worked righteousness, for such were accepted of God in every nation. So in the other passage, those of the Gentiles whose thoughts were already devoted to serious subjects, worthy the attention of men, believed, and gave themselves up to instruction with docility and gladness of heart, glorifying the word of the Lord. Such Peter declared were accepted of God in every nation, and such Luke in conformity with Peter's opinion asserts to be ordained to, that is, qualified for eternal life, even though they were Gentiles.

But an objection of another kind may perhaps be made. If God be said to have predestinated men only on condition that they believe and continue in the faith, predestination will not be altogether of

[3] All hast thou spoken as my thoughts are, all
As my eternal purpose hath decreed;
Man shall not quite be lost, but sav'd who will;
Yet not of will in him, but grace in me
Freely vouchsaf'd; .....
..... that he may know how frail
His fall'n condition is, and to me owe
All his deliverance, and to none but me. *Paradise Lost,* III. 171.

See also Glocester Ridley's *Sixth Sermon on the Holy Spirit,* where the line of argument pursued by Milton is beautifully and powerfully enforced.

grace, but will depend on the will and belief of mankind; which will be derogatory to the exclusive efficacy of divine grace. But this is so far from being true, that the doctrine of grace is thus placed in a much clearer light than by the theory of those who make the objection. For the grace of God is acknowledged to be infinite, in the first place, inasmuch as he showed any pity at all for man whose fall was to happen through his own fault. Secondly, because he *so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son* for its salvation. Thirdly, because he has again granted us the power of volition, that is, of acting freely, in consequence of recovering the liberty of the will by the renewing of the Spirit. It was thus that he opened the heart of Lydia, Acts xvi. 14. But if the condition whereon the decree depends, that is to say, the will enfranchised by God himself, and faith which is required of mankind be left in the power of beings who are free agents, there is nothing in the doctrine either derogatory to grace, or inconsistent with justice; since the power of willing and believing is either the gift of God,[4] or, so far as it is inherent in man, partakes not of the nature of merit or of good works, but only of a natural faculty. Nor does this reasoning represent God as depending upon the human will, but as fulfilling his own pleasure, whereby he has chosen that man should always use his own will with a regard to the love and worship of the Deity, and consequently with a regard to his own salvation. If this use of the will be not admitted, whatever worship or love we render to God is entirely vain and of no value; the acceptableness of duties done under a law of necessity is diminished, or rather is annihilated altogether, and freedom can no longer be attributed to that will over which some fixed decree is inevitably suspended.[5]

[4] ..... Man shall find grace;
.....
Happy for man, so coming; he her aid
Can never seek, once dead in sins, and lost. *Paradise Lost*, III. 227.

[5] God made thee perfect, not immutable;
And good he made thee, but to persevere
He left it in thy power; ordain'd thy will

By

The objections, therefore, which are so vehemently urged by some against this doctrine, are of no force whatever;—namely, that on this theory, the repentance and faith of the predestinated having been foreseen, predestination becomes posterior in point of time to works,—that it is rendered dependent on the will of man,—that God is defrauded of part of the glory of our salvation,—that man is puffed up with pride,—that the foundations of all Christian consolation in life and in death are shaken,—that gratuitous justification is denied. On the contrary, the scheme, and consequently the glory, not only of the divine grace, but also of the divine wisdom and justice, is thus displayed in a clearer manner than on the opposite hypothesis; which was the principal end that God proposed to himself in predestination.

Since then it is so clear that God has predestinated from eternity all those who should believe and continue in the faith, it follows that there can be no reprobation, except of those who do not believe or continue in the faith, and even this rather as a consequence than a decree; there can therefore be no reprobation of individuals from all eternity. For God has predestinated to salvation, on the proviso of a general condition, all who enjoy freedom of will; while none are predestinated to destruction, except through their own fault, and as it were *per accidens*,

> By nature free, not over-rul'd by fate
> Inextricable, or strict necessity:
> Our voluntary service he requires,
> Not our necessitated; such with him
> Finds no acceptance, nor can find; for how
> Can hearts, not free, be tried whether they serve
> Willing or no, who will but what they must
> By destiny, and can no other choose? *Paradise Lost*, V. 524.

'Many there be that complain of Divine Providence for suffering Adam to transgress. Foolish tongues! when God gave him reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing; he had been else a mere artificial Adam, such an Adam as he is in the motions. We ourselves esteem not of that obedience, or love, or gift, which is of force; God therefore left him free, set before him a provoking object, ever almost in his eyes; herein consisted his merit, herein the right of his reward, the praise of his abstinence.' *Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing.* Prose Works, I. 305.

in the same manner as there are some to whom the gospel itself is said to be a stumbling-block and a savour of death. Of this assertion proof shall be given from the testimony of Scripture no less explicit than of the doctrine asserted in the former part of the chapter. Isai. l. 1. *where is the bill of your mother's divorcement, whom I have put away? ..... behold for your iniquities have ye sold yourselves.* Hos. iv. 6. *because thou hast rejected knowledge, I will also reject thee ..... seeing thou hast forgotten the law of thy God, I will also forget thy children.* Rev. xiii. 8. *all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him, whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.* And who are they but such as have not believed? whom God has therefore deserted[6] because they *wandered after the beast*, v. 3. Nor should I call the decree mentioned in Zephaniah ii. 1—3. a decree of eternal reprobation, but rather of temporal punishment, and at any rate not an absolute decree, as the passage itself is sufficient to show: *gather yourselves together*, &c. *before the decree bring forth .....* &c. &c. *it may be ye shall be hid in the day of the anger of Jehovah.*

For if God had decreed any to absolute reprobation, which we do not read, he must, even according to their system who affirm that reprobation is an absolute decree, have likewise decreed the means without which his own decree could not be fulfilled. Now these means are neither more nor less than sin. Nor will the common subterfuge avail, namely, that God did not decree sin, but only its permission: this is a contradiction in terms; for at this rate he does more than simply permit it: he who permits a thing does not decree it, but leaves it free.

But even if there be any decree of reprobation, Scripture everywhere declares, that as election is established and confirmed by faith, so repro-

[6] Thence faintings, swoonings of despair,
And sense of heaven's *desertion.*

Samson Agonistes, 631.

bation is rescinded by repentance.[7] Jer. vi. 30. *reprobate silver shall men call them, because Jehovah hath rejected them;* and yet in the third verse of the following chapter God addresses himself to the same people—*amend your ways and your doings, and I will cause you to dwell in this place.* So too in chap. xviii. 6, &c. where God compares his own right with that of the potter, (whence St. Paul seems to have taken his metaphor, Rom. ix.) *if that nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them.* So too, where God defends in the clearest manner the justice of his ways, Ezek. xviii. 25—27. *when the wicked man turneth away from the wickedness that he hath committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive.* xxxiii. 14, 15. *when I say unto the wicked, Thou shalt surely die, if he turn from his sin, and do that which is lawful and right,* &c. &c. *he shall surely live, he shall not die.* The same is inculcated in other parts of the chapters just quoted: xviii. 31, 32. *why will ye die, O house of Israel? for I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord Jehovah; wherefore turn yourselves, and live ye.* xxxiii. 11. *say unto them, As I live, saith the Lord Jehovah, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live; turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways, for why will ye die, O house of Israel?* Luke xiii. 5. *except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish:* therefore, if ye repent, ye shall not perish. If then there be no repentance, of what advantage is election; or if there be repentance, of what injury is reprobation? Accordingly St. Paul, in speaking of those whom he describes as blinded, and whom he opposes to the elect, Rom. xi. 7. *the election hath obtained it, and the rest were blinded,* subjoins immediately, v. 11. *have they stumbled that they should fall? God forbid;* and v. 23, &c. *and they also, if they abide not in unbelief, shall be graffed in; for God is able to graff them in again,* &c. lastly, he adds, v. 32. *God hath concluded them all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all.*

[7] To prayer, repentance, and obedience due,
Though but endeavour'd with sincere intent,
Mine ear shall not be slow, mine eye not shut.
Paradise Lost, III. 191.

If then God reject none but the disobedient and unbelieving, he undoubtedly gives grace to all, though not in equal measure,[8] yet sufficient for attaining knowledge of the truth and final salvation;—I have said, not in equal measure, because not even to the reprobate, as they are called, has he imparted uniformly the same degree of grace. Matt. xi. 21, 23. *woe unto thee, Chorazin,* &c. *for if the mighty works which have been done in you, had been done in Tyre and Sidon,*—&c. See also Luke x. 13. For God, as any other proprietor might do with regard to his private possessions, claims to himself the right of determining concerning his own creatures according to his pleasure, nor can he be called to account for his decision, though, if he chose, he could give the best reasons for it. Rom. ix. 20, 21. *nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God? shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus? hath not the potter power over the clay?* It is owing, therefore, to his supreme will that God does not vouchsafe equal grace to all; but it is owing to his justice that there are none to whom he does not vouchsafe grace sufficient for their salvation. Isai. v. 4. *what could have been done more in my vineyard, that I have not done in it?* which words are spoken of the whole nation of the Jews, not of the elect only. xxvi. 10. *let favour be showed to the wicked, yet will he not learn righteousness.* Ezek. xii. 2. *which have eyes to see, and see not, they have ears to hear, and hear not; for they are a rebellious house.* 2 Kings xvii. 13. *Jehovah testified against Israel, and against Judah, by all the prophets, and by all the seers, saying, Turn ye from your evil ways,* &c. ..... *notwithstanding they would not hear, but hardened their necks.* See also 2 Chron. xxxvi. 15, 16. John

[8] Some I have chosen of peculiar grace,
Elect above the rest; so is my will:
The rest shall hear me call, and oft be warn'd
Their sinful state, and to appease betimes
The incensed Deity, while offer'd grace
Invites; for I will clear their senses dark
What may suffice, and soften stony hearts
To pray, repent, and bring obedience due.

Paradise Lost, III. 183.

i. 9. *that was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.* ix. 41. *if ye were blind, ye should have no sin; but now ye say, We see, therefore your sin remaineth,* namely, because your sin is the fruit of pride, not of ignorance. xv. 22. *if I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin: but now they have no cloak for their sin.* xii. 34—41. *yet a little while is the light with you: walk while ye have the light, lest darkness come upon you,* &c. *while ye have light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of light.* Acts xiii. 46. *it was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you, but seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles.* xiv. 16, 17. *who in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways: nevertheless he left not himself without witness.* Rom. x. 20, 21. *I was found of them that sought me not; I was made manifest unto them that asked not after me: but to Israel he saith, All day long I have stretched forth my hands unto a disobedient and gainsaying people.* 2 Cor. vi. 1, 2. *behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation.* Heb. iii. 7, 8. compared with Psal. xcv. 7, 9. *to-day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts.* Undoubtedly if he desire that the wicked should turn from their way and live, Ezek. xxxiii. 11.—if he would have all men to be saved, 1 Tim. ii. 4.—if he be unwilling that any should perish, 2 Pet. iii. 9. he must also will that an adequate proportion of saving grace shall be withholden from no man; for if otherwise, it does not appear how his truth towards mankind can be justified. Nor is it enough that only so much grace shall be bestowed, as will suffice to take away all excuse; for our condemnation would have been reasonable, even had no grace at all been bestowed.[9] But the offer of grace having been once proclaimed, those who perish will always have some excuse, and will perish unjustly, unless it be evident that it is actually sufficient for sal-

[9] God made thee of choice his own, and of his own
To serve him; thy reward was of his grace;
Thy punishment then justly is at his will.

Paradise Lost, X. 766.

vation. So that what Moses said in his address to the Israelites, Deut. xxix. 4. *Jehovah hath not given you an heart to perceive, and eyes to see, and ears to hear, unto this day*, must be understood as having been dictated by the kindness and tenderness of his feelings, lest he should have been accused of harshness and asperity towards so large an assembly of the people, who were then on the point of entering into covenant with God, if he had chosen that particular time for openly reproving the hardness of their hearts. When, therefore, there were two causes to which their impenitence was capable of being ascribed,—either, that a heart had not yet been given by God, who was at liberty to give it when he pleased, or, that they had not yielded obedience to God,—he made mention only of the freedom of God's will, and left their hardness of heart to be suggested silently by their own consciences; for no one could be at a loss to perceive, that if God to that day had not given them an understanding heart, their own stubbornness must have been the principal cause; or else that God, who had wrought so many miracles for their sakes, had abundantly given them a heart to perceive, and eyes to see, and ears to hear, but that they had refused to make use of these gifts.

Thus much, therefore, may be considered as certain and irrefragable truth—that God excludes no one from the pale of repentance and eternal salvation, till he has despised and rejected the propositions of sufficient grace, offered even to a late hour, for the sake of manifesting the glory of his long-suffering and justice. Nor has God anywhere declared in direct and precise terms that his will is the cause of reprobation, but the reasons which influence his will in the case at issue are frequently propounded,—namely, the grievous sins of the reprobate previously committed, or foreseen before actual commission,—want of repentance,—contempt of grace,—deafness to the repeated calls of God. For reprobation must not be attributed, like the election of grace, to the divine will alone. Deut. ix. 5. *not for thy righteousness, or for the uprightness of thine heart, dost thou go to possess their land: but for the wickedness of these nations Jehovah thy God doth drive them out before thee.* For the exercise of mercy requires no vindication; it is unnecessary

to assign any cause for it, except God's own merciful will; but, that reprobation, the consequence of which is punishment, may be reconciled with justice, it must be owing to man's sin alone, and not to the arbitrary will of God—to sin either committed or foreseen, after the constant rejection of grace, or after it has been sought at length too late, and only through fear of punishment, when the appointed day of grace is past. For God does not reprobate for one cause, and condemn or assign to death for another, according to the distinction commonly made; but those whom he has condemned on account of sin, he has also reprobated on account of sin, as in time, so from all eternity. And this reprobation lies not so much in the divine will, as in the obstinacy of their own minds; it is not God who decrees it, but the reprobate themselves who determine on refusing to repent while it is in their power. Acts xiii. 46. *ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life.* Matt. xxi. 43. *the stone which the builders rejected,* &c. *therefore the kingdom of God shall be taken from you.* See also 1 Pet. ii. 7, 8. Matt. xxiii. 37. *how often would I have gathered thy children together,* &c. *and ye would not.* Nor would it be less unjust to decree reprobation, than to condemn for any other cause than sin. As, therefore, there is no condemnation except on account of unbelief or of sin, (John iii. 18, 19. *he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed,* &c. *this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light:* xii. 48. *he that rejecteth me, and receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him; the word that I have spoken,* &c. 2 Thess. ii. 12. *that they all might be damned who believed not the truth,*) so we will prove from all the passages that are alleged in confirmation of the decree of reprobation, that no one is excluded by any decree of God from the pale of repentance and eternal salvation, unless it be after the contempt and rejection of grace, and that at a very late hour.

We may begin our proofs of this assertion from the instance of Jacob and Esau, Rom. ix. since in the opinion of many the question seems to turn on that case. It will be seen that the subject of dis-

cussion in this passage is not so much predestination, as the unmerited calling of the Gentiles after the Jews had been deservedly rejected.

St. Paul shows in the sixth verse that the word which God spake to Abraham, had not therefore taken none effect because all his posterity had not received Christ, and more had believed among the Gentiles than among the Jews; inasmuch as the promise was not made in all the children of Abraham, but in Isaac, v. 7; that is to say, *they which are the children of the flesh, these are not the children of God, but the children of the promise are counted for the seed*, v. 8. The promise therefore was not made to the children of Abraham according to the flesh, but to the children of God, who are therefore called the children of the promise. But since Paul does not say in this passage who are the children of God, an explanation must be sought from John i. 11, 12. where this very promise is briefly referred to; *he came unto his own, and his own received him not: but as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name.* The promise therefore is not to the children of Abraham in the flesh, but to as many of the children of his faith as received Christ, namely, to the children of God and of the promise, that is, to believers; for where there is a promise, it behoves that there be also a faith in that promise.

St. Paul then shows by another example, that God did not grant mercy in the same degree to all the posterity even of Isaac, but much more abundantly to the children of the promise, that is, to believers; and that this difference originates in his own will: lest any one should arrogate any thing to himself on the score of his own merits. v. 11, 12. *for the children being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth, it was said unto her, The elder shall serve the younger.* The purpose of God, according to what election? Doubtless according to the election to some benefit, to some privilege, and in this instance specially to the right of primogeniture transferred from

the elder to the younger of the sons or of the nations; whence it arises that God now prefers the Gentiles to the Jews. Here then his purpose of election is expressly mentioned, but to reprobation there is no allusion. St. Paul is satisfied with employing this example to establish the general principle of election to any mercy or benefit whatever. Why should we endeavour to extort from the words a harsh and severe meaning, which does not belong to them? If the elder shall serve the younger, whether the individual or the people be intended, (and in this case it certainly applies best to the people) it does not therefore follow that the elder shall be reprobated by a perpetual decree; nor, if the younger be favoured with a larger measure of grace, does it follow that the elder shall be favoured with none. For this can neither be said of Esau, who was taught the true worship of God in the house of his father, nor of his posterity, whom we know to have been called to the faith with the rest of the Gentiles. Hence this clause is added in Esau's blessing, Gen. xxvii. 40. *it shall come to pass when thou shalt have the dominion, that thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck.* Now if the servitude of Esau implied his reprobation, these words must certainly imply that it was not to last for ever. But an expression which occurs in the same chapter is alleged as decisive: *Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated,* v. 13. But how did God evince his love or hatred? He gives his own answer, Mal. i. 2, 3. *I hated Esau, and laid his mountains and his heritage waste.* He evinced his love therefore to Jacob, by bringing him back again into his country from the land of Babylon; according to the purpose of that same election by which he now calls the Gentiles, and abandons the Jews. At the same time even this text does not prove the existence of any decree of reprobation, though St. Paul subjoins it incidentally as it were, to illustrate the former phrase,—*the elder shall serve the younger;* for the text in Mal. i. 2, 3. differs from the present passage, inasmuch as it does not speak of the children yet unborn, but of the children when they had been long dead, after the one had eagerly accepted, and the other had despised the grace of God. Nor does this derogate in the least from the freedom of grace, because Jacob himself openly confesses that he was undeserving of the favour which he had obtained; Gen. xxxiii. 10.

St. Paul therefore asserts the right of God to impart whatever grace he chooses even to the undeserving, v. 14, 15. and concludes—*so then it is not of him that willeth, or of him that runneth,* (not even of Jacob, who had openly confessed himself undeserving, nor of the Jews who followed after the law of righteousness) *but of God that showeth mercy,* v. 16. Thus St. Paul establishes the right of God with respect to any election whatever, even of the undeserving, such as the Gentiles then seemed to be.

The apostle then proceeds to prove the same thing with regard to the rejection of the Jews, by considering God's right to exercise justice upon sinners in general; which justice, however, he does not display by means of reprobation, and hatred towards children yet unborn, but by the judicial hardening of the heart, and punishment of flagrant offenders. v. 17, 18. *for the Scripture saith unto Pharaoh, Even for this same purpose have I raised thee up,* &c. He does not say, *I have decreed,* but, *I have raised up;* that is, in raising up Pharaoh he only called into action, by means of a most reasonable command, that hardness of heart, with which he was already acquainted. So Exod. iii. 19. *I am sure that the king of Egypt will not let you go.* So too 1 Pet. ii. (in which chapter much has been borrowed from the ninth of Romans,) v. 7, 8. *unto them which be disobedient, the stone which the builders disallowed .....* &c. *even to them that stumble at the word, being disobedient; whereunto also they were appointed.* They therefore first disallowed Christ, before they were disallowed by him; they were then finally appointed for punishment, from the time that they had persisted in disobedience.

To return however to the chapter in Romans. It follows in the next verses, 19—21. *thou wilt say then unto me, Why doth he yet find fault?* &c. *why hast thou made me thus*—that is, hard-hearted, and a vessel unto dishonour, whilst thou showest mercy to others? In answer to which the apostle proves the reasonableness, not indeed of a decree of reprobation, but of that penal hardness of heart, which, after much long-suffering on the part of God, is generally the final punishment reserved for the more

atrocious sins. v. 21. *hath not the potter power over the clay?* that is, the material fitted for his own purposes, to put honour upon whom he chooses, provided it be not on the disobedient; as it is said 2 Tim. ii. 21. *if a man purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honour*, &c. whilst he hardens still more the hearts of the contumacious, that is, he punishes them, according to the next verse of this chapter—*he endured with much long-suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction.* Whence then were they fitted, except from their own hardness of heart, whereby the measure of their iniquity was completed! See Gen. xv. 16. and Eph. v. 6. *because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience.* Nor does the use of the passive voice always imply the sufferance of some external force; for we speak of one being given up to vice, or inclined to this or that propensity, meaning only that such is the bias of his own disposition. Finally, the three last verses of the chapter, which contain the conclusion of the whole question, are a convincing proof that St. Paul only intended to show the free and gratuitous mercy of God in calling the Gentiles to salvation, who should be obedient to the faith, and at the same time the justice of his judgements in hardening the hearts of the Jews and others, who obstinately adhered to the law of works. v. 30—32. *what shall we say then? that the Gentiles ..... have attained to righteousness which is of faith*—not therefore through election independent of faith: *but Israel ..... hath not attained: wherefore? because they sought it not by faith*—not therefore through a decree of reprobation independent of unbelief.

After having passed this difficulty, those which remain will scarcely interrupt our course. Psal. xcv. 10, 11. *forty years long was I grieved with this generation*, &c. *unto whom I sware in my wrath that they should not enter into my rest.* It must be observed here how long it was before God passed his decree, and that (if we may reason by analogy respecting spiritual things, from types of this kind, as was done before in the case of Esau) he excluded from his eternal rest only those who tempted him, and whose hearts were hardened. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 15, 16. *and Jehovah God of their fathers sent to them by his messengers*, &c. *because*

he had compassion on his people and on his dwelling-place: but they mocked the messengers of God, &c. *until the wrath of Jehovah arose against his people, till there was no remedy.* Isai. xxviii. 12, 13. *to whom he said, This is the rest wherewith ye may cause the weary to rest,* &c. *yet they would not hear: but the word of Jehovah was unto them precept upon precept,* &c. *that they might go, and fall backward,* &c. *wherefore hear the word of Jehovah, ye scornful men,* &c. xxix. 10. *for Jehovah hath poured out upon you the spirit of deep sleep, and hath closed your eyes.* The reason is given, v. 13, 14. whence it appears that it was not on account of God's decree, but of their own grievous wickedness: *forasmuch as this people draw near me with their mouth,* &c. *but have removed their heart far from me .... therefore the wisdom of their wise men shall perish,* &c. Matt. xi. 25, 26. *I thank thee, O Father, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes: even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight.* Lest we should attribute this solely to the arbitrary will of God, the verses preceding will explain why it so seemed good, and why Christ ascribes glory to the Father on this account, v. 21—23; in which it is disclosed what those wise men had first been themselves, namely, despisers of the divine grace. See also xiii. 11. *because it is given unto you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given.* And why? the next verse subjoins the reason: *whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance; but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath.* It is impossible to apply this sentence otherwise, than to those who have first voluntarily rejected divine grace, in the sense in which nearly the same words are addressed, chap. xxv. 29. to the slothful servant. A passage to the same purpose occurs, chap. xiii. 13. *therefore speak I to them in parables, because they seeing see not,* &c. Hence an easy solution is afforded for other texts. John viii. 43. *ye cannot hear my word;* because when ye were able, ye would not, ye are now unable on account of your unbelief in which you are hardened, not on account of any decree of God; or in consequence of your pride, through which you cannot endure to hear the word; or lastly, as it is expressed in the following verse, 44, because *ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts*

of your father ye will do. Again, v. 46. *if I say the truth, why do ye not believe me?* Christ himself answers the question, v. 47. *ye therefore hear not, because ye are not of God.* What is the meaning of *ye are not of God?* not surely, ye are not elect: it implies the same as *to be of the devil,* v. 44. that is, to follow the devil rather than God. So too, x. 26. *ye believe not, because ye are not of my sheep.* Why not of my sheep? Because it was so decreed? By no means,—but because ye do not hear the word; because ye do not follow me; *my sheep hear my voice, and they follow me,* v. 27. Ye, as I repeatedly tell you, do not believe. v. 25, 26. *I told you, and ye believed not; the works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me: but ye believe not, because ye are not of my sheep, as I said unto you.* The argument runs thus—ye do not believe, because ye are not of my sheep; ye are not of my sheep, because ye neither hear my word, nor follow me. Christ certainly intended to give some such reason for their unbelief as would throw the fault of it upon themselves, not such a one as would exempt them from blame; but if not to be of his sheep, be interpreted to mean not to be of the elect, a privilege which had never been within their option, his words would contain an excuse for their conduct, rather than a reproof, which would be contrary to his obvious purpose. Again, xii. 39, 40, compared with Isai. vi. 10. *therefore they could not believe, because that Esaias saith again, He hath blinded their eyes,* &c. Not because the words of Isaiah, or the decree of God delivered by his mouth, had previously taken away from them the power or grace of belief irrespectively; but according to the reason declared by the prophet why they could not believe, namely, because God had blinded their eyes. And why he had thus blinded their eyes the preceding chapter explains, v. 4, &c. because nothing more remained to be done to his unfruitful vineyard, but to cut it down. This appears still more clearly Luke xiii. 24, 25. *many will seek to enter in, and shall not be able: when once the master of the house is risen up, and hath shut to the door.* xiv. 24. *I say unto you, that none of those men that were bidden shall taste of my supper.* xix. 42. *if thou hadst known, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes.* Rom. i.

21, 24, 26. *because that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God,* &c. *wherefore God also gave them up,* &c. *for this cause God gave them up,* &c. 2 Thess. ii. 10—12. *with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved: and for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie: that they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.* iii. 2. *for all men have not faith;* that is, obstinate and unreasonable sinners have it not; which the context shows is the sense intended. 1 Pet. ii. 7, 8. *the stone which the builders disallowed,* &c. *and a stone of stumbling and rock of offence, even to them which stumble at the word, being disobedient; whereunto also they were appointed,*—that is, to be disobedient. And why? Because they had disallowed that stone, and had stumbled upon it, disallowing Christ themselves before they were disallowed by him. Whoever has paid attention to what has been urged, will easily perceive that the difficulties respecting this doctrine have arisen from the want of making the proper distinction between the punishment of hardening the heart and the decree of reprobation; according to Prov. xix. 3. *the foolishness of man perverteth his way, and his heart fretteth against Jehovah.* For such do in effect impugn the justice of God, however vehemently they may disclaim the intention;[1] and might justly be reproved in the words of the heathen Homer:

Αὐτῶν γὰρ σφετέρῃσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὄλοντο. *Odyss.* I. 7.

. . . . they perish'd self-destroy'd
By their own fault. Book I. l. 9.

[1] . . . . . to themselves
All glory arrogate, to God give none;
Rather accuse him under usual names,
Fortune and fate, as one regardless quite
Of mortal things. *Paradise Regained,* IV. 314.

On which passage Dunster quotes the second of the passages from the Odyssey with which Milton himself concludes this chapter.

And again, in the person of Jupiter:

Ὢ πόποι, οἷον δή νυ θεοὺς βροτοὶ αἰτιόωνται!
ἐξ ἡμέων γάρ φασι κάκ' ἔμμεναι· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ
σφῇσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν, ὑπὲρ μόρον, ἄλγε' ἔχουσιν. *Odyss.* I. 32.

Perverse mankind! whose wills, created free,
Charge all their woes on absolute decree:
All to the dooming gods their guilt translate,
And follies are miscall'd the crimes of fate.

Book I. l. 40. Pope's Translation.

CHAP. V.

Prefatory Remarks.

I cannot enter upon subjects of so much difficulty as the Son of God and the Holy Spirit, without again premising a few introductory words. If indeed I were a member of the Church of Rome, which requires implicit obedience to its creed on all points of faith, I should have acquiesced from education or habit in its simple decree and authority, even though it denies that the doctrine of the Trinity, as now received, is capable of being proved from any passage of Scripture.[2] But since I enrol myself among the number of those who acknowledge the word of God alone as the rule of faith, and freely advance what appears to me much more clearly deducible from the Holy Scriptures than the commonly received opinion, I see no reason why any one who belongs to the same Protestant or Reformed Church, and professes to acknowledge the same rule of faith as myself, should take offence at my freedom, particularly as I impose my authority on no one, but merely propose what I think more worthy of belief than the creed in general acceptation. I only entreat that my readers will ponder and examine my statements in a

[2] 'But I would show you that divers ways the Doctors of your Church do the principal and proper work of the Socinians for them, undermining the doctrine of the Trinity, by denying it to be supported by those pillars of the faith, which alone are fit and able to support it, I mean Scripture, and the consent of the ancient Doctors. For Scripture, your men deny very plainly and frequently that this doctrine can be proved by it. See if you please this plainly taught, and urged very earnestly by Cardinal Hosius, *De Auctor. Sacr.* lib. iii. p. 53. by Gordonius Huntlæus, Tom. I. Controv. 1. *De Verbo Dei,* lib. x. by Gretserus and Tannerus, *in Colloquio Ratisbon.* and also by Vega, Possevin, Wickus, and others.' Chillingworth's Preface to the Author of *Charity Maintained,* a work published in 1630 by Matthias Wilson, a Jesuit, under the name of Edward Knott. 'Longe ergo sincerius facerent, et prout ingenuos disputatores decet, si cum Pontificiis faterentur istam distinctionem ex Scriptura non posse probari, sed tantum ex traditione.' Curcellæi *Dissertatio Prima de vocibus Trinitatis,* &c. 38. See also the passages quoted by Curcellæus from writers of the Romish Church.

spirit which desires to discover nothing but the truth, and with a mind free from prejudice. For without intending to oppose the authority of Scripture, which I consider inviolably sacred, I only take upon myself to refute human interpretations as often as the occasion requires, conformably to my right, or rather to my duty as a man. If indeed those with whom I have to contend were able to produce direct attestation from heaven to the truth of the doctrine which they espouse, it would be nothing less than impiety to venture to raise, I do not say a clamour, but so much as a murmur against it. But inasmuch as they can lay claim to nothing more than human powers, assisted by that spiritual illumination which is common to all,[3] it is not unreasonable that they should on their part allow the privileges of diligent research and free discussion to another inquirer, who is seeking truth through the same means and in the same way as themselves,[4] and whose desire of benefiting mankind is equal to their own.

In reliance, therefore, upon the divine assistance, let us now enter upon the subject itself.[5]

Of the Son of God.

Hitherto I have considered the INTERNAL EFFICIENCY of God, as shown in his decrees.

His EXTERNAL EFFICIENCY, or the execution of his decrees, whereby he carries into effect by external agency whatever decrees he has purposed within himself, may be comprised under the heads of GENERATION, CREATION, and the GOVERNMENT OF THE UNIVERSE.

[3] The Spirit of God, promis'd alike and given
To all believers. *Paradise Lost,* XII. 519.

[4] The sentence is thus written in the original—quid est æquius quam ut permittant alteri *eandem* atque ipsi ratione ac via veritatem indaganti—probably an error for *eadem.*

[5] 'Which, imploring divine assistance, that it may redound to his glory, and the good of the British nation, I now begin.' *History of Britain,* B. I. Prose Works, IV. 3.

First, GENERATION, whereby God, in pursuance of his decree, has begotten his only Son; whence he chiefly derives his appellation of Father.

Generation must be an external efficiency, since the Father and Son are different persons; and the divines themselves acknowledge this, who argue that there is a certain emanation of the Son from the Father (which will be explained when the doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit is under examination); for though they teach that the Spirit is co-essential with the Father, they do not deny that it emanates, and goes out, and proceeds, and is breathed from the Father,—which are all expressions denoting external efficiency. In conjunction with this doctrine they hold that the Son is also co-essential with the Father, and generated from all eternity. Hence this question, which is naturally very obscure, becomes involved in still greater difficulties if the received opinion respecting it be followed; for though the Father be said in Scripture to have begotten the Son in a double sense, the one literal, with reference to the production of the Son, the other metaphorical, with reference to his exaltation, many commentators have applied the passages which allude to the exaltation and mediatorial functions of Christ as proofs of his generation from all eternity. They have indeed this excuse for their proceeding, if any excuse can be offered in such a case, that it was impossible to find a single text in all Scripture to prove the eternal generation of the Son. This point appears certain, notwithstanding the arguments of some of the moderns to the contrary, that the Son existed in the beginning, under the name of the logos or word, and was the first of the whole creation,[6] by whom afterwards all other things were made both in heaven and earth.

[6] Thee next they sang of all creation first,
Begotten Son, divine Similitude,
In whose conspicuous countenance, without cloud
Made visible, the Almighty Father shines,
Whom else no creature can behold; on thee
Impress'd, the effulgence of his glory abides,
Transfus'd on thee his ample Spirit rests. *Paradise Lost*, III. 383.

John i. 1—3. *in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God,* &c. xvii. 5. *and now, O Father, glorify me with thine own self with the glory which I had with thee before the world was.* Col. i. 15, 18. *the first-born of every creature.* Rev. iii. 14. *the beginning of the creation of God.* 1 Cor. viii. 6. *Jesus Christ, by whom are all things.* Eph. iii. 9. *who created all things by Jesus Christ.* Col. i. 16. *all things were created by him and for him.* Heb. i. 2. *by whom also he made the worlds,* whence it is said, v. 10, *thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth;* on which point more will be said in the seventh Chapter, on the Creation.

All these passages prove the existence of the Son before the world was made, but they conclude nothing respecting his generation from all eternity. The other texts which are produced relate only to his metaphorical generation, that is, to his resuscitation from the dead, or to his unction to the mediatorial office, according to St. Paul's own interpretation of the second Psalm: *I will declare the decree; Jehovah hath said unto me, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee*—[7] which the apostle thus explains, Acts xiii. 32, 33. *God hath fulfilled the promise unto us their children, in that he hath raised up Jesus again; as it is also written in the second Psalm, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee.* Rom. i. 4. *declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead.* Hence, Col. i. 18. Rev. i. 4. *the first begotten of the dead.* Heb. i. 5, speaking of the exaltation of the Son above the angels; *for unto which of the angels said he at any time, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee? and again, I will be to him a Father, and he shall be to me a Son.* Again, v. 5, 6, with reference to the priesthood of Christ; *so also Christ glorified not himself to be made an High Priest, but he that said unto him,*

[7] Hear my decree, which unrevok'd shall stand;
This day have I begot whom I declare
My only Son, and on this holy hill
Him have anointed, whom ye now behold
At my right hand. *Paradise Lost,* V. 603.

Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee: as he saith also in another place, Thou art a priest for ever, &c. Further, it will be apparent from the second Psalm, that God has begotten the Son, that is, has made him a king: v. 6. *yet have I set my King upon my holy hill of Sion;* and then in the next verse, after having anointed his King, whence the name of *Christ* is derived, he says, *this day have I begotten thee.*[8] Heb. i. 4, 5. *being made so much better than the angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they.* No other name can be intended but that of Son, as the following verse proves: *for unto which of the angels said he at any time, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee?* The Son also declares the same of himself. John x. 35, 36. *say ye of Him whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest, because I said, I am the Son of God?* By a similar figure of speech, though in a much lower sense, the saints are also said to be begotten of God.[9]

It is evident however upon a careful comparison and examination of all these passages, and particularly from the whole of the second Psalm, that however the generation of the Son may have taken place,

[8] ..... Into thee such virtue and grace
Immense I have transfus'd, that all may know
In heaven and hell thy power without compare;
And this perverse commotion govern'd thus,
To manifest thee worthiest to be heir
Of all things; to be heir, and to be king
By sacred unction, thy deserved right. *Paradise Lost,* VI. 703.

[9] Thenceforth I thought thee worth my nearer view
And narrower scrutiny, that I might learn
In what degree or meaning thou art call'd
The Son of God; which bears no single sense:
The Son of God I also am, or was;
And if I was, I am; relation stands:
All men are Sons of God; yet thee I thought
In some respect far higher so declar'd. *Paradise Regained,* IV. 514.

"The people of God, redeemed and washed with Christ's blood, and dignified with so many glorious titles of saints, and sons in the gospel." *Of Reformation in England.* Prose Works, I. 14.

it arose from no natural necessity, as is generally contended, but was no less owing to the decree and will of the Father than his priesthood or kingly power, or his resuscitation from the dead. Nor does this form any objection to his bearing the title of begotten, in whatever sense that expression is to be understood, or of God's *own Son*, Rom. viii. 32. For he is called the own Son of God merely because he had no other Father besides God, whence he himself said, that *God was his Father*, John v. 18. For to Adam God stood less in the relation of Father, than of Creator, having only formed him from the dust of the earth; whereas he was properly the Father of the Son made of his own substance. Yet it does not follow from hence that the Son is co-essential with the Father, for then the title of Son would be least of all applicable to him, since he who is properly the Son is not coeval with the Father, much less of the same numerical essence, otherwise the Father and the Son would be one person; nor did the Father beget him from any natural necessity, but of his own free will,[1]—a mode more perfect and more agreeable to the paternal dignity; particularly since the Father is God, all whose works, as has been already proved from Scripture, are executed freely according to his own good pleasure, and consequently the work of generation.

For questionless, it was in God's power consistently with the perfection of his own essence not to have begotten the Son, inasmuch as generation does not pertain to the nature of the Deity, who stands in no need of propagation;[2] but whatever does not pertain to his own

[1] Milton puts the same distinction into the mouth of Adam, speaking after his fall of the relation in which his sons stood to him:

> ..... what if thy son
> Prove disobedient, and reprov'd retort,
> "Wherefore didst thou beget me? I sought it not:"
> Would'st thou admit for his contempt of thee
> That proud excuse? yet him not thy election,
> But natural necessity begot. *Paradise Lost*, X. 760.

[2] > ..... No need that thou
> Should'st propagate, already infinite,
> And through all numbers absolute, though one. VIII. 419.

essence or nature, he does not effect like a natural agent from any physical necessity. If the generation of the Son proceeded from a physical necessity, the Father impaired himself by physically begetting a co-equal; which God could no more do than he could deny himself; therefore the generation of the Son cannot have proceeded otherwise than from a decree, and of the Father's own free will.

Thus the Son was begotten of the Father in consequence of his decree, and therefore within the limits of time, for the decree itself must have been anterior to the execution of the decree, as is sufficiently clear from the insertion of the word *to-day*. Nor can I discover on what passage of Scripture the assertors of the eternal generation of the Son ground their opinion, for the text in Micah v. 2. does not speak of his generation, but of his works, which are only said to have been wrought *from of old*. But this will be discussed more at large hereafter.

The Son is also called *only begotten*. John i. 14. *and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father*. v. 18. *the only begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father*. iii. 16, 18. *he gave his only begotten Son*. 1 John iv. 9. *God sent his only begotten Son*. Yet he is not called essentially one with the Father, inasmuch as he was visible to sight, and given by the Father, by whom also he was sent, and from whom he proceeded; but he enjoys the title of only begotten by way of superiority, as distinguished from many others who are also said to have been born of God. John i. 13. *which were born of God*. 1 John iii. 9. *whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin*. James i. 18. *of his own will begat he us with the word of truth*. 1 John v. 1. *whosoever believeth*, &c. *is born of God*. 1 Pet. i. 3. *which according to his abundant mercy hath begotten us again unto a lively hope*. But since throughout the Scriptures the Son is never said to be begotten, except, as above, in a metaphorical sense, it seems probable that he is called *only begotten* principally because he is the one mediator between God and man.

So also the Son is called the *first born.* Rom. viii. 29. *that he might be the first born among many brethren.* Col. i. 15. *the first born of every creature.* v. 18. *the first born from the dead.* Heb. i. 6. *when he bringeth in the first begotten into the world.* Rev. iii. 14. *the beginning of the creation of God,*—all which passages preclude the idea of his co-essentiality with the Father, and of his generation from all eternity. Thus it is said of Israel, Exod. iv. 22. *thus saith Jehovah, Israel is my son, even my first born;* and of Ephraim, Jer. xxxi. 9. *Ephraim is my first born;* and of all the saints, Heb. xii. 23. *to the general assembly of the first born.*

Hitherto only the metaphorical generation of Christ has been considered; but since to generate another who had no previous existence, is to give him being, and that if God generate by a physical necessity, he can generate nothing but a co-equal Deity, which would be inconsistent with self-existence, an essential attribute of Divinity; (so that according to the one hypothesis there would be two infinite Gods, or according to the other the *first* or *efficient cause* would become the *effect,* which no man in his senses will admit) it becomes necessary to inquire how or in what sense God the Father can have begotten the Son. This point also will be easily explained by reference to Scripture. For when the Son is said to be *the first born of every creature,* and *the beginning of the creation of God,* nothing can be more evident than that God of his own will created, or generated, or produced the Son before all things, endued with the divine nature, as in the fulness of time he miraculously begat him in his human nature of the Virgin Mary. The generation of the divine nature is described by no one with more sublimity and copiousness than by the apostle to the Hebrews, i. 2, 3. *whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds; who being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person,* &c. It must be understood from this, that God imparted to the Son as much as he pleased of the divine nature, nay of the divine substance itself, care being taken not to confound the substance with the whole essence, which would imply, that the Father had given to the Son what he retained numerically the same himself; which would be

a contradiction of terms instead of a mode of generation. This is the whole that is revealed concerning the generation of the Son of God. Whoever wishes to be wiser than this, becomes foiled in his pursuit after wisdom, entangled in the deceitfulness of vain philosophy, or rather of sophistry, and involved in darkness.

Since, however, Christ not only bears the name of the only begotten Son of God, but is also several times called in Scripture God, notwithstanding the universal doctrine that there is but one God, it appeared to many, who had no mean opinion of their own acuteness, that there was an inconsistency in this; which gave rise to an hypothesis no less strange than repugnant to reason, namely, that the Son, although personally and numerically another, was yet essentially one with the Father, and that thus the unity of God was preserved.

But unless the terms unity and duality be signs of the same ideas to God which they represent to men, it would have been to no purpose that God had so repeatedly inculcated that first commandment, that he was the one and only God, if another could be said to exist besides, who also himself ought to be believed in as the one God. Unity and duality cannot consist of one and the same essence. God is one ens, not two; one essence and one subsistence, which is nothing but a substantial essence, appertain to one ens; if two subsistences or two persons be assigned to one essence, it involves a contradiction of terms, by representing the essence as at once simple and compound. If one divine essence be common to two persons, that essence or divinity will either be in the relation of a whole to its several parts, or of a genus to its several species, or lastly of a common subject to its accidents. If none of these alternatives be conceded, there is no mode of escaping from the absurd consequences that follow, such as that one essence may be the third part of two or more.

There would have been no occasion for the supporters of these opinions to have offered such violence to reason, nay even to so much plain

scriptural evidence, if they had duly considered God's own words addressed to kings and princes,[3] Psal. lxxxii. 6. *I have said, Ye are gods, and all of you are children of the Most High;* or those of Christ himself, John x. 35. *if he called them Gods, unto whom the word of God came, and the Scripture cannot be broken—;* or those of St. Paul, 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6. *for though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or earth, (for there be gods many and lords many,) but to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things,* &c. or lastly of St. Peter, ii. 1, 4. *that by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature,* which implies much more than the title of gods in the sense in which that title is applied to kings; though no one would conclude from this expression that the saints were co-essential with God.

Let us then discard reason in sacred matters, and follow the doctrine of Holy Scripture exclusively.[4] Accordingly, no one need expect that I should here premise a long metaphysical discussion, and introduce all that commonly received drama of the personalities in the Godhead: since it is most evident, in the first place, from numberless passages of Scripture, that there is in reality but one true independent and supreme God;[5] and as he is called one, (inasmuch as human reason and the common language of mankind, and the Jews, the people of God, have always considered him as one person only, that is, one in a numerical sense) let us have recourse to the sacred writings in order to know who this one true and supreme God is. This knowledge ought to be derived in the first instance from the gospel, since the clearest doctrine respecting the one God must necessarily be that

[3] ..... for glory done
Of triumph, to be styl'd great conquerors,
Patrons of mankind, gods, and sons of gods. *Paradise Lost,* XI. 696.

[4] Down, reason, then; at least vain reasonings, down. *Samson Agonistes,* 322.

[5] Seem I to thee sufficiently possess'd
Of happiness or not? who am alone
From all eternity; for none I know
Second to me or like, equal much less. *Paradise Lost,* VIII. 404.

copious and explanatory revelation concerning him which was delivered by Christ himself to his apostles, and by the apostles to their followers. Nor is it to be supposed that the gospel would be ambiguous or obscure on this subject; for it was not given for the purpose of promulgating new and incredible doctrines respecting the nature of God, hitherto utterly unheard of by his own people, but to announce salvation to the Gentiles through Messiah the Son of God, according to the promise of the God of Abraham. *No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him,* John i. 18. Let us therefore consult the Son in the first place respecting God.

According to the testimony of the Son, delivered in the clearest terms, the Father is that one true God, by whom are all things. Being asked by one of the scribes, Mark xii. 28, 29, 32. which was the first commandment of all, he answered from Deut. vi. 4. *the first of all the commandments is, Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord;* or as it is in the Hebrew, *Jehovah our God is one Jehovah.* The scribe assented; *there is one God, and there is none other one but he;* and in the following verse Christ expresses his approbation of this answer. Nothing can be more clear than that it was the opinion of the scribe, as well as of the other Jews, that by the unity of God is intended his oneness of person. That this God was no other than God the Father, is proved from John viii. 41, 54. *we have one Father, even God. It is my Father that honoureth me; of whom ye say that he is your God.* iv. 21. *neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, shall ye worship the Father.* Christ therefore agrees with the whole people of God, that the Father is that one and only God. For who can believe that the very first of the commandments would have been so obscure, and so ill understood by the Church through such a succession of ages, that two other persons, equally entitled to worship, should have remained wholly unknown to the people of God, and debarred of divine honours even to that very day? especially as God, where he is teaching his own people respecting the nature of their worship under the gospel, forewarns them that they would have for their God the one

Jehovah whom they had always served, and David, that is, Christ, for their King and Lord. Jer. xxx. 9. *they shall serve Jehovah their God, and David their King, whom I will raise up unto them.* In this passage Christ, such as God willed that he should be known or served by his people under the gospel, is expressly distinguished from the one God Jehovah, both by nature and title. Christ himself therefore, the Son of God, teaches us nothing in the gospel respecting the one God but what the law had before taught, and everywhere clearly asserts him to be his Father. John xvii. 3. *this is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.* xx. 17. *I ascend unto my Father and your Father; and to my God and your God:* if therefore the Father be the God of Christ, and the same be our God, and if there be none other God but one, there can be no God beside the Father.

Paul, the apostle and interpreter of Christ, teaches the same in so clear and perspicuous a manner, that one might almost imagine the inculcation of this truth to have been his sole object. No teacher of catechumens in the Church could have spoken more plainly and expressly of the one God, according to the sense in which the universal consent of mankind has agreed to understand unity of number. 1 Cor. viii. 4—6. *we know that an idol is nothing in the world, and that there is none other God but one: for though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, (as there be gods many and lords many), but to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him.* Here the expression *there is none other God but one* excludes not only all other essences, but all other persons whatever; for it is expressly said in the sixth verse, that *the Father is that one God;* wherefore there is no other person but one; at least in that sense which is intended by divines, when they argue from John xiv. 16. that there is another God, for the sake of asserting the personality of the Holy Spirit. Again, to those *who are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, God the Father of whom are all things* is opposed singly; he who is numerically *one God,* to *many gods.* Though the Son be another God, yet in this passage

he is called merely *Lord;* he *of whom are all things* is clearly distinguished from him *by whom are all things,* and if a difference of causation prove a difference of essence, he is distinguished also in essence. Besides, since a numerical difference originates in difference of essence, those who are two numerically, must be also two essentially.[6] There is *one Lord,* namely he whom *God the Father hath made,* Acts ii. 36. much more therefore is the Father Lord, who made him, though he be not here called Lord. For he who calls the Father *one God,* also calls him one Lord above all, as Psal. cx. 1. *the Lord said unto my Lord,*—a passage which will be more fully discussed hereafter. He who calls Jesus Christ *one Lord,* does not call him one God, for this reason among others, that *God the Father hath made him both Lord and Christ,* Acts ii. 36. Elsewhere therefore he calls the Father both God and Lord of him whom he here calls *one Lord Jesus Christ.* Eph. i. 17. *the God of our Lord Jesus Christ.* 1 Cor. xi. 3. *the head of Christ is God.* xv. 28. *the Son also himself shall be subject unto him.* If in truth the Father be called *the Father of Christ,* if he be called *the God of Christ,* if he be called *the head of Christ,* if he be called the God to whom Christ described as the Lord, nay, even as *the Son himself, is subject, and shall be subjected,* why should not the Father be also the Lord of the same Lord Christ, and the God of the same God Christ; since Christ must also be God in the same relative manner that he is Lord and Son? Lastly, the Father is he *of whom,* and *from whom,* and *by whom,* and *for whom are all things;* Rom. xi. 36. Heb. ii. 10. The Son is not he *of whom,* but only *by whom;* and that not without an exception, *all things,* namely, *which*

[6] 'Res etiam singulæ, sive individua, quæ vulgo vocant, singulas sibique proprias formas habent; differunt quippe numero inter se, quod nemo non fatetur. Quid autem est aliud numero inter se, nisi singulis formis differre? Numerus enim, ut recte Scaliger, est affectio essentiam consequens. Quæ igitur numero, essentia quoque differunt; et nequaquam numero, nisi essentia, differrent. Evigilent hic theologi. Quod si quæcunque numero, essentia quoque differunt, nec tamen materia, necesse est formis inter se differant; non autem communibus, ergo propriis.' *Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio.* Prose Works, VI. 214. The hint thrown out to the theologians in this passage is very remarkable; but I am not aware that it has ever been noticed as affording a clew to the opinion of Milton on the important subject alluded to, which could scarcely have been expected to be found in a treatise on Logick.

were made, John i. 3. *all things, except him which did put all things under him,* 1 Cor. xv. 27. It is evident therefore that when it is said *all things were by him,* it must be understood of a secondary and delegated power; and that when the particle *by* is used in reference to the Father, it denotes the primary cause, as John vi. 57. *I live by the Father;* when in reference to the Son, the secondary and instrumental cause: which will be explained more clearly on a future occasion.

Again, Eph. iv. 4—6. *there is one body and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all.* Here there is one Spirit, and one Lord; but the Father is one, and therefore God is one in the same sense as the remaining objects of which unity is predicated, that is, numerically one, and therefore one also in person. 1 Tim. ii. 5. *there is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.* Here the mediator, though not purely human, is purposely named man, by the title derived from his inferior nature, lest he should be thought equal to the Father, or the same God, whereas the argument distinctly and expressly refers to one God. Besides, it cannot be explained how any one can be a mediator to himself on his own behalf; according to Gal. iii. 20. *a mediator is not a mediator of one, but God is one.* How then can God be a mediator of God? Not to mention that he himself uniformly testifies of himself, John viii. 28. *I do nothing of myself,* and v. 42. *neither came I of myself.* Undoubtedly therefore he does not act as a mediator to himself; nor return as a mediator to himself. Rom. v. 10. *we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son.* To whatever God we were reconciled, if he be one God, he cannot be the God by whom we are reconciled, inasmuch as that God is another person; for if he be one and the same, he must be a mediator between himself and us, and reconcile us to himself by himself; which is an insurmountable difficulty.

Though all this be so self-evident as to require no explanation,—namely, that the Father alone is a self-existent God, and that a being

which is not self-existent cannot be God,—it is wonderful with what futile subtleties, or rather with what juggling artifices, certain individuals have endeavoured to elude or obscure the plain meaning of these passages; leaving no stone unturned, recurring to every shift, attempting every means, as if their object were not to preach the pure and unadulterated truth of the gospel to the poor and simple, but rather by dint of vehemence and obstinacy to sustain some absurd paradox from falling, by the treacherous aid of sophisms and verbal distinctions, borrowed from the barbarous ignorance of the schools.

They defend their conduct, however, on the ground, that though these opinions may seem inconsistent with reason, they are to be held for the sake of other passages of Scripture, and that otherwise Scripture will not be consistent with itself. Setting aside reason therefore, let us have recourse again to the language of Scripture.

The passages in question are two only. The first is John x. 30. *I and my Father are one*,—that is, one in essence, as it is commonly interpreted. But God forbid that we should decide rashly on any point relative to the Deity. Two things may be called one in more than one way. Scripture saith, and the Son saith, *I and my Father are one*,—I bow to their authority. Certain commentators conjecture that they are one in essence,—I reject what is merely man's invention. For the Son has not left us to conjecture in what manner he is one with the Father, (whatever member of the Church may have first arrogated to himself the merit of the discovery,) but explains the doctrine himself most fully, so far as we are concerned to know it. The Father and the Son are one, not indeed in essence, for he had himself said the contrary in the preceding verse, *my Father, which gave them me, is greater than all*, (see also xiv. 28. *my Father is greater than I*,) and in the following verses he distinctly denies that he made himself God in saying, *I and my Father are one;* he insists that he had only said as follows, which implies far less, v. 36. *say ye of him whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest; because I said,*

I am the Son of God? This must be spoken of two persons not only not co-essential, but not co-equal. Now if the Son be laying down a doctrine respecting the unity of the divine essence in two persons of the Trinity, how is it that he does not rather attribute the same unity of essence to the three persons? Why does he divide the indivisible Trinity? For there cannot be unity without totality. Therefore, on the authority of the opinions holden by my opponents themselves, the Son and the Father without the Spirit are not one in essence. How then are they one? It is the province of Christ alone to acquaint us with this, and accordingly he does acquaint us with it. In the first place, they are one, inasmuch as they speak and act with unanimity; and so he explains himself in the same chapter, after the Jews had misunderstood his saying: x. 38. *believe the works; that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him.* xiv. 10. *believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me? the words that I speak unto you, I speak not of myself, but the Father that dwelleth in me, he doeth the works.* Here he evidently distinguishes the Father from himself in his whole capacity, but asserts at the same time that the Father remains in him; which does not denote unity of essence, but only intimacy of communion. Secondly, he declares himself to be one with the Father in the same manner as we are one with him,—that is, not in essence, but in love, in communion, in agreement, in charity, in spirit, in glory. John xiv. 20, 21. *at that day ye shall know that I am in the Father, and ye in me, and I in you: he that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me; and he that loveth me, shall be loved of my Father.* xvii. 21. *that they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee; that they also may be one in us.* v. 23. *I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one, and that the world may know that thou hast sent me, and hast loved them as thou hast loved me.* v. 22. *the glory which thou gavest me I have given them, that they may be one, even as we are one.* When the Son has shown in so many modes how he and the Father are one, why should I set them all aside? why should I, on the strength of my own reasoning, though in opposition to reason itself, devise another mode, which makes them

one in essence; or why, if already devised by some other person, adopt it, in preference to Christ's own mode? If it be proposed on the single authority of the Church, the true doctrine of the orthodox Church herself teaches me otherwise; inasmuch as it instructs me to listen to the words of Christ before all other.[7]

The other passage, and which according to the general opinion affords the clearest foundation for the received doctrine of the essential unity of the three persons, is 1 John v. 7. *there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one.* But not to mention that this verse is wanting in the Syriac[8] and the other two Oriental versions, the Arabic and the Ethiopic, as well as in the greater part of the ancient Greek manuscripts, and that in those manuscripts which actually contain it many various readings occur, it no more necessarily proves those to be essentially one, who are said to be one in heaven, than it proves those to be essentially one, who are said to be one on earth in the following verse. And not only Erasmus, but even Beza, however unwillingly, acknowledged (as may be seen in their own writings)[9] that if John be really the author

[7] 'The best of those that then wrote (in the first ages of Christianity) disclaim that any man should repose on them, and send all to the Scriptures.' *Of Reformation in England.* Prose Works, I. 11.

[8] This is true of the manuscripts of the old Syriac version, but the *printed* editions of the Syriac as well as of the Armenian versions contain the disputed clause. See Bishop Marsh's *Letters to Archdeacon Travis.* Preface, Notes 8, 9, 10, 11. With respect to the Greek manuscripts Milton expresses himself cautiously. It now appears that the clause is not found in any Greek manuscript written before the sixteenth century, which has been yet collated. For an elaborate account of the arguments for and against its authenticity, see Horne's *Introduction,* &c. Part II. Chap. iv. Sect. 5. §. 6. where references are given to the principal authorities.

[9] 'Annon illico poterunt tergiversari, de consensu dictum esse, non de eadem essentia?..... Nihil autem æque confirmat auctoritatem testimonii ut consensus. Itaque consentiunt in terra Spiritus, aqua et sanguis. An hæc tria sunt unum, sicut Pater, Filius et Spiritus Sanctus unum sunt? Nemo dicit, opinor, sed testimonii consensu sunt unum; ita Pater, Verbum et Spiritus Sanctus sunt unum.' Erasmi *Responsio ad Notationes novas Ed. Leid.* Tom. IX. p. 278. Edit. Lug. Bat. 1703. '*Et hi tres unum sunt:* id est, ita prorsus consentiunt ac si unus testis essent; uti re vera unum sunt si οὐσίαν spectes; sed de illa (ut mihi quidem videtur) non agitur hoc in loco.' Beza in loc.

of the verse, he is only speaking here, as in the last quoted passage, of an unity of agreement and testimony. Besides, who are the three who are said to bear witness? That they are three Gods, will not be admitted; therefore neither is it the one God, but one record or one testimony of three witnesses, which is implied. But he who is not co-essential with God the Father, cannot be co-equal with the Father. This text however will be discussed more at large in the following chapter.

But, it is objected, although Scripture does not say in express words that the Father and the Son are one in essence, yet reason proves the truth of the doctrine from these, as well as from other passages of Scripture.

In the first place, granting, (which I am far from doing,) that this is the case, yet on a subject so sublime, and so far above our reason, where the very elements and first postulates, as it were, of our faith are concerned, belief must be founded, not on mere reason, but on the word of God exclusively, where the language of the revelation is most clear and particular. Reason itself, however, protests strongly against the doctrine in question; for how can reason establish (as it must in the present case) a position contrary to reason? Undoubtedly the product of reason must be something consistent with reason, not a notion as absurd as it is removed from all human comprehension. Hence we conclude, that this opinion is agreeable neither to Scripture nor reason. The other alternative therefore must be adopted, namely, that if God be one God, and that one God be the Father, and if notwithstanding the Son be also called God, the Son must have received the name and nature of Deity from God the Father, in conformity with his decree and will, after the manner stated before. This doctrine is not disproved by reason, and Scripture teaches it in innumerable passages.

But those who insist that the Son is one God with the Father, consider their point as susceptible of ample proof, even without the two texts already examined, (on which indeed some admit that no reliance is to be placed) if it can be demonstrated from a sufficient number of Scripture testimonies

that the name and attributes and works of God, as well as divine honours, are habitually ascribed to the Son. To proceed therefore in the same line of argument, I do not ask them to believe that the Father alone and none else is God, unless I shall have proved, first, that in every passage each of the particulars abovementioned is attributed in express terms only to one God the Father, as well by the Son himself as by his apostles. Secondly, that wherever they are attributed to the Son, it is in such a manner that they are easily understood to be attributable in their original and proper sense to the Father alone; and that the Son acknowledges himself to possess whatever share of Deity is assigned to him, by virtue of the peculiar gift and kindness of the Father; to which the apostles also bear their testimony. And lastly, that the Son himself and his apostles acknowledge throughout the whole of their discourses and writings, that the Father is greater than the Son in all things.

I am aware of the answer which will be here made by those who, while they believe in the unity of God, yet maintain that the Father alone is not God. I shall therefore meet their objection in the outset, lest they should raise a difficulty and outcry at each individual passage. They twice beg the question, or rather request us to make two gratuitous concessions. In the first place, they insist, that wherever the name of God is attributed to the Father alone, it should be understood οὐσιωδῶς, not ὑποστατικῶς, that is to say, that the name of the Father, who is unity, should be understood to signify the three persons, or the whole essence of the Trinity, not the single person of the Father. This is on many accounts a ridiculous distinction, and invented solely for the purpose of supporting their peculiar opinion; although in reality, instead of supporting it, it will be found to be dependent on it, and therefore if the opinion itself be invalidated, for which purpose a simple denial is sufficient, the futile distinction falls to the ground at the same time. For the fact is, not merely that the distinction is a futile one, but that it is no distinction at all; it is a mere verbal quibble, founded on the use of synonymous words, and cunningly dressed up in terms borrowed from the Greek to dazzle the eyes of novices. For since *essence*

and *hypostasis* mean the same thing, as has been shown in the second Chapter, it follows that there can be no real difference of meaning between the adverbs *essentially* and *substantially*, which are derived from them. If then the name of God be attributed to the Father alone *essentially*, it must also be attributed to the Father alone *substantially*; since one substantial essence means nothing else than one hypostasis, and vice versa. I would therefore ask my adversaries, whether they hold the Father to be an abstract ens or not? Questionless they will reply, the primary ens of all. I answer, therefore, that as he has one hypostasis, so must he have one essence proper to himself, incommunicable in the highest degree, and participated by no one, that is, by no person besides, for he cannot have his own proper hypostasis, without having his own proper essence. For it is impossible for any ens to retain its own essence in common with any other thing whatever, since by this essence it is what it is,[1] and is numerically distinguished from all others. If therefore the Son, who has his own proper hypostasis, have not also his own proper essence, but the essence of the Father, he becomes on their hypothesis either no ens at all, or the same ens with the Father; which strikes at the very foundation of the Christian religion. The answer which is commonly made, is ridiculous—namely, that although one finite essence can pertain to one person only, one infinite essence may pertain to a plurality of persons; whereas in reality the infinitude of the essence affords an additional reason why it can pertain to only one person. All acknowledge that both the essence and the person of the Father are infinite; therefore the essence of the Father cannot be communicated to another person, for otherwise there might be two, or any imaginable number of infinite persons.

The second postulate is, that wherever the Son attributes Deity to the Father alone, and as to one greater than himself, he must be understood to speak in his human character, or as mediator. Wherever the context and the fact itself require this interpretation, I shall readily concede it, without losing anything by the concession; for however strongly it may

[1] "The form, by which the thing is what it is, is oft so slender and undistinguishable," &c. &c. *Tetrachordon.* Prose Works, II. 140.

be contended, that when the Son attributes every thing to the Father alone, he speaks in his human or mediatorial capacity, it can never be inferred from hence that he is one God with the Father. On the other hand I shall not scruple to deny the proposition, whenever it is to be conceded not to the sense of the passage, but merely to serve their own theory; and shall prove that what the Son attributes to the Father, he attributes in his filial or even in his divine character to the Father as God of God, and not to himself under any title or pretence whatever.

With regard to the name of God, wherever simultaneous mention is made of the Father and the Son, that name is uniformly ascribed to the Father alone, except in such passages as shall be hereafter separately considered. I shall quote in the first place the texts of the former class, which are by far the more considerable in point of number, and form a large and compact body of proofs. John iii. 16. *so God loved the world, that he gave his own Son*, &c. vi. 27. *him hath God the Father sealed.* v. 29. *this is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent.* xiv. 1. *ye believe in God, believe also in me.* What is meant by believing in any one, will be explained hereafter; in the mean time it is clear that two distinct things are here intended—*in God* and *in me.* Thus all the apostles in conjunction, Acts iv. 24. *lifted up their voice to God with one accord, and said, Lord, thou art God which hast made heaven and earth ..... who by the mouth of thy servant David hast said, Why did the heathen rage.....against the Lord, and against his Christ?* Rom. viii. 3. *God sending his own Son.* 1 Thess. iii. 11. *now God himself, and our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, direct our way unto you.* Col. ii. 2. *to the acknowledgement of the mystery of God, and of the Father, and of Christ.*[2] iii. 3. *your life is hid with Christ in God.* 2 Tim. iv. 1. *I charge thee therefore before God and the Lord Jesus Christ.* 1 John iv. 9. *the love of God toward us, because that God sent his only begotten Son.* So also where Christ is named first in order. Gal. i. 1. *by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised him from the dead.* 2 Thess.

[2] Τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Gr. *of God, even of the Father, and of Christ.* Macknight's Translation. See also Hammond and Whitby on the passage.

ii. 16. *now our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and God, even our Father.* The same thing may be observed in the very outset of all the Epistles of St. Paul and of the other apostles, where, as is natural, it is their custom to declare in express and distinct terms who he is by whose divine authority they have been sent. Rom. i. 7, 8. 1 Cor. i. 1—3. 2 Cor. i. 1—3. and so throughout to the book of Revelations. See also Mark i. 1.

The Son likewise teaches that the attributes of divinity belong to the Father alone, to the exclusion even of himself. With regard to omniscience. Matt. xxiv. 36. *of that day and hour knoweth no man, no not the angels of heaven, but my Father only;* and still more explicitly, Mark xiii. 32. *not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.*

With regard to supreme dominion both in heaven and earth, the unlimited authority and full power of decreeing according to his own independant will.[3] Matt. vi. 13. *thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory for ever.* xviii. 35. *so likewise shall my heavenly Father do also unto you, if ye from your hearts forgive not,* &c.—xxvi. 29. *in my Father's kingdom.* xx. 23. *to sit on my right hand and on my left, is not mine to give, but it shall be given to them for whom it is prepared of my Father. It is not mine—,* in my mediatorial capacity, as it is commonly interpreted.[4] But questionless when the ambition of the mother and her two sons incited them to prefer this important petition, they addressed their petition to the entire nature of Christ, how exalted soever it might be, praying him to grant their request to the utmost extent of his power whether as God or man; v. 20. *worshipping him, and desiring a certain thing of him,* and v. 21. *grant that they may sit.* Christ also answers with reference to his whole nature—*it is not mine to give;* and lest for

[3] Father eternal, thine is to decree,
Mine, both in Heaven and Earth, to do thy will
Supreme. *Paradise Lost,* X. 68.

[4] See Poole's Synopsis in loco. But Whitby explains it as signifying only a perfect conformity to His Father's will, without implying any defect in His own power. He quotes in support of this interpretation Luke xxii. 29. Rev. iii. 21. 1 Cor. xii. 5.

some reason they might still fancy the gift belonged to him, he declares that it was altogether out of his province, and the exclusive privilege of the Father. If his reply was meant solely to refer to his mediatorial capacity, it would have bordered on sophistry, which God forbid that we should attribute to him; as if he were capable of evading the request of Salome and her sons by the quibble which the logicians call *expositio prava* or *æquivoca*, when the respondent answers in a sense or with a mental intention different from the meaning of the questioner. The same must be said of other passages of the same kind, where Christ speaks of himself; for after the hypostatical union of two natures in one person, it follows that whatever Christ says of himself, he says not as the possessor of either nature separately, but with reference to the whole of his character, and in his entire person, except where he himself makes a distinction. Those who divide this hypostatical union at their own discretion, strip the discourses and answers of Christ of all their sincerity; they represent every thing as ambiguous and uncertain, as true and false at the same time; it is not Christ that speaks, but some unknown substitute, sometimes one, and sometimes another; so that the words of Horace may be justly applied to such disputants:

Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo?[5]

Luke xxiii. 34. *Father, forgive them*, &c. John xiv. 2. *in my Father's house.* So also Christ himself says, Matt. xxvi. 39. *O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me; nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt.* Now it is manifest that those who have not the same will, cannot have the same essence. It appears however from many passages, that the Father and Son have not, in a numerical sense, the same intelligence or will. Matt. xxiv. 36. *no man knoweth.....but my Father only.* Mark xiii. 32. *neither the Son, but the Father.* John vi. 38. *I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me.* Those therefore whose understanding and will are not numerically the same, cannot have the same essence. Nor is there any mode of evad-

[5] 1 Ep. i. 90. He employs the same allusion in Paradise Lost:

..... call up unbound
In various shapes old Proteus from the sea. III. 603.

ing this conclusion, inasmuch as the Son himself has thus expressed himself even with regard to his own divine nature. See also Matt. xxvi. 42. and v. 53. *thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels?* Mark xiv. 36. *Abba, Father, all things are possible unto thee; take away this cup from me,* &c. Luke xxii. 29. *I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me.* xxiii. 46. *Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit.* John xii. 27. *Father, save me from this hour.* If these prayers be uttered only in his human capacity, which is the common solution, why does he petition these things from the Father alone instead of from himself, if he were God? Or rather, supposing him to be at once man and the supreme God, why does he ask at all for what was in his own power?[6] What need was there for the union of the divine and human nature in one person, if he himself, being equal to the Father, gave back again into his hands every thing that he had received from him?

With regard to his supreme goodness. Matt. xix. 17. *why callest thou me good? there is none good but one, that is, God.* We need not be surprised that Christ should refuse to accept the adulatory titles which were wont to be given to the Pharisees, and on this account should receive the young man with less kindness than usual; but when he says, *there is none good but one, that is, God,* it is evident that he did not choose to be considered essentially the same with that one God; for otherwise this would only have been disclaiming the credit of goodness in one character, for the purpose of assuming it in another. John vi. 32. *my Father giveth you the true bread from heaven.* v. 65. *no man can come unto me*—that is, to me, both God and man—*except it were given unto him of my Father.*

With regard to his supreme glory. Matt. xviii. 10. *their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.* John xvii. 4. *I have glorified thee on the earth.* Nay, it is to those who obey the Father that the promise of true wisdom is made even with regard to

[6] ...What he brings what needs he elsewhere seek? *Paradise Regained,* IV. 325.

the knowing Christ himself, which is the very point now in question. John vii. 17, 18. *if any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself: he that speaketh of himself seeketh his own glory; but he that seeketh his glory that sent him, the same is true, and no unrighteousness is in him.* xv. 8. *herein is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit; so shall ye be my disciples.* Matt. vii. 21. *not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father that is in heaven.* xii. 50. *whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother.*

Thus Christ assigns every attribute of the Deity to the Father alone. The apostles uniformly speak in a similar manner. Rom. xv. 5, 6. *the God of patience and consolation grant you to be like minded one toward another, according to Christ Jesus.* xvi. 25—27. *to him that is of power to stablish you.....according to the commandment of the everlasting God.....to God only wise, be glory through Jesus Christ—our Lord,* as the Vetus Interpres and some of the Greek manuscripts read it. 1 Tim. vi. 13—16. *I give thee charge in the sight of God, who quickeneth all things, and before Christ Jesus, who witnessed a good confession.....until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, which in his times he shall show, who is the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings and Lord of lords; who alone hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto, whom no man hath seen, nor can see; to whom be honour and power everlasting. Amen.*

With regard to his works. See Rom. xvi. 25—27. 1 Tim. vi. 13—16. as quoted above. 2 Cor. i. 21, 22. *now he which stablisheth us with you in Christ, and hath anointed us, is God; who hath also sealed us.* Now the God which stablisheth us, is one God. 1 Pet. i. 2. *elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ.* Even those works which regard the Son himself, or which were done in him. Acts v. 30—33. *the God of our fathers raised up Jesus.....him hath*

God exalted with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel, and forgiveness of sins. Gal. i. 1. *by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised him from the dead.* Rom. x. 9. *if thou shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.* 1 Cor. vi. 14. *God hath both raised up the Lord, and will also raise us up by his own power.* 1 Thess. i. 10. *to wait for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead.* Heb. x. 5. *sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me.* 1 Pet. i. 21. *who by him do believe in God that raised him up from the dead.* So many are the texts wherein the Son is said to be raised up by the Father alone, which ought to have greater weight than the single passage in St. John, ii. 19. *destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up*—where he spake briefly and enigmatically, without explaining his meaning to enemies who were unworthy of a fuller answer, on which account he thought it unnecessary to mention the power of the Father.

With regard to divine honours. For as the Son uniformly pays worship and reverence to the Father alone, so he teaches us to follow the same practice. Matt. vi. 6. *pray to thy Father.* v. 9. *after this manner therefore pray ye; Our Father, which art in heaven,* &c. xviii. 19. *as touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven.* Luke xi. 1, 2. *teach us to pray,* &c. *and he said unto them, When ye pray, say, Our Father, which art in heaven.* John ii. 16. *make not my Father's house an house of merchandise.* iv. 21—23. *the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth; for the Father seeketh such to worship him.* xv. 16. *that whatsoever ye shall ask of the Father in my name, he may give it you.* xvi. 23. *in that day ye shall ask me nothing; .....whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you.* Rom. i. 8, 9. *first, I thank my God through Jesus Christ for you all..... for God is my witness, whom I serve with my spirit in the gospel of his Son,* &c. v. 11. *we also joy in God through our Lord Jesus Christ.* vii. 25. *I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord.* xv. 6. *that ye*

may with one mind and one mouth glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. 1 Cor. i. 4. *I thank my God always on your behalf, for the grace of God which is given you by Jesus Christ.* 2 Cor. i. 3. *blessed be God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies, and the God of all comfort.* Gal. i. 4, 5. *who gave himself.....according to the will of God and our Father; to whom be glory for ever and ever.* Eph. i. 3. *blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,* &c. ii. 18. *for through him we both have access by one Spirit unto the Father.* iii. 14. *for this cause I bow my knees unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.* v. 20, 21. *now unto him that is able to do exceeding abundantly, above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us, unto him be glory in the Church by Christ Jesus, throughout all ages, world without end.* Philipp. i. 2, 3. *grace be unto you and peace from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ. I thank my God upon every remembrance of you.* See also Col. i. 3. and iii. 17. *whatsoever ye do.....do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God and the Father by him.* 1 Thess. i. 2, 3. *we give thanks to God for you all, making mention of you in our prayers; remembering without ceasing your work of faith, and labour of love, and patience of hope in our Lord Jesus Christ, in the sight of God and our Father.* v. 9, 10. *to serve the living and true God; and to wait for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead.* See also 2 Thess. i. 2, 3. and 2 Tim. i. 3. *I thank God, whom I serve from my forefathers.* Now the forefathers of Paul served God the Father alone. See also Philem. 4, 5. and 1 Pet. i. 3. and iv. 10. *as every man hath received the gift.....let him speak as the oracles of God.....as of the ability which God giveth, that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ.* James i. 27. *pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father, is this.* 1 John ii. 1. *we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous.* 2 John 4—6. *walking in truth, as we have received a commandment from the Father .....this is love, that we walk after his commandments.* Rev. i. 6. *who made us kings and priests unto God and His Father; to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever.* Matt. xxi. 12. *Jesus went into the*

temple of God. Here however my opponents quote the passage from Malachi, iii. 1. *the Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the covenant.* I answer, that in prophetical language these words signify the coming of the Lord into the flesh, or into the temple of the body, as it is expressed John ii. 21. For the Jews sought no one in the temple as an object of worship, except the Father; and Christ himself in the same chapter has called the temple his Father's house, and not his own. Nor were they seeking God, but *that Lord and messenger of the covenant;* that is, him who was sent from God as the mediator of the covenant;—he it was who should come to his Church, which the prophets generally express figuratively under the image of the temple. So also where the terms God and man are put in opposition to each other, the Father stands exclusively for the one God. James iii. 9. *therewith bless we God, even the Father; and therewith curse we men, which are made after the similitude of God.* 1 John ii. 15, 16. *if any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him: for all that is in the world.....is not of the Father, but of the world.*

But it is strenuously urged on the other hand, that the Son is sometimes called God, and even Jehovah; and that all the attributes of the Deity are assigned to him likewise in many passages both of the Old and New Testament. We arrive therefore at the other point which I originally undertook to prove; and since it has been already shown from the analogy of Scripture, that where the Father and the Son are mentioned together, the name, and attributes, and works of the Deity, as well as divine honours, are always assigned to the one and only God the Father, I will now demonstrate, that whenever the same properties are assigned to the Son, it is in such a manner as to make it easily intelligible that they ought all primarily and properly to be attributed to the Father alone.

It must be observed in the first place, that the name of God is not unfrequently ascribed, by the will and concession of God the Father,

even to angels and men,—how much more then to the only begotten Son, the image of the Father. To angels. Psal. xcvii. 7, 9. *worship him all ye gods....thou art high above all the earth; thou art exalted far above all gods,* compared with Heb. i. 6. See also Psal. viii. 5. To judges. Exod. xxii. 28. *thou shalt not revile the gods, nor curse the ruler of thy people.* See also, in the Hebrew, Exod. xxi. 6. xxii. 8, 9. Psal. lxxxii. 1, 6. *he judgeth among the gods. I have said, Ye are gods, and all of you are children of the Most High.* To the whole house of David, or to all the saints. Zech. xii. 8. *the house of David shall be as God, as the angel of the Lord before them.* The word אֱלֹהִים, though it be of the plural number, is also employed to signify a single angel, in case it should be thought that the use of the plural implies a plurality of persons in the Godhead: Judges xiii. 21. *then Manoah knew that he was an angel of Jehovah: and Manoah said unto his wife, We shall surely die, because we have seen God.* The same word is also applied to a single false god. Exod. xx. 3. *thou shalt have no other gods before me.* To Dagon. Judges xvi. 23. To single idols. 1 Kings xi. 33. To Moses. Exod. iv. 16. and vii. 1. To God the Father alone. Psal. ii. 7. xlv. 7. and in many other places. Similar to this is the use of the word אֲדֹנִים, *the Lord,* in the plural number with a singular meaning; and with a plural affix according to the Hebrew mode. The word אֲדֹנַי also with the vowel *Patha* is frequently employed to signify one man, and with the vowel *Kamets* to signify one God, or one angel bearing the character of God. This peculiarity in the above words has been carefully noticed by the grammarians and lexicographers themselves, as well as in בַּעַל used appellatively. The same thing may perhaps be remarked of the proper names בְּעָלִים and עַשְׁתְּרוֹת. For even among the Greeks the word δεσπότης, that is, Lord, is also used in the plural number in the sense of the singular, when extraordinary respect and honour are intended to be paid. Thus in the Iphigenia in Aulis of Euripides, λίαν δεσπόταισι πιστὸς εἶ, (l. 304, Beck's edition) for δεσπότῃ, and again εὔκλεές τοι δεσποτῶν θνήσκειν ὕπερ (l. 312) for δεσπότου. It is also used in the Rhesus and the Bacchæ in the same manner.[7]

[7] *Rhes.* 264. *Bacch.* 1027. Edit. Beck.

Attention must be paid to these circumstances, lest any one through ignorance of the language should erroneously suppose, that whenever the word Elohim is joined with a singular, it is intended to intimate a plurality of persons in unity of essence. But if there be any significance at all in this peculiarity, the word must imply as many Gods, as it does persons. Besides, a plural adjective or a plural verb is sometimes joined to the word Elohim, which, if a construction of this kind could mean anything, would signify not a plurality of persons only, but also of natures. See in the Hebrew Deut. v. 26. Josh. xxiv. 19. Jer. x. 10. Gen. xx. 13. Further, the singular אֱלֹהַּ also sometimes occurs, Deut. xxxii. 18. and elsewhere. It is also attributed to Christ with the singular affix. Psal. cx. 1. לַאדֹנִי *Jehovah said unto my Lord*, in which passage the Psalmist speaks of Christ (to whom the name of *Lord* is assigned as a title of the highest honour) both as distinct from Jehovah, and, if any reliance can be placed on the affix, as inferior to Jehovah. But when he addresses the Father, the affix is changed, and he says, v. 5. אֲדֹנָי, *the Lord at thy right hand shall strike through kings in the day of his wrath.*

The name of God seems to be attributed to angels,[8] because as heavenly messengers they bear the appearance of the divine glory and person, and even speak in the very words of the Deity. Gen. xxi. 17, 18. xxii. 11, 12, 15, 16. *by myself have I sworn, saith Jehovah.* For

[8] Milton is fond of attributing the name of *God* to angels, even in his Poem:

> Deigns none to ease thy load, and taste thy sweet,
> Nor God, nor man? *Paradise Lost*, V. 59.

And again, in the same book,

> Evil into the mind of God or man
> May come and go, so unreprov'd. 117.

Where Newton properly remarks that *God* must signify *Angel*, for 'God cannot be tempted with evil,' as St. James says of the Supreme Being. So also in *Paradise Regained*, of the fallen angels,

> ..... led their march
> From Hell's deep vaulted den to dwell in light,
> Regents and potentates, and kings, yea Gods,
> Of many a pleasant realm and province wide. I. 115.

the expression which was so frequently in the mouth of the prophets, and which is elsewhere often omitted, is here inserted, that it may be understood that angels and messengers do not declare their own words, but the commands of God who sends them, even though the speaker seem to bear the name and character of the Deity himself. So believed the patriarch Jacob; Gen. xxxi. 11—13. *the angel of God spake unto me, saying....I have seen all that Laban doeth unto thee. I am the God of Bethel,* &c. xxxii. 30. *I have seen God face to face;* compared with Hos. xii. 4, 5. *he had power with God, yea, he had power over the angel.* Exod. xxiv. 10, 11. *they saw the God of Israel... also they saw God.* Deut. iv. 33. *did ever people hear the voice of God speaking out of the midst of the fire, as thou hast heard, and live?* Yet it is said, Exod. xxxiii. 20. *there shall no man see me, and live.* John i. 18. *no man hath seen God at any time.* v. 37. *ye have neither heard his voice at any time, nor seen his shape.* 1 Tim. vi. 16. *dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto, whom no man hath seen, nor can see.* It follows therefore that whoever was heard or seen, it was not God; not even where mention is made of God, nay even of Jehovah himself, and of the angels in the same sentence. Gen. xxviii. 12, 13. *behold the angels of God....and behold, Jehovah stood above them.* 1 Kings xxii. 19. *I saw Jehovah sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing by him.* Isai. vi. 1, 2. *I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne.....above it stood the seraphim.* I repeat, it was not God himself that he saw, but perhaps one of the angels clothed in some modification of the divine glory, or the Son of God himself, the image of the glory of his Father, as John understands the vision, xii. 41. *these things said Esaias, when he saw his glory.* For if he had been of the same essence, he could no more have been seen or heard than the Father himself, as will be more fully shewn hereafter. Hence even the holiest of men were troubled in mind when they had seen an angel, as if they had seen God himself. Gen. xxxii. 30. *I have seen God.* Judges vi. 22. *when Gideon perceived that he was an angel of Jehovah, Gideon said, Alas, O Lord Jehovah, for because I have seen an angel of Jehovah face to face.* See also xiii. 21, 22. as before.

The name of God is ascribed to judges, because they occupy the place of God to a certain degree in the administration of judgement. The Son, who was entitled to the name of God both in the capacity of a messenger and of a judge, and indeed in virtue of a much better right,[9] did not think it foreign to his character, when the Jews accused him of blasphemy because he made himself God, to allege in his own defence the very reason which has been advanced. John x. 34—36. *Jesus answered them, Is it not written in your law, I said, Ye are gods? If he called them gods unto whom the word of God came, and the Scripture cannot be broken; say ye of him whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest; because I said, I am the Son of God?*—especially when God himself had called the judges, sons of the Most High, as has been stated before. Hence 1 Cor. viii. 4, 5. *for though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, (as there be gods many, and lords many,) but to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him.*

Even the principal texts themselves which are brought forward to prove the divinity of the Son, if carefully weighed and considered, are sufficient to show that the Son is God in the manner which has been explained. John i. 1. *in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.* It is not said, from everlasting, but *in the beginning*. *The Word,*—therefore the Word was audible. But God, as he cannot be seen, so neither can he be heard; John v. 37. The Word therefore is not of the same essence with God. *The Word was with God, and was God,*—namely, because he was with God, that is, in the bosom of the Father, as it is expressed v. 18. Does it follow therefore that he is essentially one with him with whom he was? It no more follows, than that the disciple *who was lying on Jesus' breast,* John

[9] Be not so sore offended, Son of God,
Though Sons of God both angels are and men,
If I, to try whether in higher sort
Than these thou bear'st that title—. *Paradise Regained,* IV. 196.

xiii. 23. was essentially one with Christ. Reason rejects the doctrine; Scripture nowhere asserts it; let us therefore abandon human devices, and follow the evangelist himself; who is his own interpreter. Rev. xix. 13. *his name is called The Word of God*—that is, of the one God: he himself is a distinct person. If therefore he be a distinct person, he is distinct from God, who is unity. How then is he himself also God? By the same right as he enjoys the title of the Word, or of the only begotten Son, namely, by the will of the one God. This seems to be the reason why it is repeated in the second verse—*the same was in the beginning with God;* which enforces what the apostle wished we should principally observe, not that he was in the beginning God, but in the beginning with God; that he might show him to be God only by proximity and love, not in essence; which doctrine is consistent with the subsequent explanations of the evangelist in numberless passages of his gospel.

Another passage is the speech of Thomas, John xx. 28. *my Lord and my God.* He must have an immoderate share of credulity who attempts to elicit a new confession of faith, unknown to the rest of the disciples, from this abrupt exclamation of the apostle, who invokes in his surprize not only Christ his own Lord, but the God of his ancestors, namely, God the Father;—as if he had said, Lord! what do I see—what do I hear—what do I handle with my hands? He whom Thomas is supposed to call God in this passage, had acknowledged respecting himself not long before, v. 17. *I ascend unto my God and your God.* Now the God of God cannot be essentially one with him whose God he is. On whose word therefore can we ground our faith with most security; on that of Christ, whose doctrine is clear, or of Thomas, a new disciple, first incredulous, then suddenly breaking out into an abrupt exclamation in an ecstasy of wonder, if indeed he really called Christ his God? For having reached out his fingers, he called the man whom he touched, as if unconscious of what he was saying, by the name of God. Neither is it credible that he should have so quickly understood the hypostatic union of that person whose resurrection he had just before disbelieved. Accordingly the faith of Peter is com-

mended—*blessed art thou, Simon*—for having only said—*thou art the Son of the living God,* Matt. xvi. 16, 17. The faith of Thomas, although as it is commonly explained, it asserts the divinity of Christ in a much more remarkable manner, is so far from being praised, that it is undervalued, and almost reproved in the next verse—*Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed; blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.* And yet, though the slowness of his belief may have deserved blame, the testimony borne by him to Christ as God, which, if the common interpretation be received as true, is clearer than occurs in any other passage, would undoubtedly have met with some commendation; whereas it obtains none whatever. Hence there is nothing to invalidate that interpretation of the passage which has been already suggested, referring the words—*my Lord*—to Christ,—*my God*—to God the Father, who had just testified that Christ was his Son, by raising him up from the dead in so wonderful a manner.

So too Heb. i. 8. *unto the Son*—or *of the Son—he saith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever.* But in the next verse it follows, *thou hast loved righteousness,* &c. *therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows,* where almost every word indicates the sense in which Christ is here termed God; and the words of Jehovah put into the mouth of the bridal virgins, Psal. xlv. might have been more properly quoted by this writer for any other purpose than to prove that the Son is co-equal with the Father, since they are originally applied to Solomon, to whom, as properly as to Christ, the title of God might have been given on account of his kingly power, conformably to the language of Scripture.

These three passages are the most distinct of all that are brought forward; for the text in Matt. i. 23. *they shall call* (for so the great majority of the Greek manuscripts read it[1]) *his name Immanuel, which*

[1] καλέσουσι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. 'Καλέσεις Steph. β. Cant. Euseb. sed exemplaria MSS. universim, Vulg. Hieron. Epiphan. Chrysost. Theophylact. Origen. Iren. Just. Martyr (qui etiam habet καλέσετε) receptam lectionem retinent.' Mill. in loc.

being interpreted is, God with us, does not prove that he whom they were so to call should necessarily be God, but only a messenger from God, according to the song of Zacharias, Luke i. 68, 69. *blessed be the Lord God of Israel; for he hath visited and redeemed his people, and hath raised up an horn of salvation for us,* &c. Nor can anything certain be inferred from Acts xvi. 31, 34. *believe on the Lord Jesus Christ,—and he rejoiced, believing in God with all his house.* For it does not follow from hence that Christ is God, since the apostles have never distinctly pointed out Christ as the ultimate object of faith; but these are merely the words of the historian, expressing that briefly which there can be no doubt that the apostles inculcated in a more detailed manner,—faith in God the Father through Christ. Nor is the passage in Acts xx. 28. more decisive,—*the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood;* that is, with his own Son, as it is elsewhere expressed, for God properly speaking has no blood; and no usage is more common than the substitution of the figurative term blood for offspring. But the Syriac version reads, not *the Church of God,* but *the Church of Christ;* and in our own recent translation it is, *the Church of the Lord.*[2] Nor can any certain dependence be placed on the authority of the Greek manuscripts, five of which read τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ,[3] ac-

[2] In the list of various readings given in Bp. Wilson's Bible, it is stated that the reading of *the Lord* exists in one of the English Bibles printed by Whitchurch, which is probably the 'recent translation' alluded to by Milton. This printer published many editions of the Bible, separately or in conjunction with Grafton, about the middle of the sixteenth century. The library at St. Paul's contains ten editions published in different years between 1530 and 1560, but the reading alluded to appears in none of them. The libraries of the British Museum, Lambeth, and Canterbury (which latter collection contains about fifty ancient English Bibles and Testaments presented by the late Dr. Coombe) the Bodleian library at Oxford, the University library, and the libraries of Trinity and St. John's Colleges, Cambridge, have also been searched without success for a copy of the edition in question.

[3] This is the reading of the Codex Passionæi, the date of which, however, is not earlier than the eighth or ninth century, and of sixty-three other MSS. none of which are among the most correct or authoritative. See Horne's *Introduction,* &c. Vol. II. 352, for an analysis of what Griesbach, Hale, Michaelis and others have written on the verse. The sum of the whole is, that ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ, *Church of God,* the received reading, 'is better supported than any of the other readings, and consequently we may conclude that it was the identical expression uttered by Paul, and recorded by Luke.'

cording to Beza, who suspects that the words τοῦ Κυρίου have crept in from the margin, though it is more natural to suppose the words καὶ Θεοῦ to have crept in, on account of their being an addition to the former. The same must be said respecting Rom. ix. 5. *who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen.* For in the first place, Hilary and Cyprian do not read the word *God* in this passage, nor do some of the other Fathers, if we may believe the authority of Erasmus; who has also shown that the difference of punctuation may raise a doubt with regard to the true meaning of the passage, namely, whether the clause in question should not rather be understood of the Father than of the Son.[4] But waiving these objections, and supposing that the words are spoken of the Son; they have nothing to do with his essence, but only intimate that divine honour is communicated to the Son by the Father, and particularly that he is called God; which has been already fully shown by other arguments. But, they rejoin, the same words which were spoken of the Father, Rom. i. 25. *more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever. Amen,* are here repeated of the Son; therefore the Son is equal to the Father. If there be any force in this reasoning, it will rather prove that the Son is greater than the Father; for according to the ninth chapter, he is *over all,* which however, they remind us, ought to be understood in the same sense as John iii. 31, 32. *he that cometh from above, is above all; he that cometh from heaven is above all.* In these words even the divine nature is clearly implied, and yet, *what he hath seen and heard, that he testifieth,* which language affirms that he came not of himself, but was sent from the Father, and was obedient to him. It will be answered, that it is only his mediatorial character which is intended. But he never could have become a mediator, nor could he have been sent from God, or have been obedient to him, unless he had been inferior to God and the Father as to his nature. Therefore also

[4] 'Sanctus Cyprianus adversus Judæos libro secundo, capite quinto, adduxit hunc locum, omissa Dei mentione. Itidem Hilarius enarrans Psalmum cxxii. quod incuria librariorum esse omissum videri potest.' Erasmi *Annotationes ad Rom.* ix. 5. See also his treatise entitled *Responsio de Filii divinitate.* Tom. IX. p. 849. Macknight in his notes on the passage of the Romans, answers Erasmus with regard to both the points which Milton mentions.

after he shall have laid aside his functions as mediator, whatever may be his greatness, or whatever it may previously have been, he must be subject to God and the Father. Hence he is to be accounted above all, with this reservation, that he is always to be excepted *who did put all things under him*, 1 Cor. xv. 27. and who consequently is above him under whom he has put all things. If lastly he be termed *blessed*, it must be observed that he received blessing as well as divine honour, not only as God, but even as man. Rev. v. 12. *worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power and riches and wisdom and strength and honour and glory and blessing;* and hence, v. 13. *blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever.*

There is a still greater doubt respecting the reading in 1 Tim. iii. 16. *God was manifest in the flesh.* Here again Erasmus asserts that neither Ambrose nor the Vetus Interpres read the word God in this verse, and that it does not appear in a considerable number of the early copies.[5] However this may be, it will be clear, when the context is duly examined, that the whole passage must be understood of God the Father in conjunction with the Son. For it is not Christ who is *the great mystery of godliness*, but God the Father in Christ, as appears from Col. ii. 2. *the mystery of God and of the Father, and of Christ.* 2 Cor. v. 18, 19. *all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ .... to wit, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them.* Why therefore should God the Father not be in Christ through the medium of all those offices of reconciliation which the apostle enumerates in this passage of Timothy? *God was manifest in the flesh*—namely in the Son, his own image; in any other way he is invisible: nor did Christ come to manifest him-

[5] 'Ambrosius et Vulgatus Interpres legerunt pro Θεὸς, ὅ, id est, *quod.*' Erasmus ad 1 Tim. iii. 16. The Clermont MS. the Vulgate, and some other ancient versions read ὅ, *which.* The Colbertine MS. reads ὃς, *who.* All the other Greek MSS. have Θεός. For a defence of the latter reading see Mill and Macknight in loco, and Pearson *On the Creed.* See also Waterland, Works, II. 158.

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

self, but his Father, John xiv. 8, 9. *Justified in the Spirit*—and who should be thereby justified, if not the Father? *Seen of angels*—inasmuch as they desired to look into this mystery, 1 Pet. i. 12. *Preached unto the Gentiles*—that is, the Father in Christ. *Believed on in the world*—and to whom is faith so applicable, as to the Father through Christ? *Received up into glory*—namely, he who was in the Son from the beginning, after reconciliation had been made, returned with the Son into glory, or was received into that supreme glory which he had obtained in the Son. But there is no need of discussing this text at greater length: those who are determined to defend at all events the received opinion, according to which these several propositions are predicated not of the Father but of the Son alone, when they are in fact applicable both to the one and the other, though on different grounds, may easily establish that the Son is God, a truth which I am far from denying—but they will in vain attempt to prove from this passage that he is the supreme God, and one with the Father.

The next passage is Tit. ii. 13. *the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.* Here also the glory of God the Father may be intended, with which Christ is to be invested on his second advent, Matt. xvi. 27. as Ambrose understands the passage from the analogy of Scripture. For the whole force of the proof depends upon the definitive article, which may be inserted or omitted before the two nouns in the Greek without affecting the sense; or the article prefixed to one may be common to both.[6] Besides, in other languages, where the article is not used, the words may be understood to apply indifferently either to one or two persons; and nearly the same words are employed without the article in reference to two persons, Philipp. i. 2. and Philem. 3. except that in the latter passages the word *Father* is substituted for *great.* So also 2 Pet. i. 1. *through the righteousness of* [*our*] *God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.* Here the repetition of the pronoun

[6] On the importance of the Greek article, see Mr. Granville Sharp's *Remarks on the Uses of the Definitive Article,* &c.; Dr. Wordsworth's *Six Letters to Mr. Sharp;* Mr. Boyd's *Supplementary Researches;* and Bp. Middleton's *Doctrine of the Greek Article.*

ἡμῶν without the article, as it is read by some of the Greek manuscripts, shows that two distinct persons are spoken of. And surely what is proposed to us as an object of belief, especially in a matter involving a primary article of faith, ought not to be an inference forced and extorted from passages relating to an entirely different subject, in which the readings are sometimes various, and the sense doubtful,—nor hunted out by careful research from among articles and particles,—nor elicited by dint of ingenuity, like the answers of an oracle, from sentences of dark or equivocal meaning—but should be susceptible of abundant proof from the clearest sources. For it is in this that the superiority of the gospel to the law consists; this, and this alone, is consistent with its open simplicity; this is that true light and clearness which we had been taught to expect would be its characteristic. Lastly, he who calls God, *great*, does not necessarily call him supreme, or essentially one with the Father; nor on the other hand does he thereby deny that Christ is *the great God*, in the sense in which he has been above proved to be such.

Another passage which is also produced is 1 John iii. 16. *hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us.* Here however the Syriac version reads *illius* instead of *Dei*, and it remains to be seen whether other manuscripts do the same.[7] The pronoun *he*, ἐκεῖνος, seems not to be referred to God, but to the Son of God, as may be concluded from a comparison of the former chapters of this epistle, and the first, second, fifth and eighth verses of the chapter before us, as well as from Rom. v. 8. *God commendeth his love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. The love of God*, therefore, is the love of the Father, whereby he so loved the world, that *he purchased it with his own blood*, Acts xx. 28. and for it *laid down his life*, that is, the life of his only begotten Son, as it may be explained from John iii. 16. and by analogy from many other passages. Nor is it extraordinary that by the phrase, *his life*, should be understood the life of his beloved Son, since we are ourselves in the habit

[7] The Ethiopic version reads αὐτοῦ. Mill omits Θεοῦ.

of calling any much-loved friend by the title of life, or part of our life, as a term of endearment in familiar discourse.

But the passage which is considered most important of all, is 1 John v. part of the twentieth verse—for if the whole be taken, it will not prove what it is adduced to support. *We know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding, that we may know him that is true, and we are in him that is true, (even) in his Son Jesus Christ: this is the true God, and eternal life.* For *we are in him that is true in his Son*,—that is, so far as we are in the Son of him that is true:—*this is the true God;* namely, he who was just before called *him that was true*, the word *God* being omitted in the one clause, and subjoined in the other. For he it is that is *he that is true* (whom that we might know, *we know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding*) not he who is called *the Son of him that is true*, though that be the nearest antecedent,—for common sense itself requires that the article *this* should be referred to *him that is true*, (to whom the subject of the context principally relates,) not to *the Son of him that is true.*[8] Examples of a similar construction are not wanting. See Acts iv. 10, 11. and x. 16. 2 Thess. ii. 8, 9. 2 John 7. Compare also John xvii. 3. with which passage the verse in question seems to correspond exactly in sense, the position of the words alone being changed. But it will be objected, that according to some of the texts quoted before, Christ is God; now if the Father be the only true God, Christ is not the true God; but if he be not the true God, he must be a false God. I answer, that the conclusion is too hastily drawn; for it may be that he is not *he that is true*, either because he is only the image of him that is true, or because he uniformly declares himself to be inferior to him that is true. We are not obliged to say of Christ what the Scriptures do not say. The Scriptures call him *God*, but not *him that is the true God;* why are we not at liberty to acquiesce in the same distinction? At

[8] This is the interpretation of Benson, Wetstein, Schleusner, Macknight, &c. In support of the other construction, see Beza, Whitby, and particularly Waterland, Works, Vol. II. p. 123.

all events *he* is not to be called a false God, to whom, as to his beloved Son, he that is the true God has communicated his divine power and glory.

They also adduce Philipp. ii. 6. *who being in the form of God*—But this no more proves him to be God than the phrase which follows—*took upon him the form of a servant*—proves that he was really a servant, as the sacred writers nowhere use the word *form* for actual being. But if it be contended that *the form of God* is here taken in a philosophical sense for the essential form, the consequence cannot be avoided, that when Christ laid aside the form, he laid aside also the substance and the efficiency of God; a doctrine against which they protest, and with justice. *To be in the form of God,* therefore, seems to be synonymous with being in the image of God; which is often predicated of Christ, even as man is also said, though in a much lower sense, to be the image of God, and to be in the image of God, that is, by creation. More will be added respecting this passage hereafter.

The last passage that is quoted is from the epistle of Jude, v. 4. *denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ.* Who will not agree that this is too verbose a mode of description, if all these words are intended to apply to one person? or who would not rather conclude, on a comparison of many other passages which tend to confirm the same opinion, that they were spoken of two persons, namely, the Father the only God, and our Lord Jesus Christ? Those, however, who are accustomed to discover some extraordinary force in the use of the article, contend that both names must refer to the same person, because the article is prefixed in the Greek to the first of them only, which is done to avoid weakening the structure of the sentence. If the force of the articles is so great, I do not see how other languages can dispense with them.

The passages quoted in the New Testament from the Old will have still less weight, if they be produced to prove anything more than what

the writer who quoted them intended. Of this class are, Psal. lxviii. 17—19. *the chariots of God are twenty thousand,* &c. ..... *the Lord is among them,* &c. *thou hast ascended on high.....thou hast received gifts for men.* Here (to say nothing of several ellipses, which the interpreters are bold enough to fill up in various ways, as they think proper) mention is made of two persons, *God* and *the Lord*, which is in contradiction to the opinions of those who attempt to elicit a testimony to the supreme divinity of Christ, by comparing this passage with Eph. iv. 5—8. Such a doctrine was never intended by the apostle, who argues very differently in the ninth verse—*now that he ascended, what is it but that he also descended first into the lower parts of the earth?*—from which he only meant to show that the Lord Christ, who had lately died, and was now received into heaven, *gave gifts unto men* which he had received from the Father.

It is singular, however, that those who maintain the Father and the Son to be one in essence, should revert from the gospel to the times of the law, as if they would make a fruitless attempt to illustrate light by darkness. They say that the Son is not only called God, but also Jehovah, as appears from a comparison of several passages in both testaments. Now Jehovah is the one supreme God; therefore the Son and the Father are one in essence. It will be easy to expose the weakness of such an argument as this, which is derived from the ascription of the name of Jehovah to the Son. For the name of Jehovah is conceded even to the angels, in the same sense as it has been already shown that the name of God is applied to them, namely, when they represent the divine presence and person, and utter the very words of Jehovah. Gen. xvi. 7. *the angel of Jehovah found her,* compared with v. 10. *the angel of Jehovah said unto her, I will multiply thy seed exceedingly,* and v. 13. *she called the name of Jehovah who spake unto her*—. xviii. 13. *and Jehovah said,* &c. whereas it appears that the three men whom Abraham entertained were angels. Gen. xix. 1. *there came two angels.* v. 13. *and Jehovah hath sent us*—compared with v. 18, 21, 24. *Oh, not so,* אֲדֹנָי : *and he said unto him, See, I have accepted thee ....then Jehovah rained.....*

from Jehovah out of heaven. Gen. xxi. 17. *the angel of God called to Hagar out of heaven,* &c.... *God hath heard*—compared with v. 18. *I will make him a great nation.* So Exod. iii. 2, 4. *the angel of Jehovah.... when Jehovah saw that he turned aside to see, God called unto him*—compared with Acts vii. 30. *there appeared to him an angel of the Lord in a flame of fire in a bush.* If that angel had been Christ or the supreme God, it is natural to suppose that Stephen would have declared it openly, especially on such an occasion, where it might have tended to strengthen the faith of the other believers, and strike his judges with alarm. In Exod. xx. when the law was delivered, no mention is made of any one who gave it to Moses, except Jehovah, and yet Acts vii. 38. the same Stephen says, *this is he that was in the church in the wilderness with the angel which spake to him in the mount Sina;* and verse 53. he declares that *the law was received by the disposition of angels.* Gal. iii. 19. *it was ordained by angels.* Heb. ii. 2. *if the word spoken by angels was steadfast,* &c. Therefore what is said in Exodus to have been spoken by Jehovah, was not spoken by himself personally, but by angels in the name of Jehovah. Nor is this extraordinary, for it does not seem to have been suitable that Christ who was the minister of the gospel should also be the minister of the law: *by how much more also he is the mediator of a better covenant,* Heb. viii. 6. But it would indeed have been wonderful if Christ had actually appeared as the mediator of the law, and none of the apostles had ever intimated it. Nay, the contrary seems to be asserted Heb. i. 1. *God who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in times past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son.* Again it is said, Num. xxii. 22. *God's anger was kindled... and the angel of Jehovah stood in the way for an adversary unto him.* v. 31. *then Jehovah opened the eyes of Balaam, and he saw the angel of Jehovah.* Afterwards the same angel speaks as if he were Jehovah himself, v. 32. *behold I went out to withstand thee, because thy way is perverse before me:* and Balaam says, v. 34. *if it displease thee—;* to which the angel answers—*only the word that I shall speak unto thee, that thou shalt speak.* v. 35. compared with v. 20. and with chap. xxiii. 8, 20. Josh. v. 14. *as captain of the host of Jehovah am I come,* compared with vi. 2. *Jehovah*

said unto Joshua. Judg. vi. 11, 12. *an angel of Jehovah....the angel of Jehovah*—compared with v. 14. *Jehovah looked upon him, and said—.* Again, v. 20, 21. *the angel of God.....the angel of Jehovah:* and v. 22. *Gideon perceived that he was an angel of Jehovah*—compared with v. 23. *Jehovah said unto him*—although the angel here, as in other instances, personated the character of Jehovah:—v. 14. *have not I sent thee?* v. 16. *surely I will be with thee, and thou shalt smite the Midianites:* and Gideon himself addresses him as Jehovah, v. 17. *show me a sign that thou talkest with me.* 1 Chron. xxi. 15. *God sent an angel—.* v. 16, 17. *and David saw the angel of Jehovah.....and fell upon his face, and said unto God—.* v. 18, 19. *then the angel of Jehovah commanded Gad to say unto David....and David went up at the saying of Gad, which he spake in the name of Jehovah.*

But it may be urged, that the name of Jehovah is sometimes assigned to two persons in the same sentence. Gen. xix. 24. *Jehovah rained....from Jehovah out of heaven.* 1 Sam. iii. 21. *Jehovah revealed himself to Samuel in Shiloh by the word of Jehovah.* Jer. xxxiv. 12. *the word of Jehovah came to Jeremiah from Jehovah, saying—.* Hos. i. 7. *I will save them by Jehovah their God.* Zech. iii. 1—3. *standing before the angel.....and Jehovah said unto Satan, Jehovah rebuke thee*—and again, *before the angel.* I answer, that in these passages either one of the two persons is an angel, according to that usage of the word which has been already explained; or it is to be considered as a peculiar form of speaking, in which, for the sake of emphasis, the name of Jehovah is repeated, though with reference to the same person; *for Jehovah the God of Israel is one Jehovah.* If in such texts as these both persons are to be understood properly and in their own nature as Jehovah, there is no longer one Jehovah, but two; whence it follows that the repetition of the name can only have been employed for the purpose of giving additional force to the sentence. A similar form of speech occurs Gen. ix. 16. *I will look upon it, that I may remember the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature:* and 1 Cor. i. 7, 8. *waiting for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.* 1 Thess. iii. 12, 13. *the Lord make you to increase,* &c. *to the end he may stablish your hearts.....before God, even our Father, at the coming*

of our Lord Jesus Christ. Here whether it be *God, even our Father,* or *our Lord Jesus,* who is in the former verse called *Lord,* in either case there is the same redundance. If the Jews had understood the passages quoted above, and others of the same kind, as implying that there were two persons, both of whom were Jehovah, and both of whom had an equal right to the appellation, there can be no doubt that, seeing the doctrine so frequently enforced by the prophets, they would have adopted the same belief which now prevails among us, or would at least have laboured under considerable scruples on the subject: whereas I suppose no one in his senses will venture to affirm that the Jewish Church ever so understood the passages in question, or believed that there were two persons, each of whom was Jehovah, and had an equal right to assume the title. It would seem, therefore, that they interpreted them in the manner above mentioned. Thus in allusion to a human being, 1 Kings viii. 1. *then Solomon assembled the elders of Israel .... unto king Solomon in Jerusalem.* No one is so absurd as to suppose that the name of Solomon is here applied to two persons in the same sentence. It is evident, therefore, both from the declaration of the sacred writer himself, and from the belief of those very persons to whom the angels appeared, that the name of Jehovah was attributed to an angel; and not to an angel only, but also to the whole Church, Jer. xxxiii. 16.

But as Placæus of Saumur thinks it incredible that an angel should bear the name of Jehovah, and that the dignity of the supreme Deity should be degraded by being personated, as it were, on a stage, I will produce a passage in which God himself declares that his name is in an angel. Exod. xxiii. 20, 21. *behold, I send an angel before thee, to keep thee in the way,* &c. *beware of him, and obey his voice; provoke him not, for he will not pardon your transgressions; for my name is in him.* The angel who from that time forward addressed the Israelites, and whose voice they were commanded to hear, was always called Jehovah, though the appellation did not properly belong to him. To this they reply, that he was really Jehovah, for that angel was Christ; 1 Cor. x. 9. *neither let us tempt Christ,* &c. I answer, that it is of no importance to the present ques-

tion, whether it were Christ or not; the subject of inquiry now is, whether the children of Israel understood that angel to be really Jehovah? If they did so understand, it follows that they must have conceived either that there were two Jehovahs, or that Jehovah and the angel were one in essence; which no rational person will affirm to have been their belief. But even if such an assertion were advanced, it would be refuted by chap. xxxiii. 2, 3, 5. *I will send an angel before thee.... for I will not go up in the midst of thee.....lest I consume thee in the way. And when the people heard these evil tidings, they mourned.* If the people had believed that Jehovah and that angel were one in essence, equal in divinity and glory, why did they mourn, and desire that Jehovah should go up before them, notwithstanding his anger, rather than the angel? who, if he had indeed been Christ, would have acted as a mediator and peace-maker. If, on the contrary, they did not consider the angel as Jehovah, they must necessarily have understood that he bore the name of Jehovah in the sense in which I suppose him to have borne it, wherein there is nothing either absurd or theatrical. Being at length prevailed upon to go up with them in person, he grants thus much only, v. 14.—*my presence shall go with thee*—which can imply nothing else than a representation of his name and glory in the person of some angel. But whoever this was, whether Christ, or some angel different from the preceding, the very words of Jehovah himself show that he was neither one with Jehovah, nor co-equal, for the Israelites are commanded to hear his voice, not on the authority of his own name, but because the name of Jehovah was in him. If on the other hand it is contended that the angel was Christ, this proves no more than that Christ was an angel, according to their interpretation of Gen. xlviii. 16. *the angel which redeemed me from all evil;* and Isai. lxiii. 9. *the angel of his presence saved them*—that is, he who represented his presence or glory, and bore his character; an angel, as they say, by office, but Jehovah by nature. But to whose satisfaction will they be able to prove this? He is called indeed, Mal. iii. 1. *the messenger of the covenant:* see also Exod. xxiii. 20, 21. compared with 1 Cor. x. 9. as before. But it does not therefore follow, that whenever an angel is sent from heaven,

that angel is to be considered as Christ; nor where Christ is sent, that he is to be considered as one God with the Father. Besides that the obscurity of the law and the prophets ought not to be brought forward to refute the light of the gospel, but on the contrary the light of the gospel ought to be employed to illustrate the obscurity necessarily arising from the figurative language of the prophets. However this may be, Moses says, prophesying of Christ, Deut. xviii. 15. *Jehovah thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken.* It will be answered, that he here predicts the human nature of Christ. I reply that in the following verse he plainly takes away from Christ that divine nature which it is wished to make co-essential with the Father — *according to all that thou desiredst of Jehovah thy God in Horeb...saying, Let me not hear again the voice of Jehovah my God,* &c. In hearing Christ therefore, as Moses himself predicts and testifies, they were not to hear the God Jehovah, nor were they to consider Christ as Jehovah.

The style of the prophetical book of Revelations, as respects this subject, must be regarded in the same light. Chap. i. 1, 8, 11. *he sent and signified it by his angel.* Afterwards this angel (who is described nearly in the same words as the angel, Dan. x. 5, &c.) says, *I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come.* v. 13. *like unto the Son of man.* v. 17. *I am the first and the last.* ii. 7, &c. *what the Spirit saith unto the churches.* xxii. 6. *the Lord God sent his angel.* v. 8. *before the feet of the angel which showed me these things.* v. 9. *see thou do it not; for I am thy fellow-servant,* &c. Again, the same angel says, v. 12. *behold I come quickly, and my reward is with me,* &c. and again, v. 13. *I am Alpha and Omega,* &c. and v. 14. *blessed are they that do his commandments;* and v. 16. *I Jesus have sent my angel,* &c. These passages so perplexed Beza,[9] that he was compelled to reconcile the imaginary difficulty

[9] 'Dicam quid mihi videatur, ita ut quod sentio relinquam ecclesiæ atque adeo piis omnibus dijudicandum. Existimo hunc librum, eo negligentius habitum, quod non statim ab omnibus

by supposing that the order of a few verses in the last chapter had been confused and transposed by some Arian, (which he attributed to the circumstance of the book having been acknowledged as canonical by the Church at a comparatively late period, and therefore less carefully preserved,) whence he thought it necessary to restore them to what he considered their proper order. This supposition would have been unnecessary, had he remarked, what may be uniformly observed throughout the Old Testament, that angels are accustomed to assume the name and person, and the very words of God and Jehovah, as their own; and that occasionally an angel represents the person and the very words of God, without taking the name either of Jehovah or God, but only in the character of an angel, or even of a man, as Junius himself acknowledges, Judges ii. 1, &c.[1] But according to divines the name of Jehovah signifies two things, either the nature of God, or the completion of his word and promises. If it signify the nature, and therefore the person of God, why should not he who is invested with his person and presence, be also invested with the name which represents them? If it signify the completion of his word and promises, why should not he, to whom words suitable to God alone are so frequently attributed, be permitted also to assume the name of Jehovah, whereby the completion of these words and promises is represented? Or if that name

omnibus pro apostolico scripto censeretur, fuisse ab Ariano quopiam depravatum, qui Christum Deum non esse, nec proinde adorandum, sic confirmare vellet: idque exortis jam Anomœis post ipsius Arii tempora, alioqui hunc locum minime prætermissuris. Transpositos igitur fuisse arbitror hos versiculos, nempe 12 et 13,' &c. According to the order subsequently proposed by Beza, the verses would stand thus—14, 15, 16, 13, 12, 17, &c. Eusebius classes the Apocalypse among the ἀντιλεγόμενα, or disputed books, and it is omitted in the catalogues of canonical books formed by Cyril Bishop of Jerusalem (A. D. 340), and by the council of Laodicea (A. D. 364), and in one or two other early catalogues of the Scriptures; but this omission was probably not owing to any suspicion concerning its authenticity or genuineness, but because its obscurity and mysteriousness were thought to render it less fit to be read publicly and generally. Horne's *Introduction*, &c. IV. 497. Bp. Tomline's *Elements of Christian Theology*, Vol. I. 500.

[1] 'Hominem, non angelum fuisse apparet, quod locus unde venerit exprimitur, neque disparuisse legitur, ut de aliis angelis narratur. Sic propheta angelus Dei vocatur Hagg. i. 3.' Junius in loc.

be so acceptable to God, that he has always chosen to consider it as sacred and peculiar to himself alone, why has he uniformly disused it in the New Testament, which contains the most important fulfilment of his prophecies; retaining only the name of the Lord, which had always been common to him with angels and men? If, lastly, any name whatever can be so pleasing to God, why has he exhibited himself to us in the gospel without any proper name at all?

They urge, however, that Christ himself is sometimes called Jehovah in his own name and person; as in Isai. viii. 13, 14. *sanctify Jehovah of hosts himself, and let him be your fear, and let him be your dread: and he shall be for a sanctuary; but for a stone of stumbling and for a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel,* &c. compared with 1 Pet. ii. 7. *the same is made the head of the corner, and a stone of stumbling,* &c. I answer, that it appears on a comparison of the thirteenth with the eleventh verse,—*for Jehovah spake thus to me,* &c.—that these are not the words of Christ exhorting the Israelites to sanctify and fear himself, whom they had not yet known, but of the Father threatening, as in other places, that he would be *for a stone of stumbling,* &c. *to both the houses of Israel,* that is, to the Israelites, and especially to those of that age. But supposing the words to refer to Christ, it is not unusual among the prophets for God the Father to declare that he would work himself, what afterwards under the gospel he wrought by means of his Son. Hence Peter says—*the same is made the head of the corner, and a stone of stumbling.* By whom made, except by the Father? And in the third chapter, a quotation of part of the same passage of Isaiah clearly proves that the Father was speaking of himself; v. 15. *but sanctify the Lord God*—under which name no one will assert that Christ is intended. Again, they quote Zech. xi. 13. *Jehovah said unto me, Cast it unto the potter; a goodly price that I was prized at of them.* That this relates to Christ I do not deny; only it must be remembered, that this is not his own name, but that the name of Jehovah is in him, Exod. xxiii. 21. as will presently appear more plainly. At the same time there is no reason why the words should not be understood of the Father speaking in his own

name,[2] who would consider the offences which the Jews should commit against his Son, as offences against himself; in the same sense as the Son declares that whatever is done to those who believed in him, is done to himself. Matt. xxv. 35, 40. *I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat,* &c. *inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.* An instance of the same kind occurs Acts ix. 4, 5. *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?* The same answer must be given respecting Zech. xii. 10. especially on a comparison with Rev. i. 7. *every eye shall see him, and they also that pierced him:* for none have seen Jehovah at any time, much less have they seen him as a man; least of all have they pierced him. Secondly, they pierced him who *poured upon them the spirit of grace,* v. 10. Now it was the Father who poured the spirit of grace through the Son; Acts ii. 33. *having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, he hath shed forth this.* Therefore it was the Father whom they pierced in the Son. Accordingly, John does not say, *they shall look upon me,* but, *they shall look upon him whom they pierced,* chap. xix. 37. So also in the verse of Zechariah alluded to a change of persons takes place—*they shall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him as one mourneth for his only son;* as if Jehovah were not properly alluding to himself, but spoke of another, that is, of the Son. The passage in Malachi iii. 1. admits of a similar interpretation: *behold I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me, and Jehovah, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in: behold he shall come, saith Jehovah of hosts.* From which passage Placæus argues thus: He before whose face the Baptist is to be sent as a messenger, is the God of Israel; but the Baptist was not sent before the face of the Father; therefore Christ is that God of Israel. But if the name of Elias could be ascribed

[2] Milton attributes similar language to the Almighty, when he represents him as giving his great command concerning the Messiah in heaven:

> Him who disobeys,
> Me disobeys, breaks union, and that day
> Cast out from God—, &c. *Paradise Lost,* V. 611.

to John the Baptist, Matt. xi. 14. inasmuch as he *went before him in the spirit and power of Elias,* Luke i. 17. why may not the Father be said to send him before his own face, inasmuch as he sends him before the face of him who was to come in the name of the Father? for that it was the Father who sent the messenger, is proved by the subsequent words of the same verse, since the phrases *I who sent,* and *the messenger of the covenant who shall come,* and *Jehovah of hosts who saith these things,* can scarcely be understood to apply all to the same person. Nay, even according to Christ's own interpretation, the verse implies that it was the Father who sent the messenger; Matt. xi. 10. *behold, I send my messenger before thy face.* Who was it that sent?—the Son, according to Placæus. Before the face of whom?—of the Son:—therefore the Son addresses himself in this passage, and sends himself before his own face, which is a new and unheard of figure of speech; not to mention that the Baptist himself testifies that he was sent by the Father, John i. 33. *I knew him not, but he that sent me.... the same said unto me,* &c. God the Father therefore sent the messenger before the face of his Son, inasmuch as that messenger preceded the advent of the Son; he sent him before his own face, inasmuch as he was himself in Christ, or, which is the same thing, in the Son, *reconciling the world unto himself,* 2 Cor. v. 19. That the name and presence of God is used to imply his vicarious power and might resident in the Son, is proved by another prophecy concerning John the Baptist, Isai. xl. 3. *the voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of Jehovah; make straight in the desert a highway for our God.* For the Baptist was never heard to cry that Christ was *Jehovah,* or *our God.*

Recurring, however, to the Gospel itself, on which, as on a foundation, our dependence should chiefly be placed, and adducing my proofs more especially from the evangelist John, the leading purpose of whose work was to declare explicitly the nature of the Son's divinity, I proceed to demonstrate the other proposition announced in my original division of the subject—namely, that the Son himself professes to have received

from the Father, not only the name of God and of Jehovah, but all that pertains to his own being,—that is to say, his individuality, his existence itself, his attributes, his works, his divine honours; to which doctrine the apostles also, subsequent to Christ, bear their testimony. John iii. 35. *the Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things unto him.* xiii. 3. *Jesus knowing that the Father had given all things unto him, and that he was come from God.* Matt. xi. 27. *all things are delivered unto me of my Father.*

But here perhaps the advocates of the contrary opinion will interpose with the same argument which was advanced before; for they are constantly shifting the form of their reasoning, Vertumnus-like,[3] and using the twofold nature of Christ developed in his office of mediator, as a ready subterfuge by which to evade any arguments that may be brought against them. What Scripture says of the Son generally, they apply, as suits their purpose, in a partial and restricted sense; at one time to the Son of God, at another to the Son of Man,—now to the Mediator in his divine, now in his human capacity, and now again in his union of both natures. But the Son himself says expressly, *the Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into his hand,* John iii. 35.—namely, because *he loveth him,* not because he hath begotten him—and he hath given all things to him as *the Son,* not as Mediator only. If the words had been meant to convey the sense attributed to them by my opponents, it would have been more satisfactory and intelligible to have said, *the Father loveth Christ,* or *the Mediator,* or *the Son of Man.* None of these modes of expression are adopted, but it is simply said, *the Father loveth the Son;* that is, whatever is comprehended under the name of the Son. The same

[3] 'Let him try which way he can wind in his Vertumnian distinctions and evasions, if his canonical gabardine of text and letter do not sit too close about him, and pinch his activity.' *Tetrachordon,* Prose Works, II. 201. Vertit rationes, et "annon rex cum optimatibus plus potestatis habeat" quærit; iterum nego, Vertumne, si pro optimatibus proceres intelligas, quoniam accidere potest ut nemo inter eos optimatis nomine sit dignus.' *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio,* Prose Works, V. 149.

question may also be repeated which was asked before, whether from the time that he became the Mediator, his Deity, in their opinion, remained what it had previously been, or not? If it remained the same, why does he ask and receive every thing from the Father, and not from himself? If all things come from the Father, why is it necessary (as they maintain it to be) for the mediatorial office, that he should be the true and supreme God; since he has received from the Father whatever belongs to him, not only in his mediatorial, but in his filial character? If his Deity be not the same as before, he was never the Supreme God. From hence may be understood John xvi. 15. *all things that the Father hath are mine*—that is, by the Father's gift. And xvii. 9, 10. *them which thou hast given me, for they are thine; and all mine are thine, and thine are mine.*

In the first place, then, it is most evident that he receives his name from the Father. Isai. ix. 6. *his name shall be called Wonderful*, &c. *the everlasting Father;*[4] if indeed this elliptical passage be rightly understood; for, strictly speaking, the Son is not the Father, and cannot properly bear the name, nor is it elsewhere ascribed to him, even if we should allow that in some sense or other it is applied to him in the passage before us. The last clause, however, is generally translated not *the everlasting Father*, but *the Father of the age to come*,[5]—that is, its teacher, the name of father being often attributed to a teacher. Philipp. ii. 9. *wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and hath given him* (καὶ ἐχαρίσατο) *a name which is above every name.* Heb. i. 4. *being made so much better than the angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they.* Eph. i. 20, 21. *when he set him at his own right hand .....far above all principality*, &c. *and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come.* There is no reason why that name should not be Jehovah, or any other name pertaining to

[4] Milton follows the version of Tremellius, who translates the passage thus—*Cujus nomen vocat Jehova, admirabilem*, &c.

[5] Πατὴρ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. Septuag. *Pater futuri sæculi.* Vulg. *The Father of the everlasting age.* Lowth. *The Father of the world to come.* Douay Bible.

the Deity, if there be any still higher: but the imposition of a name is allowed to be uniformly the privilege of the greater personage, whether father or lord.

We need be under no concern, however, respecting the name, seeing that the Son receives his very being in like manner from the Father. John vii. 29. *I am from him.* The same thing is implied John i. 1. *in the beginning.* For the notion of his eternity is here excluded not only by the decree, as has been stated before, but by the name of Son, and by the phrases—*this day have I begotten thee,* and, *I will be to him a father.* Besides, the word *beginning* can only here mean *before the foundation of the world,* according to John xvii. 5. as is evident from Col. i. 15—17. *the first born of every creature: for by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth,* &c. *and he is before all things, and by him all things consist.* Here the Son, not in his human or mediatorial character, but in his capacity of creator, is himself called the first born of every creature. So too Heb. ii. 11. *for both he that sanctifieth, and they that are sanctified, are all of one;* and iii. 2. *faithful to him that appointed him.* Him who was begotten from all eternity the Father cannot have begotten, for what was made from all eternity was never in the act of being made; him whom the Father begat from all eternity he still begets; he whom he still begets is not yet begotten, and therefore is not yet a son; for an action which has no beginning can have no completion. Besides, it seems to be altogether impossible that the Son should be either begotten or born from all eternity. If he is the Son, either he must have been originally in the Father, and have proceeded from him, or he must always have been as he is now, separate from the Father, self-existent and independent. If he was originally in the Father, but now exists separately, he has undergone a certain change at some time or other, and is therefore mutable. If he always existed separately from, and independently of, the Father, how is he from the Father, how begotten, how the Son, how separate in subsistence, unless he be also separate in essence? since (laying aside metaphysical trifling) a substantial essence and a subsistence are the same

thing. However this may be, it will be universally acknowledged that the Son now at least differs numerically from the Father; but that those who differ numerically must differ also in their proper essences, as the logicians express it, is too clear to be denied by any one possessed of common reason. Hence it follows that the Father and the Son differ in essence.

That this is the true doctrine, reason shows on every view of the subject; that it is contrary to Scripture, which my opponents persist in maintaining, remains to be proved by those who make the assertion. Nor does the type of Melchisedec, on which so much reliance is placed, involve any difficulty. Heb. vii. 3. *without father, without mother, without descent; having neither beginning of days, nor end of life; but made like unto the Son of God.* For inasmuch as the Son was without any earthly father, he is in one sense said to have had no beginning of days; but it no more appears that he had no beginning of days from all eternity, than that he had no Father, or was not a Son. If however he derived his essence from the Father, let it be shown how that essence can have been supremely divine, that is, identically the same with the essence of the Father; since the divine essence, whose property it is to be always one, cannot possibly generate the same essence by which it is generated, nor can a subsistence or person become an agent or patient under either of the circumstances supposed, unless the entire essence be simultaneously agent or patient in the same manner also. Now as the effect of generation is to produce something which shall exist independently of the generator, it follows that God cannot beget a co-equal Deity, because unity and infinity are two of his essential attributes. Since therefore the Son derives his essence from the Father, he is posterior to the Father not merely in rank (a distinction unauthorized by Scripture, and by which many are deceived) but also in essence; and the filial character itself, on the strength of which they are chiefly wont to build his claim to supreme divinity, affords the best refutation of their opinion. For the supreme God is self-existent; but he who is not self-existent, who did not beget, but was begotten, is not the first cause, but the effect,

and therefore is not the supreme God. He who was begotten from all eternity, must have been from all eternity; but if he can have been begotten who was from all eternity, there is no reason why the Father himself should not have been begotten, and have derived his origin also from some paternal essence. Besides, since father and son are relative terms, distinguished from each other both in theory and in fact, and since according to the laws of contraries the father cannot be the son, nor the son the father, if (which is impossible from the nature of relation) they were of one essence, it would follow that the father stood in a filial relation to the son, and the son in a paternal relation to the father,—a position, of the extravagance of which any rational being may judge. For the doctrine which holds that a plurality of hypostasis is consistent with a unity of essence, has already been sufficiently confuted. Lastly, if the Son be of the same essence with the Father, and the same Son after his hypostatical union coalesce in one person with man, I do not see how to evade the inference, that man also is the same person with the Father, an hypothesis which would give birth to not a few paradoxes. But more may perhaps be said on this point, when the incarnation of Christ comes under consideration.

With regard to his existence. John v. 26. *as the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself.* vi. 57. *as the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father, so he that eateth me,* &c. This gift of life is for ever.[6] Heb. ii. 8. *unto the Son he saith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever,*—hence xi. 12. *they shall perish, but thou remainest ..... but thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail.*

With regard to the divine attributes. And first, that of Omnipresence; for if the Father has given all things to the Son, even his very being and life, he has also given him to be wherever he is. In

[6] ..... Thou hast given me to possess
Life in myself for ever; by thee I live,
Though now to Death I yield. *Paradise Lost,* III. 243.

this sense is to be understood John i. 48. *before that Philip called thee .....I saw thee.* For Nathanael inferred nothing more from this than what he professes in the next verse, — *thou art the Son of God,* and iii. 13. *the Son of man which is in heaven.* These words can never prove that the Son, whether of man or of God, is of the same essence with the Father; but only that the Son of man came down from heaven at the time when he was conceived in the womb of the Virgin, that though he was ministering on earth in the body, his whole spirit and mind, as befitted a great prophet, were in the Father,—or that he, who when made man was endowed with the highest degree of virtue, is, by reason of that virtue, or of a superior nature given to him in the beginning,[7] even now in heaven; or rather *which was in heaven,* the Greek ὢν having both significations. Again, Matt. xviii. 20. *there am I in the midst of them.* xxviii. 20. *I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.* Even these texts, however, do not amount to an assertion of absolute omnipresence, as will be demonstrated in the following chapter.

Omniscience. Matt. xi. 27. *all things are delivered unto me of my Father, and no man knoweth the Son, but the Father, neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him.* John v. 20. *the Father loveth the Son, and showeth him all things.* viii. 26. *I speak those things that I have heard of him.* v. 28. *then shall ye know that ..... as my Father hath taught me, I speak these things.* v. 38. *I speak that which I have seen with my Father.* xv. 15. *all things that I have heard of my Father, I have made known unto you.* ii. 24, 25. *he knew all men .....for he knew what was in man.* xxi. 17.

[7] ..... hast been found
By merit, more than birthright, Son of God. *Paradise Lost,* III. 308.
..... For their King
Messiah, who by right of merit reigns. VI. 42.
That all the angels and ethereal powers,
They now, and men hereafter, may discern
From what consummate virtue I have chose
This perfect man, by merit call'd my Son,
To earn salvation for the sons of men. *Paradise Regained,* I. 163.

thou knowest all things. xvi. 30. *now are we sure that thou knowest all things ..... by this we believe that thou camest forth from God.* iii. 31—34. *he that cometh from heaven ,..... what he hath seen and heard ..... he whom God hath sent speaketh the words of God; for God giveth not the Spirit by measure unto him.* Rev. i. 1. *the revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him,*—whence it is written of him, ii. 23. *I am he which searcheth the reins and hearts,*—even as it is said of the faithful, that they know all things; 1 John ii. 20. *ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things.* Even the Son, however, knows not all things absolutely; there being some secret purposes, the knowledge of which the Father has reserved to himself alone. Mark xiii. 32. *of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father;* or as it is in Matt. xxiv. 36. *my Father only.* Acts i. 7. *the times and the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power.*

Authority.[8] Matt. xxviii. 18. *all power is given unto me in heaven and in earth.* Luke xxii. 29. *I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me.* John v. 22. *the Father hath committed all judgement unto the Son.* v. 43. *I am come in my Father's name.* vii. 16. *my doctrine is not mine, but his that sent me.* viii. 42. *I proceeded forth and came from God; neither came I of myself, but he sent me.* xii. 49, 50. *I have not spoken of myself, but the Father which sent me, he gave me a commandment what I should say, and what I should speak.* xiv. 24. *the word which ye hear is not mine, but the Father's which sent me.* xvii. 2. *as thou hast given him power over all flesh.* Rev. ii. 26, 27. *to him will I give power ..... even as I received of my Father.*

Omnipotence. John v. 19. *the Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do; for what things soever he doeth, these also*

[8] ..... All power
I give thee. *Paradise Lost,* III. 317.

Scepter and power, thy giving, I assume,
And gladlier shall resign, when in the end
Thou shalt be all in all—. VI. 730.

doeth the Son likewise. v. 30. *I can of my own self do nothing.* x. 18. *I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again: this commandment have I received of my Father.* Hence Philipp. iii. 21. *he is able even to subdue all things unto himself.* Rev. i. 8. *I am ..... the Almighty:* though it may be questioned whether this is not said of God the Father by the Son or the angel representing his authority, as has been explained before: so also Psal. ii. 7.

Works. John v. 20, 21. *for the Father ..... will show him greater works than these ..... for as the Father raiseth up the dead, and quickeneth them; even so the Son quickeneth whom he will.* v. 36. *the works that my Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do, bear witness of me that the Father hath sent me:*—it is not therefore his divinity of which they bear witness, but his mission from God; and so in other places. viii. 28. *then shall ye know that I am he, and that I do nothing of myself.* x. 32. *many good works have I showed you from my Father.* xi. 22. *I know that even now, whatsoever thou wilt ask of God, God will give it thee.* v. 41. *Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me.* So likewise in working miracles, even where he does not expressly implore the divine assistance, he nevertheless acknowledges it. Matt. xii. 28. compared with Luke xi. 20. *I cast out devils by the spirit,* or *finger, of God.* John xiv. 10. *the Father that dwelleth in me, he doeth the works.* Yet the nature of these works, although divine, was such, that angels were not precluded from performing similar miracles at the same time and in the same place where Christ himself abode daily: John v. 4. *an angel went down at a certain season into the pool.* The disciples also performed the same works. John xiv. 12. *he that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do.*

The following gifts also, great as they are, were received by him from the Father. First, the power of conversion. John vi. 44. *no man can come to me, except the Father which hath sent me draw him.* xvii. 2. *that he should give eternal life to as many as thou hast given him:* and so uniformly; whence arises the expression, Matt. xxiv. 31.—*his elect.*

Wherever therefore Christ is said to have chosen any one, as John xiii. 18. and xv. 16, 19. he must be understood to speak only of the election to the apostolical office.

Secondly, creation—but with this peculiarity, that it is always said to have taken place *per eum*, through him, not by him, but by the Father. Isai. li. 16. *I have put my words in thy mouth, and I have covered thee in the shadow of mine hand, that I may plant the heavens, and lay the foundations of the earth, and say unto Zion, Thou art my people.* Whether this be understood of the old or the new creation, the inference is the same. Rom. xi. 36. *for of him*,—that is, of the Father,—*and through him, and to him are all things; to whom be glory for ever.* 1 Cor. viii. 6. *to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things.* The remaining passages on the same subject will be cited in the seventh chapter, on the Creation. But the preposition *per* must signify the secondary efficient cause, whenever the *efficiens a quo*, that is, the principal efficient cause, is either expressed or understood. Now it appears from all the texts which have been already quoted, as well as from those which will be produced hereafter, that the Father is the first or chief cause of all things. This is evident even from the single passage, Heb. iii. 1—6. *consider the Apostle ..... who was faithful to him that appointed him ..... who hath builded the house*, that is, the Church. But he *that appointed him*, v. 2. and *builded all things, is God*, that is, the Father, v. 4.

Thirdly, the remission of sins, even in his human nature. John v. 22. *the Father hath committed all judgement unto the Son.* Matt. ix. 6. *but that ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins, then saith he*, &c. Acts v. 31. *him hath God exalted with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel, and forgiveness of sins.* Hence Stephen says, vii. 60. *Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.* It clearly appears from these passages that the following expression in Isaiah refers primarily to God the Father, xxxv. 4—6. *behold, your God will come with vengeance, even God with a recompense,*

he will come and save you: then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, &c. For it was the Father who appointed Christ *to be a Saviour,* Acts v. 31. and the Father is said *to come unto him,* John xiv. 23. and *do the works,* as has been proved before.

Fourthly, preservation. John xvii. 11, 12. *holy Father, keep through thine own name those whom thou hast given me ..... I kept them in thy name.* v. 15. *I pray ..... that thou shouldest keep them from the evil.* Col. i. 17. *by him all things consist.* Heb. i. 3. *upholding all things by the word of his power,* where it is read in the Greek, not *of his own power,* but *of his,* namely, of the Father's power.[9] But this subject will come under consideration again in the eighth chapter, on Providence, where the chief government of all things will be shown to belong primarily to the Father alone; whence the Father, Jehovah, is often called by the prophets not only the Preserver, but also the Saviour. Those who refer these passages to the Son, on account of the appellation of Saviour, seem to fancy that they hereby gain an important argument for his divinity; as if the same title were not frequently applied to the Father in the New Testament, as will be shown in the thirteenth chapter.

Fifthly, renovation. Acts v. 31. *him hath God exalted with his right hand, to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel.* 1 Cor. i. 30. *of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption.* 2 Cor. iv. 6. *for God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.* v. 17—21. *behold, all things are become new, and all things are of God, who hath reconciled himself to us by Jesus Christ..... we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled unto God: for he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might*

[9] This observation is added, because in the Latin version used by Milton the clause is translated *sustinens omnia verbo potentiæ suæ,* not *illius.* Peirce (Notes on St. Paul's Epistles) refers the phrase *his power,* to God the Father; but nearly all the best commentators uniformly explain it as referring to the Son.

be made the righteousness of God in him. Hence Jer. xxiii. 6. may be explained without difficulty; *this is his name whereby he shall be called, Jehovah our righteousness,* and xxxiii. 16. *this is the name wherewith she shall be called* (that is, the Church, which does not thereby become essentially one with God) *Jehovah our righteousness.*[1]

Sixthly, the power of conferring gifts—namely, that vicarious power which he has received from the Father. John xvii. 18. *as thou hast sent me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world.* See also xx. 21. Hence Matt. x. 1. *he gave them power against unclean spirits.* Acts iii. 6. *in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, rise up and walk.* ix. 34. *Jesus Christ maketh thee whole.* What was said before of his works, may be repeated here. John xiv. 16. *I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter.* xvi. 13, &c. *the Spirit shall receive of mine....all things that the Father hath are mine, therefore said I that he shall take of mine.* xx. 21, 22. *as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you.....receive the Holy Ghost.* Hence Eph. iv. 8. *he gave gifts to men;* compared with Psal. lxviii. 18. whence it is taken—*thou hast received gifts for men.*

Seventhly, his mediatorial work itself, or rather his passion. Matt. xxvi. 39. *O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me.* Luke xxii. 43. *there appeared an angel unto him from heaven, strengthening him.* Heb. v. 7, 8. *who in the days of his flesh, when he had offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto him that was able to save him from death, and was heard in that he feared: though he were a Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered.* For if the Son was able to accomplish by his own independent power the work of his passion, why did he forsake himself; why did

[1] In the original, the sentence is as follows: xxxiii. 16. *et hoc est quod vocabit eam* (nempe ecclesiam, non idcirco essentia cum Deo unam) *Jehovah justitia nostra;* vel clariore syntaxi, *Jehovam justitiam nostram;* vel si quis mavult, *hic qui vocabit eam;* eodem pertinet. I have omitted in the translation the latter clauses of the sentence, which could scarcely be made intelligible in a language without inflections.

he implore the assistance of his Father; why was an angel sent to strengthen him? How then can the Son be considered co-essential and co-equal with the Father? So too he exclaimed upon the cross—*My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* He whom the Son, himself God, addresses as God, must be the Father,—why then did the Son call upon the Father? Because he felt even his divine nature insufficient to support him under the pains of death. Thus also he said, when at the point of death, Luke xxiii. 46. *Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit.* To whom rather than to himself as God would he have commended himself in his human nature, if by his own divine nature alone he had possessed sufficient power to deliver himself from death? It was therefore the Father only who raised him again to life; which is the next particular to be noticed.

Eighthly, his resuscitation from death. 2 Cor. iv. 14. *knowing that he which raised up the Lord Jesus, shall raise up us also by Jesus, and shall present us with you.* 1 Thess. iv. 14. *them also which sleep in Jesus shall God bring with him.* But this point has been sufficiently illustrated by ample quotations in a former part of the chapter.

Ninthly, his future judicial advent.[2] Rom. ii. 16. *in the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ according to my gospel.* 1 Tim. vi. 14. *until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

Tenthly, divine honours. John v. 22, 23. *the Father hath committed all judgement unto the Son; that all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father.....which hath sent him.* Philipp. ii. 9—11. *God hath highly exalted him, and hath given him a name....that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow....and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.* Heb. i. 6. *when he bringeth in the first-begotten into the world, he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him.* Rev. v. 12. *worthy is the Lamb*

[2] But whom send I to judge them? Whom but thee,
Vicegerent Son? To thee I have transferr'd
All judgement, whether in Heav'n, or Earth, or Hell. *Paradise Lost*, X. 55.

that was slain to receive power, &c. Hence Acts vii. 59. *calling upon God, and saying, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.* ix. 14. *all that call upon thy name.* 1 Cor. i. 2. *with all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord.* 2 Tim. ii. 22. *with them that call upon the Lord out of a pure heart,* that is, as it is explained Col. iii. 17. *whatsoever ye do.....do it in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God and the Father by him.* 2 Tim. ii. 19. *every one that nameth the name of Christ.* It appears therefore that when we call upon the Son of God, it is only in his capacity of advocate with the Father. So Rev. xxii. 20. *even so, come, Lord Jesus*—namely, to execute judgement, *which the Father hath committed unto him, that all men might honour the Son,* &c. John v. 22, 23.

Eleventhly, baptism in his name. Matt. xxviii. 18, 19. *all power is given unto me in heaven and in earth; go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* More will be said on this subject in the next chapter.

Twelfthly, belief in him; if indeed this should be considered as an honour peculiar to divinity; for the Israelites are said, Exod. xiv. 31. *to believe Jehovah and his servant Moses.* Again, *to believe the prophets* occurs 2 Chron. xx. 20. and *faith toward all saints* Philem. 5. and *Moses in whom ye trust,* John v. 45. Whence it would seem, that *to believe in any one* is nothing more than an Hebraism, which the Greeks or Latins express by the phrase *to believe any one;* so that whatever trifling distinction may be made between the two, originates in the schools, and not in Scripture. For in some cases *to believe in any one* implies no faith at all. John ii. 23, 24. *many believed in his name....but Jesus did not commit himself unto them.* xii. 42. *many believed on him, but because of the Pharisees they did not confess him.* On the other hand, *to believe any one* often signifies the highest degree of faith. John v. 24. *he that believeth on him* (qui credit ei) *that sent me, hath everlasting life.* Rom. iv. 3. *Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness.* 1 John v. 10. *he that believeth not God.* See

also Tit. iii. 8. This honour, however, like the others, is derived from the Father. John iii. 35, 36. *the Father hath given all things into his hand: he that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life.* vi. 40. *this is the will of him that sent me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have everlasting life.* xii. 44. *Jesus cried and said, He that believeth on me, believeth not on me, but on him that sent me.* Hence xiv. 1. *ye believe in God, believe also in me.* 1 John iii. 23. *this is his commandment, that we should believe on the name of his Son Jesus Christ.* It may therefore be laid down as certain, that *believing in Christ* implies nothing more than that we believe Christ to be the Son of God, sent from the Father for our salvation. John xi. 25—27. *Jesus said unto her, I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die. Believest thou this? She saith unto him, Yea, Lord; I believe that thou art the Christ, the Son of God, which should come into the world.*

Thirteenthly, divine glory. John i. 1. *the Word was with God, and the Word was God.* v. 14. *we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father,* παρὰ Πατρός. v. 18. *no man hath seen God at any time; the only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.* vi. 46. *not that any man hath seen the Father, save he which is of God,* ὁ ὢν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ. xvii. 5. *glorify thou me with thine own self with the glory which I had with thee before the world was.* No one doubts that the Father restored the Son, on his ascent into heaven, to that original place of glory of which he here speaks. That place will be universally acknowledged to be the right hand of God; the same therefore was his place of glory in the beginning, and from which he had descended. But the right hand of God primarily signifies a glory, not in the highest sense divine, but only next in dignity to God. So v. 24. *that they may behold my glory which thou hast given me; for thou lovedst me before the foundation of the world.* In these, as in other passages, we are taught that the nature of the Son is indeed divine, but distinct from and clearly inferior to the nature of the Father,—for to be with God, πρὸς Θεὸν, and to be from God, παρὰ Θεῷ,—to be God,

and to be in the bosom of God the Father,—to be God, and to be from God,—to be the one invisible God, and to be the only-begotten and visible, are things so different that they cannot be predicated of one and the same essence. Besides, the fact that the glory which he had even in his divine nature before the foundation of the world, was not self-derived, but given by the love of the Father, plainly demonstrates him to be inferior to the Father. So Matt. xvi. 27. *in the glory of his Father.* Acts iii. 13. *the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob, the God of our fathers, hath glorified his Son Jesus.* Col. i. 19. *it pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell.* ii. 9. *in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.* Eph. iii. 19. *that ye might be filled with all the fulness of God.* These passages most clearly evince that Christ has received his fulness from God, in the sense in which we shall receive our fulness from Christ. For the term *bodily*, which is subjoined, either means *substantially*, in opposition to the *vain deceit* mentioned in the preceding verse,[3] or is of no weight in proving that Christ is of the same essence with God. 1 Pet. i. 21. *who gave him glory, that your faith and hope might be in God.* ii. 4. *chosen of God and precious.* 2 Pet. i. 16, 17. *we were eye-witnesses of his majesty; for he received from God the Father honour and glory, when there came such a voice to him—.* 1 Pet. iv. 11. compared with 2 Pet. iii. 18. *that God in all things may be glorified, through Jesus Christ, to whom be praise and dominion for ever and ever: but grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom be glory both now and for ever.* On a collation of the two passages, it would seem that the phrase *our Lord*, in the latter, must be understood of the Father, as is frequently the case. If however it be applied to the Son, the inference is the same, for it does not alter the doctrine of the former passage. John xii. 41. citing Isai. lxiii. 5. *these things said Esaias, when*

[3] Milton seems to have had the same idea in his mind in the following passage:

> 'Beyond compare the Son of God was seen
> Most glorious; in him all his Father shone
> Substantially express'd—.' *Paradise Lost*, III. 138.

he saw his glory, and spake of him,—that is, the glory of the only-begotten, given to the Son by the Father. Nor is any difficulty created by Isai. xlii. 8. *I am Jehovah, that is my name; and my glory will I not give to another, neither my praise to graven images.* For though the Son be *another* than the Father, God's meaning is merely that he will not give his glory to graven images and strange gods,—not that he will not give it to the Son, who is the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person,[4] and upon whom he had promised that he would put his Spirit, v. 1. For the Father does not alienate his glory from himself in imparting it to the Son, inasmuch as the Son uniformly glorifies the Father.[5] John xiii. 31. *now is the Son of man glorified, and God is glorified in him.* viii. 50. *I seek not mine own glory; there is one that seeketh and judgeth.*

[4] .....'On his right
The radiant image of his glory sat,
His only Son.' *Paradise Lost*, III. 62.

'Son, thou in whom my glory I behold
In full resplendence, heir of all my might—.' V. 719.

'Effulgence of my glory, Son belov'd,
Son in whose face invisible is beheld
Visibly, what by Deity I am;
And in whose hand what by decree I do,
Second Omnipotence. VI. 680.

.....Unfolding bright
Toward the right hand his glory, on the Son
Blaz'd forth unclouded Deity: He full
Resplendent all his Father manifest
Express'd. X. 63.

[5] O Father, O supreme of heavenly thrones,
First, Highest, Holiest, Best, thou always seek'st
To glorify thy Son, I always thee,
As is most just: This I my glory account,
My exaltation, and my whole delight, &c. VI. 723.

Shall I seek glory then, as vain men seek,
Oft not deserv'd? I seek not mine, but his
Who sent me, and thereby witness whence I am.
Paradise Regained, II. 105.

Hence it becomes evident on what principle the attributes of the Father are said to pertain to the Son. John xvi. 15. *all things that the Father hath are mine.* xvii. 6, 7. *thine they were, and thou gavest them me;....now they have known that all things whatsoever thou hast given me are of thee.* It is therefore said, v. 10. *all mine are thine, and thine are mine*—namely, in the same sense in which he had called the kingdom his, Luke xxii. 30. for he had said in the preceding verse, *I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me.*

Lastly, his coming to judgement. 1 Tim. vi. 14. *until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, which in his time he shall show, who is the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings and Lord of lords; who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto; whom no man hath seen, nor can see.*

Christ therefore, having received all these things from the Father, and *being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God,* Philipp. ii. 5. namely, because he had obtained them by gift, not by robbery. For if this passage imply his co-equality with the Father, it rather refutes than proves his unity of essence; since equality cannot exist but between two or more essences. Further, the phrases *he did not think it,—he made himself of no reputation,* (literally, *he emptied himself,*) appear inapplicable to the supreme God. For *to think* is nothing else than to entertain an opinion, which cannot be properly said of God.[6] Nor can the infinite God be said to empty himself, any more than to contradict himself; for infinity and emptiness are opposite terms. But since he emptied himself of that form of God in which he had previously existed, if the form of God is to be taken for the essence of the Deity itself, it would prove him to have emptied himself of that essence, which is impossible.

[6] 'Opinio autem in Deum non cadit.' Milton uses the same words in his treatise on Logic, where he assigns the reason. 'Opinio tamen in Deum non cadit, quia per causas æque omnia cognoscit.' Prose Works, VI. 293. For, as he says in his Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing, 'opinion is but knowledge in the making.' I. 322.

Again, the Son himself acknowledges and declares openly, that the Father is greater than the Son; which was the last proposition I undertook to prove. John x. 29. *my Father is greater than all.* xiv. 28. *my Father is greater than I.* It will be answered, that Christ is speaking of his human nature. But did his disciples understand him as speaking merely of his human nature? Was this the belief in himself which Christ required? Such an opinion will scarcely be maintained. If therefore he said this, not of his human nature only, (for that the Father was greater than he in his human nature could not admit of a doubt) but in the sense in which he himself wished his followers to conceive of him both as God and man, it ought undoubtedly to be understood as if he had said, My Father is greater than I, whatsoever I am, both in my human and divine nature; otherwise the speaker would not have been he in whom they believed, and instead of teaching them, he would only have been imposing upon them with an equivocation. He must therefore have intended to compare the nature with the person, not the nature of God the Father with the nature of the Son in his human form. So v. 31. *as the Father gave me commandment, even so I do.* John v. 18, 19. Being accused by the Jews of having made himself equal with God, he expressly denies it: *the Son can do nothing of himself,* v. 30. *as I hear I judge, and my judgement is just; because I seek not mine own will, but the will of my Father which sent me.* vi. 38. *I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me.* Now he that was sent was the only begotten Son; therefore the will of the Father is other and greater than the will of the only begotten Son. vii. 28. *Jesus cried in the temple, saying ..... I am not come of myself.* viii. 29. *he that sent me is with me: the Father hath not left me alone; for I do always those things that please him.* If he says this as God, how could he be left by the Father, with whom he was essentially one? if as man, what is meant by his being *left alone,* who was sustained by a Godhead of equal power? And why *did not the Father leave him alone?*—not because he was essentially one with him, but because he *did always those things that pleased him,* that is, as the less conforms himself to the will of the greater. v. 42. *neither came I of myself,*—not therefore of his own Godhead,—

but he sent me: he that sent him was therefore another and greater than himself. v. 49. *I honour my Father.* v. 50. *I seek not mine own glory.* v. 54. *if I honour myself, my glory is nothing;* it is therefore less than the Father's glory. x. 24, 25. *if thou be the Christ, tell us plainly ..... the works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me.* xv. 10. *as I have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in his love.* xvi. 25. *the time cometh when I shall no more speak to you in proverbs, but I shall shew you plainly of the Father.* xx. 17. *I ascend unto my Father and your Father; and to my God, and your God.* Compare also Rev. i. 11. *I am Alpha and Omega,* and v. 17. *I am the first and the last.* See also ii. 8. iii. 12. *him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God,* which is repeated three times successively. Here he, who had just before styled himself *the first and the last,* acknowledges that the Father was his God. Matt. xi. 25, 26. *I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth; because thou hast hid these things,* &c. *even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight.*

Thus far we have considered the testimony of the Son respecting the Father; let us now enquire what is the testimony of the Father respecting the Son: for it is written, Matt. xi. 27. *no man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him.* 1 John v. 9. *this is the witness of God which he hath testified of his Son.* Here the Father, when about to testify of the Son, is called God absolutely; and his witness is most explicit. Matt. iii. 17. *this is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.* Isai. xlii. 1. compared with Matt. xii. 18. *behold my servant, whom I uphold; mine elect in whom my soul delighteth; I have put my spirit upon him:*—see also Matt. xvii. 5. 2 Pet. i. 17. *for he received from God the Father honour and glory, when there came such a voice to him from the excellent glory, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.* Mal. iii. 1. *even the messenger of the covenant, behold he shall come, saith Jehovah of hosts:* and still more clearly Psal. ii. where God the Father is introduced in his own person as explicitly declaring the nature and offices of his Son. Psal. vii. 8, 11, 12. *I will declare the decree; Jehovah hath*

said unto me, Thou art my Son.....ask of me and I shall give.....serve Jehovah ..... kiss the Son. Heb. i. 8, 9. *unto the Son he saith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever ..... thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.* To the above may also be added the testimony of the angel Gabriel, Luke i. 32. *he shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest, and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David.* If then he be the Son of the Most High, he is not himself the Most High.

The apostles every where teach the same doctrine; as the Baptist had done before them. John i. 29. *behold the Lamb of God.* v. 33, 34. *I knew him not, but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me,* &c. *and I saw, and bare record that this is the Son of God.* iii. 32. *what he hath seen and heard, that he testifieth,* &c.—not he alone that was *earthly,* nor did he speak only of *earthly things,* but he that is *above all,* and that *cometh from heaven,* v. 31. lest it should be still contended that this and similar texts refer to the human nature of Christ. 2 Cor. iv. 4, 6. *lest the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them.* Col. i. 15. *who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature.* Philipp. ii. 6. *in the form of God.* Heb. i. 2. *whom he hath appointed heir.* v. 3. *the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person.* The terms here used, being all relative, and applied numerically to two persons, prove, first, that there is no unity of essence, and secondly, that the one is inferior to the other. So v. 4. *being made so much better than the angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they.* 1 Cor. iii. 23. *ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's.* Here, if any where, it might have been expected that Christ would have been designated by the title of God; yet it is only said that he is *God's.* The same appears even more clearly in what follows; xi. 3. *I would have you know that ..... the head of Christ is God.* Eph. i. 17. *the God of our Lord Jesus Christ.* 1 Cor. xv. 27. *when he saith, all things are put under him, it is manifest that he is excepted, which did put all*

things under him: and when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all. Here the usual subterfuge of the opponents of this doctrine, that of alleging the mediatorial office of Christ can be of no avail; since it is expressly declared, that when the Son shall have completed his functions as mediator, and nothing shall remain to prevent him from resuming his original glory as only begotten Son, he shall nevertheless be subject unto the Father.

Such was the faith of the saints respecting the Son of God; such is the tenor of the celebrated confession of that faith; such is the doctrine which alone is taught in Scripture, which is acceptable to God, and has the promise of eternal salvation. Matt. xvi. 15—19. *whom say ye that I am? and Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God: and Jesus answered and said unto him; Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven.....upon this rock I will build my Church.* Luke ix. 20. *the Christ of God.* John i. 49, 50. *Nathanael answered and saith unto him, Rabbi, thou art the Son of God; thou art the King of Israel.* vi. 69. *we believe and are sure that thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God.* ix. 35—38. *dost thou believe on the Son of God? he answered and said, Who is he, Lord, that I might believe on him? and Jesus saith unto him, Thou hast both seen him, and it is he that talketh with thee: and he said, Lord, I believe; and he worshipped him.* xi. 22, 26, 27. *I know that even now, whatsoever thou wilt ask of God, God will give it thee: whosoever liveth and believeth in me, shall never die: believest thou this? she saith unto him, Yea, Lord, I believe that thou art the Christ, the Son of God, which should come into the world.* xvi. 27, 30, 31. *the Father himself loveth you, because ye have loved me, and have believed that I came out from God: now are we sure that thou knowest all things; by this we believe that thou camest forth from God.* xvii. 3, 7, 8, 21. *this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent: now they have known that all things, whatsoever thou hast*

given me, are of thee; for I have given unto them the words which thou gavest me; and they have received them, and have known surely that I came out from thee: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me. xx. 31. *these are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing, ye might have life through his name.* Acts viii. 37. *if thou believest, thou mayest.....I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.* Rom. x. 9. *if thou shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.* Col. ii. 2. *that their hearts might be comforted, being knit together in love, and unto all riches of the full assurance of understanding, to the acknowledgement of the mystery of God, and of the Father, and of Christ.* Philipp. iv. 6, 7. *let your requests be made known unto God: and the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, shall keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus.* 1 Pet. i. 21. *who by him do believe in God, that raised him up from the dead, and gave him glory; that your faith and hope might be in God.* 1 John iv. 15. *whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God.* v. 1. *whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God.* v. 5. *who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God?* Finally, this is the faith proposed to us in the Apostles' Creed, the most ancient and universally received compendium of belief in the possession of the Church.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Holy Spirit.

Having concluded what relates to the Father and the Son, the next subject to be discussed is that of the Holy Spirit, inasmuch as this latter is called the Spirit of the Father and the Son. With regard to the nature of the Spirit, in what manner it exists, or whence it arose, Scripture is silent; which is a caution to us not to be too hasty in our conclusions on the subject. For though it be a Spirit, in the same sense in which the Father and Son are properly called Spirits; though we read that Christ by breathing on his disciples gave to them the Holy Ghost, or rather perhaps some symbol or pledge of the Holy Ghost, John xx. 22.— yet in treating of the nature of the Holy Spirit, we are not authorized to infer from such expressions, that the Spirit was breathed from the Father and the Son.[7] The terms *emanation* and *procession*, employed by theologians on the authority of John xv. 26. do not relate to the nature of the Holy Spirit; *the Spirit of truth*, ὁ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται, *who proceedeth* or *goeth forth from the Father;* which single expression is too slender a foundation for the full establishment of so great a mystery, especially as these words relate rather to the mission than to the nature of the Spirit; in which sense the Son also is often said ἐξελθεῖν, which in my opinion may be translated either *to go forth* or to *proceed* from the Father, without making any difference in the meaning. Nay, we are even said *to live by every word* (ἐκπορευομένῳ)

[7] This seems to be said in allusion to the controversies which arose between the Eastern and Western Churches on the subject of the spiration or procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son.

that proceedeth, or *goeth forth from the mouth of God*, Matt. iv. 4. Since therefore the Spirit is neither said to be generated nor created, nor is any other mode of existence specifically attributed to it in Scripture, we must be content to leave undetermined a point on which the sacred writers have preserved so uniform a silence.

The name of Spirit is also frequently applied to God and angels, and to the human mind.[8] When the phrase, the Spirit of God, or the Holy Spirit, occurs in the Old Testament, it is to be variously interpreted; sometimes it signifies God the Father himself,—as Gen. vi. 3. *my Spirit shall not alway strive with man;* sometimes the power and virtue of the Father, and particularly that divine breath or influence by which every thing is created and nourished. In this sense many both of the ancient and modern interpreters understand the passage in Gen. i. 2. *the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.*[9] Here, however, it appears to be used with reference to the Son, through whom the Father is so often said to have created all things. Job xxvi. 13. *by his Spirit he hath garnished the heavens.* xxvii. 3. *the Spirit of God is in my nostrils.* xxxiii. 4. *the Spirit of God hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty hath given me life.* Psal. civ. 30. *thou sendest forth thy Spirit, they are created.* cxxxix. 7. *whither shall I go then from thy Spirit?* Ezek. xxxvii. 14. *I shall put my Spirit in you, and ye shall live.* See also many other similar passages.

[8] 'Sciunt, qui in Hebræis literis versati sunt, quam late pateat Spiritus nomen. Origine sua ventum significat; ob cujus subtilitatem, quæ visum fugit, ad alia transfertur: primum ad substantias; nam Deus, angeli boni malique, deinde ipse hominis animus eo vocabulo nuncupatur.' Grotius *ad Luc.* ix. 55. See also Glocester Ridley's *First Sermon on the Divinity and Personality of the Holy Ghost*, where he cautions against those grosser errors which arise from a confusion of *kind*.

[9] Milton seems to allude to the Rabbinical interpretation of this passage, which, following the opinion of some of the Fathers, explains the *Spirit of God* to mean τὴν δύναμιν διαπλαστικὴν, or τὴν ἐνεργείαν ζωτικὴν, the creative or vivifying power. It seems extraordinary that Patrick should have chosen to adopt a mode of explanation nearly similar, and not less objectionable. 'This therefore we are to understand to be here meant; the infinite wisdom and power of God, which made a vehement commotion and mighty fermentation (by raising perhaps a great wind) upon the face of the waters.' So too Grotius.

Sometimes it means an angel. Isai. xlviii. 16. *the Lord Jehovah and his Spirit hath sent me.* Ezek. iii. 12. *then the Spirit took me up.*[1] See also v. 14, 24, &c.

Sometimes it means Christ, who according to the common opinion was sent by the Father to lead the Israelites into the land of Canaan. Isai. lxiii. 10, 11. *they rebelled, and vexed his Holy Spirit... where is he that put his Holy Spirit within them?*—that is, the angel to whom he transferred his own name, namely, Christ *whom they tempted,* Numb. xxi. 5, &c. compared with 1 Cor. x. 9.

Sometimes it means that impulse or voice of God by which the prophets were inspired. Nehem. ix. 30. *thou testifiedst against them by thy Spirit in thy prophets.*

Sometimes it means that light of truth, whether ordinary or extraordinary, wherewith God enlightens and leads his people. Numb. xiv. 24. *my servant Caleb, because he had another Spirit within him—.* Nehem. ix. 20. *thou gavest also thy good Spirit to instruct them.* Psal. li. 11, 12. *take not thy Holy Spirit from me.....renew a right Spirit within me.* cxliii. 10. *thy Spirit is good; lead me into the land of uprightness.* Undoubtedly neither David, nor any other Hebrew, under the old covenant, believed in the personality of that *good* and *Holy Spirit,* unless perhaps as an angel.[2]

More particularly, it implies that light which was shed on Christ himself. Isai. xi. 2. *the Spirit of Jehovah shall rest upon him, the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, the Spirit of counsel and might, the Spirit of knowledge and of the fear of Jehovah.* xlii. 1. *I have put my Spirit*

[1] The Spanish Jesuit Sanctius, and Pradus (*In Ezechielem Explanationes,* &c. Romæ 1596.) understand this passage in the sense attributed to it by Milton.

[2] See an elaborate refutation of the opinion that this doctrine was unknown before the Christian Revelation, in Ridley's *Second Sermon on the Holy Ghost.*

upon him, compared with Acts x. 38. *how God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power.*

It is also used to signify the spiritual gifts conferred by God on individuals, and the act of gift itself. Gen. xli. 38. *a man in whom the Spirit of God is.* Numb. xi. 17, 25, 26, 29. *I will take of the Spirit which is upon thee, and will put it upon them.* 2 Kings ii. 9. *I pray thee, let a double portion of thy Spirit be upon me.* v. 15. *the Spirit of Elijah doth rest upon Elisha.*

Nothing can be more certain, than that all these passages, and many others of a similar kind in the Old Testament, were understood of the virtue and power of God the Father, inasmuch as the Holy Spirit was not yet given, nor believed in, even by those who prophesied that it should be poured forth in the latter times.

So likewise under the Gospel, what is called the Holy Spirit, or the Spirit of God, sometimes means the Father himself. Matt. i. 18, 20. *that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost.* Luke i. 35. *the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God.*

Again, it sometimes means the virtue and power of the Father. Matt. xii. 28. compared with Luke xi. 20. *I cast out devils by the Spirit* or *finger of God.* Rom. i. 4. *declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead.* For thus the Scripture teaches throughout, that Christ was raised by the power of the Father, and thereby declared to be the Son of God. See particularly Acts xiii. 32, 33. quoted in the beginning of the last chapter. But the phrase, *according to the Spirit* (secundum Spiritum) seems to have the same signification as Eph. iv. 24. *which after God* (secundum Deum) *is created in righteousness and true holiness;* and 1 Pet. iv. 6. *that they might live according to God* (secundum Deum) *in the Spirit.*

Isai. xlii. 1. compared with Heb. ix. 14. *I have put my Spirit upon him .....who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God.* Luke iv. 1. *Jesus, being full of the Holy Ghost,* and v. 18. compared with Isai. lxi. 1. *the Spirit of the Lord Jehovah is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me,* &c. Acts x. 38. *God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power.* i. 2. *after that he through the Holy Ghost had given commandments unto the apostles whom he had chosen.* It is more probable that these phrases are to be understood of the power of the Father, than of the Holy Spirit itself; for how could it be necessary that Christ should be filled with the Holy Spirit, of whom he had himself said, John xvi. 15. *he shall take of mine?* For the same reason I am inclined to believe that the Spirit descended upon Christ at his baptism, not so much in his own name, as in virtue of a mission from the Father, and as a symbol and minister of the divine power. For what could the Spirit confer on Christ, from whom he was himself to be sent, and to receive all things? Was his purpose to bear witness to Christ? But as yet he was himself not so much as known. Was it meant that the Spirit should be then manifested for the first time to the church? But at the time of his appearance nothing was said of him or of his office; nor did that voice from heaven bear any testimony to the Spirit, but only to the Son. The descent therefore and appearance of the Holy Spirit in the likeness of a dove, seems to have been nothing more than a representation of the ineffable affection of the Father for the Son, communicated by the Holy Spirit under the appropriate image of a dove, and accompanied by a voice from heaven declaratory of that affection.[3]

[3] ..... In likeness of a dove
The Spirit descended, while the Father's voice
From Heav'n pronounc'd him his beloved Son. *Paradise Regained,* I. 30.

In another part of the same book, Milton intimates an uncertainty respecting the real signification of the descent of the Holy Spirit, which is very consistent with the hesitating manner in which he comments on the passage in this treatise.

..... thence on his head
A perfect dove descend, *(whate'er it meant,)*
And out of Heav'n the sorran voice I heard, &c. 82.

Thirdly, the Spirit signifies a divine impulse, or light, or voice, or word, transmitted from above either through Christ, who is the Word of God, or by some other channel. Mark xii. 36. *David himself said by the Holy Ghost.* Acts i. 16. *the Holy Ghost by the mouth of David spake before concerning Judas.* xxviii. 25. *well spake the Holy Ghost by Esaias the prophet.* Heb. iii. 7. *wherefore, as the Holy Ghost saith, To-day if ye will hear his voice,* &c. ix. 8. *the Holy Ghost this signifying, that the way into the holiest of all was not yet made manifest.* x. 15. *whereof the Holy Ghost also is a witness to us.* 2 Pet. i. 21. *holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.* Luke ii. 25, 26. *the Holy Ghost was upon him: and it was revealed unto him by the Holy Ghost—.* It appears to me, that these and similar passages cannot be considered as referring to the express person of the Spirit, both because the Spirit was not yet given, and because Christ alone, as has been said before, is, properly speaking, and in a primary sense, the Word of God, and the Prophet of the Church; though *God at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets,* Heb. i. 1. whence it appears that he did not speak by the Holy Spirit alone, unless the term be understood in the signification which I have proposed, and in a much wider sense than was subsequently attributed to it. Hence, 1 Pet. i. 11. *searching what or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them*—that is, in the prophets—*did signify,* must either be understood of Christ himself,—as iii. 18, 19. *quickened by the Spirit, by which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison,*—or it must be understood of the Spirit which supplied the place of Christ the Word and the Chief Prophet.

Lastly, the Spirit signifies the person itself of the Holy Spirit, or its symbol. Matt. iii. 16. Mark i. 10. *he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove, and lighting upon him.* Luke iii. 22. *in a bodily shape like a dove.* John i. 32, 33. *like a dove.* Nor let it be objected, that a dove is not a person; for an intelligent substance, under any form whatever, is a person; as for instance, the four living creatures seen in Ezekiel's vision, ch. i. John xiv. 16, 17. *another Comforter.*

See also v. 26. xv. 26. xvi. 7, 13. xx. 22. *he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost,*—which was a kind of symbol, and sure pledge of that promise, the fulfilment of which is recorded Acts ii. 2—4, 33. *having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, he hath shed forth this.* Matt. xxviii. 19. *in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* Acts xv. 28. *it seemed good to the Holy Ghost.* Rom. viii. 16. *the Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit.* v. 26. *it helpeth our infirmities.....it maketh intercession for us.* Eph. i. 13, 14. τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ, ὅς ἐστιν ἀρραβών· *ye were sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise which* (*who,* Whitby, Macknight) *is the earnest of our inheritance.* iv. 30. *grieve not the Holy Spirit of God.*

Lastly, it signifies the donation of the Spirit itself, and of its attendant gifts. John vii. 39. *but this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive; for the Holy Ghost was not yet given.* Matt. iii. 11. *he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire.* See also Acts i. 5. and xi. 16. 1 Thess. v. 19. *quench not the Spirit.*

Who this Holy Spirit is, and whence he comes, and what are his offices, no one has taught us more explicitly than the Son of God himself, Matt. x. 20. *it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you.* Luke xi. 13. *how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him.* xxiv. 49. *behold, I send the promise of my Father upon you; but tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be endued with power from on high.* John xiv. 16, 17. *I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever, even the Spirit of truth.* v. 26. *the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name.* xv. 26. *the Comforter, whom I will send unto you from the Father,.....which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me.* xvi. 7. *I will send him unto you.* v. 8. *when he is come, he will reprove the world—.* v. 13. *he shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he*

shall hear, that shall he speak. v. 14. *he shall glorify me, for he shall receive of mine.* v. 15. *all things that the Father hath are mine; therefore said I that he shall take of mine.* xx. 22. *when he had said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost.* Acts ii. 2—4, 33. *having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, he hath shed forth this—.* v. 32. *we are his witnesses of these things, and so is also the Holy Ghost whom God hath given to them that obey him.* Rom. xv. 13. *now the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that ye may abound in hope through the power of the Holy Ghost.* 1 Cor. xii. 3. *no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost.* Heb. ii. 4. *God also bearing them witness both with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to his own will.* Hence he is called the Spirit of the Father, the Spirit of God, and even the Spirit of Christ. Matt. x. 20. *it is the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you.* Rom. viii. 9. *but ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you: now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.* v. 15, 16. *ye have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father; the Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the sons of God.* 1 Cor. vi. 11. *by the Spirit of our God.* 2 Cor. i. 21, 22. *he which stablisheth us with you in Christ, and hath anointed us, is God; who hath also sealed us, and given the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts.* Gal. iv. 6. *God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father.* Eph. i. 13, 14. *that holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance.* iv. 30. *grieve not the holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed.* ii. 18. *through him we both have access by one Spirit unto the Father.* 1 Pet. i. 12. *the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven.* From all which results the command in Matthew xxviii. 19. *baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* 1 John v. 7. *there are three that bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one.* The latter passage has been considered in the preceding chapter; but both will undergo a further examination in a subsequent part of the present.

If it be the divine will that a doctrine which is to be understood and believed as one of the primary articles of our faith, should be delivered without obscurity or confusion, and explained, as is fitting, in clear and precise terms,—if it be certain that particular care ought to be taken in every thing connected with religion, lest the objection urged by Christ against the Samaritans should be applicable to us—*ye worship ye know not what,* John iv. 22.—if our Lord's saying should be held sacred wherever points of faith are in question—*we know what we worship*—the particulars which have been stated seem to contain all that we are capable of knowing, or are required to know respecting the Holy Spirit, inasmuch as revelation has declared nothing else expressly on the subject. The nature of these particulars is such, that although the Holy Spirit be nowhere said to have taken upon himself any mediatorial functions, as is said of Christ, nor to be engaged by the obligations of a filial relation to pay obedience to the Father, yet he must evidently be considered as inferior to both Father and Son, inasmuch as he is represented and declared to be subservient and obedient in all things; to have been promised, and sent, and given; to speak nothing of himself; and even to have been given as an earnest. There is no room here for any sophistical distinction founded on a twofold nature; all these expressions refer to the Holy Spirit, who is maintained to be the supreme God; whence it follows, that wherever similar phrases are applied to the Son of God, in which he is distinctly declared to be inferior to the Father, they ought to be understood in reference to his divine as well as to his human character. For what those, who believe in the Holy Spirit's co-equality with the Father, deem to be not unworthy of him, cannot be considered unworthy of the Son, however exalted may be the dignity of his Godhead. Wherefore it remains now to be seen on what grounds, and by what arguments, we are constrained to believe that the Holy Spirit is God, if Scripture nowhere expressly teach the doctrine of his divinity, not even in the passages where his office is explained at large, nor in those where the unity of God is explicitly asserted, as in John xvii. 3. 1 Cor. viii. 4, &c. nor where God is either described, or introduced as sitting upon his throne,—if, further,

the Spirit be frequently named the Spirit of God, and the Holy Spirit of God, Eph. iv. 30. so that the Spirit of God being actually and numerically distinct from God himself, cannot possibly be essentially one God with him whose Spirit he is, (except on certain strange and absurd hypotheses, which have no foundation in Holy Scripture, but were devised by human ingenuity for the sole purpose of supporting this particular doctrine)—if, wherever the Father and the Holy Spirit are mentioned together, the Father alone be called God, and the Father alone, omitting all notice of the Spirit, be acknowledged by Christ himself to be the one true God, as has been proved in the former chapter by abundant testimony;—if he be God who *stablisheth us in Christ*, who *hath anointed us*, who *hath sealed us*, and *given us the earnest of the Spirit*, 2 Cor. i. 22. if that God be one God, and that one God the Father;—if, finally, *God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father*, Gal. iv. 6. whence it follows that he who sent both the Spirit of his Son and the Son himself, he on whom we are taught to call, and on whom the Spirit himself calls, is the one God and the only Father. It seems exceedingly unreasonable, not to say dangerous, that in a matter of so much difficulty, believers should be required to receive a doctrine, represented by its advocates as of primary importance and of undoubted certainty, on anything less than the clearest testimony of Scripture; and that a point which is confessedly contrary to human reason, should nevertheless be considered as susceptible of proof from human reason only, or rather from doubtful and obscure disputations.

First, then, it is usual to defend the divinity of the Holy Spirit on the ground, that the name of God seems to be attributed to the Spirit: Acts v. 3, 4. *why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost?..... thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God.* But if attention be paid to what has been stated before respecting the Holy Ghost on the authority of the Son, this passage will appear too weak for the support of so great a doctrinal mystery. For since the Spirit is expressly said to be sent by the Father, and in the name of the Son, he who lies to the Spirit must lie to God, in the same sense as he

who receives an apostle, receives God who sent him, Matt. x. 40. John xiii. 20.[4] St. Paul himself removes all ground of controversy from this passage, and explains it most appositely by implication, 1 Thess. iv. 8. where his intention is evidently to express the same truth more at large: *he therefore that despiseth, despiseth not man, but God, who hath also given unto us his Holy Spirit.* Besides, it may be doubted whether the Holy Spirit in this passage does not signify God the Father;[5] for Peter afterwards says, v. 9. *how is it that ye have agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord?* that is, God the Father himself, and his divine intelligence, which no one can elude or deceive. And in v. 32. the Holy Spirit is not called God, but a witness of Christ with the apostles, *whom God hath given to them that obey him.* So also Acts ii. 38. *ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost,* given, that is, by God. But how can the gift of God be himself God, much more the supreme God?

The second passage is Acts xxviii. 25. compared with Isai. vi. 8, 9. *I heard the voice of the Lord, saying—* &c. ..... *well spake the Holy Ghost by Esaias the prophet,* &c. See also Jer. xxxi. 31. compared with Heb. x. 15. But it has been shewn above, that the names Lord and Jehovah are throughout the Old Testament attributed to whatever angel God may entrust with the execution of his commands; and in the New Testament the Son himself openly testifies of the Holy Spirit, John xvi. 13. that *he shall not speak of himself, but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he*

[4] Clarke, as might be expected, gives the same explanation of the passage, (*Scripture Doctrine,* Part I. Sect. 2. No. 66.) also quoting 1 Thess. iv. 8. He supports his opinion on the authority of Athanasius. "Ὥστε ὁ ψευσάμενος τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, τῷ Θεῷ ἐψεύσατο, τῷ κατοικοῦντι ἐν ἀνθρώποις διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ· ὅπου γάρ ἐστι τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐκεῖ ἔστιν ὁ Θεός. ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ, φησὶ, γινώσκομεν ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ἡμῖν μένει, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ δέδωκεν ἡμῖν. De Incarnat. Verbi, et contra Arianos.

[5] There is some error in this passage in the manuscript, where it is written thus: 'Quicquid incertum est annon hoc loco Spiritus Sanctus Deum Patrem significat: idem enim Petrus, &c.' Unless we suppose that some words have fallen out, the sentence may be corrected by a very slight alteration:—Quid, quod incertum est annon hoc loco Spiritus Sanctus Deum Patrem significet? idem, &c. I have followed this conjecture in the translation, as it is a form of sentence very frequently used in other parts of the treatise.

speak. It cannot therefore be inferred from this passage, any more than from the preceding, that the Holy Ghost is God.

The third place is 1 Cor. iii. 16. compared with vi. 19. and 2 Cor. vi. 16. *the temple of God ..... the temple of the Holy Ghost.* But neither is it here said, nor does it in any way follow from hence, that the Holy Spirit is God; for it is not because the Spirit alone, but because the Father also and the Son *make their abode with us,* that we are called *the temple of God.* Therefore in 1 Cor. vi. 19. where we are called *the temple of the Holy Ghost,* Paul has added, *which ye have of God,* as if with the purpose of guarding against any error which might arise respecting the Holy Spirit in consequence of his expression. How then can it be deduced from this passage, that he whom we have of God, is God himself? In what sense we are called *the temple of the Holy Ghost,* the same apostle has explained more fully Eph. ii. 22. *in whom ye also are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit.*

The next evidence which is produced for this purpose, is the ascription of the divine attributes to the Spirit. And first, Omniscience; as if the Spirit were altogether of the same essence with God. 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11. *the Spirit searcheth all things, yea the deep things of God: for what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of a man which is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God.* With regard to the tenth verse, I reply, that in the opinion of divines,[6] the question here is not respecting the divine omniscience, but only respecting those deep things *which God hath revealed unto us by his Spirit*—the words immediately preceding. Besides, the phrase *all things* must be restricted to mean whatever it is expedient for us to know: not to mention that it would be absurd to speak of God searching God, with whom he was one in essence. Next, with regard to the eleventh verse, the essence of the Spirit is not the subject in question; for the consequences would be full of absurdity, if it were to be under-

[6] So Beza and Grotius explain the passage.

stood that the Spirit of God was with regard to God, as the spirit of a man is with regard to man. Allusion therefore is made only to the intimate relationship and communion of the Spirit with God, from whom he originally proceeded. That no doubt may remain as to the truth of this interpretation, the following verse is of the same import: *we have received..... the Spirit which is of God.* That which is *of* God, cannot be actually God, who is unity. The Son himself disallows the omniscience of the Spirit still more plainly. Matt. xi. 27. *no man knoweth the Son, but the Father, neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him.* What then becomes of the Holy Spirit? for according to this passage, no third person whatever knoweth either the Father or the Son, except through their medium. Mark xiii. 32. *of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.* If not even the Son himself, who is also in heaven, then certainly not the Spirit of the Son, who receiveth all things from the Son himself; John xvi. 14.

Secondly, Omnipresence, on the ground that *the Spirit of God dwelleth in us.* But even if it filled with its presence the whole circle of the earth, with all the heavens, that is, the entire fabrick of this world, it would not follow that the Spirit is omnipresent. For why should not the Spirit easily fill with the influence of its power, what the Sun fills with its light; though it does not necessarily follow that we are to believe it infinite? If that lying spirit, 1 Kings xxii. 22. were able to fill four hundred prophets at once, how many thousands ought we not to think the Holy Spirit capable of pervading, even without the attributes of infinity or immensity?

Thirdly, divine works. Acts ii. 4. *the Spirit gave them utterance.* xiii. 2. *the Holy Ghost said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work.* Acts xx. 28. *the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers to feed the Church of God.* 2 Pet. i. 21. *holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.* A single remark will suffice for the solution of all these passages, if it be only remembered what was the language of Christ

respecting the Holy Spirit, the Comforter; namely, that he was sent by the Son from the Father, that he spake not of himself, nor in his own name, and consequently that he did not act in his own name; therefore that he did not even move others to speak of his own power, but that what he gave he had himself received. Again, 1 Cor. xii. 11. the Spirit is said *to divide to every man severally as he will.* In answer to this it may be observed, that the Spirit himself is also said to be divided to each according to the will of God the Father, Heb. ii. 4. and that even *the wind bloweth where it listeth,* John iii. 8. With regard to the annunciation made to Joseph and Mary, that the Holy Spirit was the author of the miraculous conception, Matt. i. 18, 20. Luke i. 35. it is not to be understood with reference to his own person alone. For it is certain that, in the Old Testament, under the name of the Spirit of God, or of the Holy Spirit, either God the Father himself, or his divine power was signified; nor had Joseph and Mary at that time heard anything of any other Holy Spirit, inasmuch as the personality and divinity of the Holy Spirit are not acknowledged by the Jews even to the present day. Accordingly, in both the passages quoted, πνεῦμα ἅγιον is without the customary article; or if this be not considered as sufficiently decisive, the angel speaks in a more circumstantial manner in St. Luke: *the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God,*— that is, of the Father: unless we suppose that there are two Fathers,— one Father of the Son of God, another Father of the Son of man.

Fourthly, divine honours. Matt. xxviii. 19. *baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* Here mention is undoubtedly made of three persons; but there is not a word that determines the divinity, or unity, or equality of these three. For we read, Matt. x. 41. John xiii. 20. of receiving a prophet in the name of a prophet, and a righteous man in the name of a righteous man, and of giving a cup of cold water in the name of a disciple; which evidently means nothing more, than because he is a prophet, or a righteous man, or a disciple. Thus too the Israelites *were baptized unto Moses,* 1 Cor. x. 2. that is, unto the law

or doctrine of Moses; and *unto the baptism of John* occurs in the same sense, Acts xix. 3. and *in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins*, Acts ii. 38. and *into Jesus Christ* and *into his death*, Rom. vi. 3. and *into one body*, 1 Cor. xii. 13. To be baptized therefore *in their name*, is to be admitted to those benefits and gifts which we have received through the Son and the Holy Spirit. Hence Paul rejoiced that no one could say he had been baptized in his name, 1 Cor. i. 13–15. It was not the imputation of making himself God that he feared, but that of affecting greater authority than was suitable to his character. From all which it is clear that when we are baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, this is not done to impress upon our minds the inherent or relative natures of these three persons, but the benefits conferred by them in baptism on those who believe,—namely, that our eternal salvation is owing to the Father, our redemption to the Son, and our sanctification to the Spirit. The power of the Father is inherent in himself, that of the Son and the Spirit is received from the Father; for it has been already proved on the authority of the Son, that the Son does every thing in the name of the Father, and the Spirit every thing in the name of the Father and the Son; and a confirmation of the same truth may be derived from the words immediately preceding the verse under discussion; v. 18. *all power is given unto me.....go ye therefore.....baptizing in the name*, &c. and still more plainly by 1 Cor. vi. 11. *but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.* Here the same three are mentioned as in baptism, *the Son, the Spirit*, and *our God;* it follows therefore that the Father alone is our God, of whom are both the Son and the Spirit.

But invocation is made to the Spirit. 2 Cor. xiii. 14. *the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all.* This, however, is not so much an invocation as a benediction, in which the Spirit is not addressed as a person, but sought as a gift from him who alone is there called God, namely, the Father, from whom Christ himself directs us to seek the communication

of the Spirit, Luke xi. 13. If the Spirit were ever to be invoked personally, it would be then especially, when we pray for him; yet we are commanded not to ask him of himself, but only of the Father. Why do we not call upon the Spirit himself, if he be God, to give himself to us? He who is sought from the Father, and given by him, not by himself, can neither be God, nor an object of invocation. The same form of benediction occurs Gen. xlviii. 15, 16. *the God before whom my fathers did walk ..... the angel which redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads:* and Rev. i. 4. *grace be unto you and peace from him which is ..... and from the seven spirits.* It is clear that in this passage the seven spirits, of whom more will be said hereafter, are not meant to be invoked. Besides that in this benediction the order or dignity of the things signified should be considered, rather than that of the persons; for it is by the Son that we come to the Father, from whom finally the Holy Spirit is sent. So 1 Cor. xii. 4–6. *there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit: and there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord: and there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all.* Here the three are again mentioned in an inverse order; but it is one God which worketh all in all, even in the Son and the Spirit, as we are taught throughout the whole of Scripture.

Hence it appears that what is said Matt. xii. 31, 32. has no reference to the personality of the Holy Spirit. For if to sin against the Holy Spirit were worse than to sin against the Father and Son, and if that alone were an unpardonable sin, the Spirit truly would be greater than the Father and the Son. The words must therefore apply to that illumination, which, as it is highest in degree, so it is last in order of time, whereby the Father enlightens us through the Spirit, and which if any one resist, no method of salvation remains open to him. I am inclined to believe, however, that it is the Father himself who is here called the Holy Spirit, by whose *Spirit*, v. 28. or *finger*, Luke xi. 20. Christ professed to cast out devils; when therefore the Pharisees accused him falsely of acting in concert with Beelzebub, they are declared to sin unpardonably, because they said of him who had the Spirit of his Father, *he hath an*

unclean spirit, Mark iii. 30. Besides, it was to the Pharisees that he spoke thus, who acknowledged no other Spirit than the Father himself. If this be the true interpretation of the passage, which will not be doubted by any one who examines the whole context from v. 24 to v. 32. that dreaded sin against the Holy Spirit will be in reality a sin against the Father, who is the Spirit of holiness; of which he would be guilty, who should affirm that the Spirit of the Father which was working in Christ was the prince of the devils, or an unclean spirit;—as Mark clearly shows in the passage quoted above.

But the Spirit bestows grace and blessing upon the churches in conjunction with the Father and the Son; Rev. i. 4, 5. *grace be unto you and peace from him which is.....and from the seven spirits which are before his throne, and from Jesus Christ.* It is clear, however, that the Holy Spirit is not here meant to be implied; the number of the spirits is inconsistent with such a supposition, as well as the place which they are said to occupy, standing like angels before the throne. See also iv. 5. and v. 6. where the same spirits are called *seven lamps of fire burning before the throne*, and the *seven horns* and *seven eyes* of the Lamb. Those who reduce these spirits to one Holy Spirit, and consider them as synonymous with his sevenfold grace, (an opinion which is deservedly refuted by Beza[7]) ought to beware, lest, by attributing to mere virtues the properties of persons, they furnish arguments to those commentators who interpret the

[7] 'Dei majestati adjungit suos stipatores, non tamen quasi illos ulla in parte Deo exæquet, vel cum Christo conferat, sicut etiam Paulus testes una citat Deum, Christum, et angelos, 1 Tim. v. 21. Nam quod septem hos spiritus nonnulli pro Spiritu Sancto acceperunt, cujus septiformis, ut loquuntur, sit gratia, manifeste refelli potest vel ex eo quod scribitur infra v. 5, 6. At ne quis hoc loco offendatur, quasi ad istos spiritus aliquid transferatur quod ad Deitatem tantum pertineat, vel quasi Christus istis spiritibus subjiciatur, considerentur divina elogia quæ paulo post tribuuntur Christo. Unius enim Dei est, et quidem qui homo sit factus, sanguine suo abluere mundi peccata; neque usquam angelis gloria et robur æternum tribuitur, sed hoc ipsum est quod angeli Dei acclamant. Christus ergo ut Deus hic describitur; septem autem isti spiritus ut ministri ante thronum collocantur; ergo etiam coram Christo, ut qui Deo Patri assideat. Denique ut nemo de hoc possit ambigere, iidem isti septem Spiritus infra v. 5, 6. *Agni cornua* et *oculi*, id est, ministri, dicuntur.' Beza ad Apoc. i. 4.

Holy Spirit as nothing more than the virtue and power of the Father.[8] This may suffice to convince us, that in this kind of threefold enumerations the sacred writers have no view whatever to the doctrine of three divine persons, or to the equality or order of those persons;—not even in that verse which has been mentioned above, and on which commentators in general lay so much stress, 1 John v. 7. *there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one,* where there is in reality nothing which implies either divinity or unity of essence. As to divinity, God is not the only one who is said to bear record in heaven; 1 Tim. v. 21. *I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels,*—where it might have been expected that the Holy Spirit would have been named in the third place, if such ternary forms of expression really contained the meaning which is commonly ascribed to them. What kind of unity is intended, is sufficiently plain from the next verse, in which *the spirit, the water, and the blood* are mentioned, which *are to bear record to one,* or *to that one thing.* Beza himself, who is generally a staunch defender of the Trinity, understands the phrase *unum sunt* to mean, *agree in one.*[9] What it is that they testify, appears in the fifth and sixth verses—namely, that *he that overcometh the world is he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God, even Jesus Christ,* that is, *the anointed;* therefore he is not one with, nor equal to, him that anointed him. Thus the very record that they bear is inconsistent with the essential unity of the witnesses, which is attempted to be deduced from the passage. For the Word is both the Son and Christ, that is, as has been said, *the anointed;* and as he is the image, as it were, by which we see God, so is he the word by which we hear him. But if such be his nature, he cannot be essentially one with God, whom no one can see or hear. The same has been already proved, by other

[8] According to the doctrine of the Socinians. 'Respondemus Spiritum Sanctum quidem per se, et, ut in scholis loquuntur, abstracte sumptum, qualitatem re vera esse, non substantiam.' Crellius, in answer to the question 'an Spiritus Sanctus substantia quædam sit, an vero mera tantum qualitas a Deo profecta.'

[9] See page 96, note 9.

arguments, with regard to the Spirit; it follows, therefore, that these three are not one in essence. I say nothing of the suspicion of spuriousness attached to the passage, which is a matter of criticism rather than of doctrine. Further, I would ask whether there is one Spirit that bears record in heaven, and another which bears record in earth, or whether both are the same Spirit. If the same, it is extraordinary that we nowhere else read of his bearing witness in heaven, although his witness has been always most conspicuously manifested in earth, that is, in our hearts. Christ certainly brings forward himself and his Father as the only witnesses of himself, John viii. 16, 19. Why then, in addition to two other perfectly competent witnesses, should the Spirit twice bear witness to the same thing? On the other hand, if it be another Spirit, we have here a new and unheard-of doctrine. There are besides other circumstances, which in the opinion of many render the passage suspicious; and yet it is on the authority of this text, almost exclusively, that the whole doctrine of the Trinity has been hastily adopted.

Lest however we should be altogether ignorant who or what the Holy Spirit is, although Scripture nowhere teaches us in express terms, it may be collected from the passages quoted above, that the Holy Spirit, inasmuch as he is a minister of God, and therefore a creature, was created or produced of the substance of God, not by a natural necessity, but by the free will of the agent, probably before the foundations of the world were laid, but later than the Son, and far inferior to him. It will be objected, that thus the Holy Spirit is not sufficiently distinguished from the Son. I reply, that the Scriptural expressions themselves, *to come forth, to go out from the Father, to proceed from the Father,* which mean the same in the Greek, do not distinguish the Son from the Holy Spirit, inasmuch as these terms are used indiscriminately with reference to both persons, and signify their mission, not their nature. There is however sufficient reason for placing the name as well as the nature of the Son above that of the Holy Spirit in the discussion of topics relative to the Deity; inasmuch as the brightness of the glory of God, and the express image of his person, are said to have been impressed on the one, and not on the other.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Creation.

The second species of external efficiency is commonly called Creation. As to the actions of God before the foundation of the world, it would be the height of folly to inquire into them, and almost equally so to attempt a solution of the question.[1] With regard to the account which is generally given from 1 Cor. ii. 7. *he ordained his wisdom in a mystery, even the hidden mystery which God ordained before the world,*—or, as it is explained, that he was occupied with election and reprobation, and with decreeing other things relative to these subjects,—it is not imaginable that God should have been wholly occupied from eternity in decreeing that which was to be created in a period of six days, and which, after having been governed in divers manners for a few thousand years, was finally to be received into an immutable state with himself, or to be rejected from his presence for all eternity.

That the world was created, is an article of faith: Heb. xi. 3. *through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God.*

[1] Milton elsewhere alludes to the less serious employments of the Deity before the creation of the world, referring to Prov. viii. 24, 25, 30. 'God himself conceals us not his own recreations before the world was built; *I was,* saith the eternal Wisdom, *daily his delight, playing always before him.*' *Tetrachordon.* Prose Works, II. 128. And again,

> Before the hills appear'd, or fountain flow'd,
> Thou with eternal Wisdom didst converse,
> Wisdom thy sister, and with her didst play
> In presence of th' Almighty Father, pleas'd
> With thy celestial song. *Paradise Lost,* VII. 8.

CREATION is that act whereby GOD THE FATHER PRODUCED EVERY THING THAT EXISTS BY HIS WORD AND SPIRIT, that is, BY HIS WILL, FOR THE MANIFESTATION OF THE GLORY OF HIS POWER AND GOODNESS.

WHEREBY GOD THE FATHER. Job ix. 8. *which alone spreadeth out the heavens.* Isai. xliv. 24. *I am Jehovah that maketh all things; that stretcheth forth the heavens alone; that spreadeth abroad the earth by myself.* xlv. 6, 7. *that they may know from the rising of the sun, and from the west, that there is none beside me: I am Jehovah, and there is none else: I form the light, and create darkness.* If there be any thing like a common meaning, or universally received usage of words, this language not only precludes the possibility of there being any other God, but also of there being any co-equal person, of any kind whatever. Neh. ix. 6. *thou art Jehovah alone; thou hast made heaven, the heaven of heavens.* Mal. ii. 10. *have we not all one Father? hath not one God created us?* Hence Christ himself says, Matt. xi. 25. *I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth.* So too all the apostles, Acts iv. 24. compared with v. 27. *Lord, thou art God, which hast made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all that in them is .... the kings of the earth stood up .... against thy holy child Jesus.* Rom. xi. 36. *for of him, and through him, and to him are all things.* 1 Cor. viii. 6. *to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things.* 2 Cor. iv. 6. *for God who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.* Heb. ii. 10. *him, for whom are all things, and by whom are all things.* iii. 4. *he that built all things is God.*

BY HIS WORD. Gen. i. throughout the whole chapter—*God said.* Psal. xxxiii. 6. *by the word of Jehovah were the heavens made.* v. 9. *for he spake, and it was done.* cxlviii. 5. *he commanded, and they were created.* 2 Pet. iii. 5. *by the word of God the heavens were of old,*—that is, as is evident from other passages, by the Son, who appears hence to derive his title of Word. John i. 3, 10. *all things were made by him: by him the world was made.* 1 Cor. viii. 6. *to us there is but one God, the Father,*

of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things. Eph. iii. 9. *who created all things by Jesus Christ.* Col. i. 16. *by him were all things created.* Heb. i. 2. *by whom also he made the worlds;* whence it is said, v. 10. *thou hast laid the foundation of the earth.* The preposition *per* sometimes signifies the primary cause, as Matt. xii. 28. *I cast out devils* (per Spiritum) *by the Spirit of God.* 1 Cor. i. 9. *God is faithful,* (per quem) *by whom ye are called,*—sometimes the instrumental, or less principal cause, as in the passages quoted above, where it cannot be taken as the primary cause, for if so, the Father himself, of whom are all things, would not be the primary cause; nor is it the joint cause, for in such case it would have been said that the Father created all things, not by, but with the Word and Spirit; or collectively, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit created; which phrases are nowhere to be found in Scripture. Besides, the expressions *to be of the Father,* and *to be by the Son,* do not denote the same kind of efficient cause. If it be not the same cause, neither is it a joint cause; and if not a joint cause, certainly the Father, of whom are all things, must be the principal cause, rather than the Son by whom are all things; for the Father is not only he *of* whom, but also from whom, and for whom, and through whom, and on account of whom are all things, as has been proved above, inasmuch as he comprehends within himself all lesser causes; whereas the Son is only he by whom are all things;[2] wherefore he is the less principal cause. Hence it is often said that the Father created the world by the Son,[3]—but never, in the same sense, that the Son created the world by the Father. It is however sometimes attempted to be proved from Rev. iii. 14. that the Son was the joint, or event he prin-

[2] For an answer to this assertion, and indeed with reference to the whole of this chapter, see Waterland's *Second Sermon in defence of the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ,* where he proves that Christ is properly Creator.

[3] He Heaven of Heavens and all the Powers therein
By thee created—. *Paradise Lost,* III. 390.
..... By whom,
As by his Word, the mighty Father made
All things, ev'n thee; and all the Spirits of Heaven
By him created in their bright degrees. V. 835.

cipal cause of the creation with the Father; *the beginning of the creation of God;* where the word *beginning* is interpreted in an active sense, on the authority of Aristotle.[4] But in the first place, the Hebrew language, whence the expression is taken, nowhere admits of this sense, but rather requires a contrary usage, as Gen. xlix. 3. *Reuben, thou art .... the beginning of my strength.* Secondly, there are two passages in St. Paul referring to Christ himself, which clearly prove that the word *beginning* is here used in a passive signification. Col. i. 15, 18. *the first born of every creature,... the beginning, the first born from the dead,*—where the position of the Greek accent,[5] and the passive verbal πρωτότοκος, show that the Son of God was the first born of every creature precisely in the same sense as the Son of man was the first born of Mary, πρωτότοκος, Matt. i. 25. The other passage is Rom. viii. 29. *first born among many brethren;* that is, in a passive signification. Lastly, it should be remarked, that he is not called simply *the beginning of the creation,* but *of the creation of God;* which can mean nothing else than the first of those things which God created; how therefore can he be himself God? Nor can we admit the reason devised by some of the Fathers[6] for his being called, Col. i. 15. *the first born of every creature,*—namely, because it is said v. 16. *by him all things were created.* For had St. Paul intended to convey the meaning supposed, he would have said, *who was before every creature,* (which is what these Fathers contend the words signify, though not without violence to the language) not, *who was the first born of every creature,* an expression which clearly has a superlative, and at the same time to a certain extent partitive sense, in so far as production may be considered as a kind of generation and creation; but

[4] See Aristotle's *Metaphys.* iv. 1. Milton alludes to the same interpretation in his logical work. 'Hinc *causa* proprie dicta, *principium* quoque nominatur a Cic. I. de Nat. Deorum, sed frequentius apud Græcos.' *Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio,* &c. Prose Works, VI. 205.

[5] In allusion to the opinion of Isidore Pelusiota, Erasmus, and others (with whom Michaelis agrees, Annotat. ad Paraphr. ad Col. i. 15.) that it should not be read πρωτότοκος, *primogenitus,* but πρωτοτόκος, *primus genitor.*

[6] Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Tertullian (contra Marcionem, lib. v.) Novatian. See also Athanasius, Orat. ii. contra Arianos.

by no means in so far as the title of first born among men may be here applied to Christ, seeing that he is termed first born, not only in respect of dignity, but also of time. v. 16. *for by him were all things created that are in heaven.*

Nor is the passage in Prov. viii. 22, 23. of more weight, even if it be admitted that the chapter in general is to be understood with reference to Christ: *Jehovah possessed me in the beginning of his way before his works of old: I was set up from everlasting.*[7] For that which was *possessed* and *set up*, could not be the primary cause. Even a creature, however, is called the beginning of the ways of God, Job xl. 19. *he (behemoth) is the chief* (principium) *of the ways of God.* As to the eighth chapter of Proverbs, it appears to me that it is not the Son of God who is there introduced as the speaker, but a poetical personification of wisdom, as in Job xxviii. 20—27. *whence then cometh wisdom?—then did he see it.*

Another argument is brought from Isai. xlv. 12, 23. *I have made the earth....unto me every knee shall bow.* It is contended that this is spoken of Christ, on the authority of St. Paul, Rom. xiv. 10, 11. *we shall all stand before the judgement seat of Christ: for it is written, As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me.* But it is evident from the parallel passage Philipp. ii. 9—11. that this is said of God the Father, by whose gift the Son has received that judgement seat, and all judgement, *that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow....to the glory of God the Father;* or, which means the same thing, *every tongue shall confess to God.*

And Spirit. Gen. i. 2. *the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters;*[8] that is, his divine power, rather than any person, as has

[7] See Waterland's *Seventh Sermon on Christ's Divinity*, &c. Works, Vol. II. 144.

[8] *Spiritus Dei incubabat.* The word *incubabat* properly signifies *brooded*, as a bird over her eggs; and the beauty of the original image, which is not retained in our authorized translation, has been twice preserved with great effect in the *Paradise Lost.*

..... Thou from the first

Wast

been already shown in the sixth chapter, on the Holy Spirit. For if it were a person, why is the Spirit named, to the exclusion of the Son, by whom we so often read that the world was created? unless indeed that Spirit were Christ, to whom, as has been before proved, the name of Spirit is sometimes given in the Old Testament. However this may be, and even if it should be admitted to have been a person, it seems at all events to have been only a subordinate minister: God is first described as creating the heaven and the earth; the Spirit is only represented as moving upon the face of the waters already created. So Job xxvi. 13. *by his Spirit he hath garnished the heavens.* Psal. xxxiii. 6. *by the word of Jehovah were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath* (spiritu) *of his mouth.* Now the person of the Spirit does not seem to have proceeded more from the mouth of God than from that of Christ, who *shall consume that wicked one with the spirit of his mouth,* 2 Thess. ii. 8. compared with Isai. xi. 4. *the rod of his mouth.*

By his will. Psal. cxxxv. 6. *whatsoever Jehovah pleased, that did he in heaven and earth.* Rev. iv. 11. *for thy pleasure they are and were created.*

For the manifestation of the glory of his power and goodness. Gen. i. 31. *God saw every thing that he had made, and behold, it was very good.* See also 1 Tim. iv. 4. Psal. xix. 1. *the heavens declare the glory of God.* Prov. xvi. 4. *Jehovah hath made all things for himself.* Acts xiv. 15. *that ye should turn from these vanities unto the living God which made heaven and earth and the sea, and all things that are therein.* xvii. 24. *God that made the world and all things therein.* Rom. i. 20. *for his eternal power and Godhead are clearly seen.*

> Wast present, and with mighty wings outspread
> Dove-like sat'st brooding on the vast abyss,
> And mad'st it pregnant. I. 19.
> ..... On the wat'ry calm
> His brooding wings the Spirit of God outspread,
> And vital virtue infus'd, and vital warmth
> Throughout the fluid mass. VII. 234.

Thus far it has appeared that God the Father is the primary and efficient cause of all things. With regard to the original matter of the universe, however, there has been much difference of opinion.[9] Most of the moderns contend that it was formed from nothing, a basis as unsubstantial as that of their own theory.[1] In the first place, it is certain that neither the Hebrew verb בָּרָא, nor the Greek κτίζειν, nor the Latin *creare*, can signify to create out of nothing.[2] On the contrary, these words uniformly signify to create out of matter. Gen. i. 21, 27. *God created....every living creature which the waters brought forth abundantly....male and female created he them.* Isai. liv. 16. *behold, I have created the smith....I have created the waster to destroy.* To allege, therefore, that creation signifies production out of nothing, is, as logicians say, to lay down premises without a proof; for the passages of Scripture commonly quoted for this purpose, are so far from confirming the received opinion, that they rather imply the contrary, namely, that all things were not made out of nothing. 2 Cor. iv. 6. *God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness.* That this darkness was

[9] The object of the next pages is to prove that the world was not created out of nothing. An intimation of this opinion occurs incidentally in *Paradise Lost.*

> ..... Fool, not to think how vain
> Against th' Omnipotent to rise in arms:
> Who out of smallest things could without end
> Have rais'd incessant armies to defeat
> Thy folly. VI. 135.

where Newton rightly observes, that Milton did not favour the opinion that the creation was out of nothing.

[1] So Drusius, Paulus Fagius, Estius, &c. and nearly all the English commentators. Tillotson takes occasion to reply to the objections raised against the doctrine, in his sermon *On the Power of God,* from Psal. lxii. 11. With regard to the opinion of the Fathers, Lactantius says, (*De Orig. Error.* lib. ii.) 'Nemo quærat ex quibus ista materiis tam magna, tam mirifica opera Deus fecerit; omnia enim *fecit ex nihilo.*' Tertullian, (*Advers. Hermog.* cap. xlv.) 'Igitur in quantum constitit materiam nullam fuisse, ex hoc etiam quod nec talem competat fuisse qualis inducitur, in tantum probatur omnia a Deo *ex nihilo facta.*' Justin. (*Aristotel. Dogm. evers.*) εἰ οὕτως ἐστὶν ἡ ὕλη ἀγέννητος, ὡς ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ δύναται ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ τοῦ ἀγεννήτου ποιῆσαί τι, δῆλον ὡς δύναται ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἁπλῶς μὴ ὄντος ποιῆσαί τι.

[2] See this argument answered by Beveridge, *Exposition of the First Article,* Works, Vol. IX. p. 50.

far from being a mere negation, is clear from Isai. xlv. 7. *I am Jehovah; I form the light, and create darkness.* If the darkness be nothing, God in creating darkness created nothing, or in other words, he created and did not create, which is a contradiction. Again, what we are required *to understand through faith* respecting *the worlds*, is merely this, that *the things which were seen were not made of things which do appear*, Heb. xi. 3. Now *the things which do not appear* are not to be considered as synonymous with nothing, (for nothing does not admit of a plural, nor can a thing be made and compacted together out of nothing, as out of a number of things)[3] but the meaning is, that they do not appear as they now are. The apocryphal writers, whose authority may be considered as next to that of the Scriptures, speak to the same effect. Wisd. xi. 17. *thy almighty hand that made the world of matter without form.* 2 Macc. vii. 28. *God made the earth and all that is therein of things that were not.* The expression in Matt. ii. 18. may be quoted, *the children of Rachel are not.* This, however, does not mean properly that they are nothing, but that (according to a common Hebraism) they are no longer amongst the living.

It is clear then that the world was framed out of matter of some kind or other. For since action and passion are relative terms, and since, consequently, no agent can act externally, unless there be some patient, such as matter, it appears impossible that God could have created this world out of nothing; not from any defect of power on his part, but because it was necessary that something should have previously existed capable of receiving passively the exertion of the divine efficacy. Since, therefore, both Scripture and reason concur in pronouncing that all these things were made, not out of nothing, but out of matter, it necessarily follows, that matter must either have always existed independently of God, or have originated from

[3] There seems to be an error in the Latin MS. in this passage. It stands thus—*neque compingi ex multis tanquam ex nihilo quicquam potest.* It is probable that a confusion has arisen in the arrangement of the words, and that they ought to have been written as follows—*neque compingi ex nihilo tanquam ex multis quicquam potest.*

God at some particular point of time. That matter should have been always independent of God, (seeing that it is only a passive principle, dependent on the Deity, and subservient to him; and seeing, moreover, that, as in number, considered abstractedly, so also in time or eternity there is no inherent force or efficacy) that matter, I say, should have existed of itself from all eternity, is inconceivable. If on the contrary it did not exist from all eternity, it is difficult to understand from whence it derives its origin. There remains, therefore, but one solution of the difficulty, for which moreover we have the authority of Scripture, namely, that all things are of God.[4] Rom. xi. 36. *for of him, and through him, and to him are all things.* 1 Cor. viii. 6. *there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things:* where the same Greek preposition is used in both cases. Heb. ii. 11. *for both he that sanctifieth, and they who are sanctified, are all of one.*

In the first place, there are, as is well known to all, four kinds of causes,—*efficient, material, formal,* and *final.*[5] Inasmuch then as God is the primary, and absolute, and sole cause of all things, there can be no doubt but that he comprehends and embraces within himself all the causes above-mentioned. Therefore the material cause must be either God, or nothing. Now nothing is no cause at all; and yet it is con-

[4] I am by no means confident that I have succeeded in conveying the meaning intended to have been expressed by Milton in the preceding sentences. In the original the passage is evidently corrupt, and it is not very easy to propose satisfactory emendations. I have ventured to translate it on the supposition that it was originally written and pointed thus:—*Ut extra Deum semper fuerit materia (quamvis principium tantummodo passivum sit, a Deo pendeat, eique subserviat; quamvis ut numeri, ita et ævi, vel sempiterni, nulla vis, nulla apud se efficacia sit) tamen ut ab æterno, inquam, per se materia extiterit intelligi non potest; nec si ab æterno non fuit, unde tandem fuerit intellectu est facilius; restat igitur hoc solum, præeunte præsertim scriptura, fuisse omnia ex Deo.*

[5] 'Quot autem modis alicujus vi res est, tot esse species causæ statuendum est: Modis autem quatuor alicujus vi res est; ut recte Aristot. Phys. II. 7. et nos supra diximus; vel enim a quo, vel ex quo, vel per quod, vel propter quod res una quæque est, ejus vi esse recte dicitur. His modis nec plures inveniuntur, nec pauciores esse possunt; recte igitur causa distribuitur in causam a qua, ex qua, per quam, et propter quam, id est, efficientem, et materiam, aut formam, et finem.' *Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio.* Prose Works, VI. 205.

tended that forms, and above all, that human forms, were created out of nothing. But matter and form, considered as internal causes, constitute the thing itself; so that either all things must have had two causes only, and those external, or God will not have been the perfect and absolute cause of every thing. Secondly, it is an argument of supreme power and goodness, that such diversified, multiform, and inexhaustible virtue should exist and be *substantially* inherent in God (for that virtue cannot be *accidental* which admits of degrees, and of augmentation or remission, according to his pleasure) and that this diversified and substantial virtue should not remain dormant within the Deity, but should be diffused and propagated and extended as far and in such manner as he himself may will. For the original matter of which we speak, is not to be looked upon as an evil or trivial thing, but as intrinsically good, and the chief productive stock[6] of every subsequent good. It was a substance, and derivable from no other source than from the fountain of every substance, though at first confused and formless, being afterwards adorned and digested into order by the hand of God.[7]

Those who are dissatisfied because, according to this view, substance

[6] 'Producendi *seminarium*.' The same word is used in the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*. 'Seeing then there is a two-fold *seminary* or stock in nature, from whence are derived the issues of love and hatred,' &c. Prose Works, I. 370.

[7] Won from the void and formless infinite. *Paradise Lost*, III. 12.

. . . . . .

I saw when at his word the formless mass,
This world's material mould, came to a heap:
Confusion heard his voice, and wild uproar
Stood rul'd, stood vast infinitude confin'd;
Till at his second bidding Darkness fled,
Light shone, and order from disorder sprung;
Swift to their sev'ral quarters hasted then
The cumbrous elements, earth, flood, air, fire;
And this ethereal quintessence of Heav'n
Flew upward, spirited with various forms. *Ibid.* 708.

Compare also the more detailed account in Book VII. 192—275.

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY CALIFORNIA.

was imperfect, must also be dissatisfied with God for having originally produced it out of nothing in an imperfect state, and without form. For what difference does it make, whether God produced it in this imperfect state out of nothing, or out of himself? By this reasoning, they only transfer that imperfection to the divine efficiency, which they are unwilling to admit can properly be attributed to substance considered as an efflux of the Deity. For why did not God create all things out of nothing in an absolutely perfect state at first? It is not true, however, that matter was in its own nature originally imperfect; it merely received embellishment from the accession of forms, which are themselves material.[8] And if it be asked how what is corruptible can proceed from incorruption, it may be asked in return how the virtue and efficacy of God can proceed out of nothing. Matter, like the form and nature of the angels itself, proceeded incorruptible from God; and even since the fall it remains incorruptible as far as concerns its essence.

But the same, or even a greater difficulty still remains—how that which is in its nature peccable can have proceeded (if I may so speak) from God? I ask in reply, how anything peccable can have originated from the virtue and efficacy which proceeded from God? Strictly speaking indeed it is neither matter nor form that sins; and yet having proceeded from God, and become in the power of another party, what is there to prevent them, inasmuch as they have now become mutable, from contracting taint and contamination through the enticements of the devil, or those which originate in man himself? It is objected, however, that body cannot emanate from spirit. I reply, much less then can body emanate from nothing. For spirit being the more excellent substance, virtually and essentially contains within itself the inferior one; as the spiritual and rational faculty contains

[8] ..... one first matter all,
Endued with various forms, various degrees
Of substance, and in things that live, of life.
Paradise Lost, V. 472.

the corporeal, that is, the sentient and vegetative faculty.[9] For not even divine virtue and efficiency could produce bodies out of nothing, according to the commonly received opinion, unless there had been some bodily power in the substance of God; since no one can give to another what he does not himself possess. Nor did St. Paul hesitate to attribute to God something corporeal; Col. ii. 9. *in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.* Neither is it more incredible that a bodily power should issue from a spiritual substance, than that what is spiritual should arise from body; which nevertheless we believe will be the case with our own bodies at the resurrection. Nor, lastly, can it be understood in what sense God can properly be called infinite, if he be capable of receiving any accession whatever; which would be the case if anything could exist in the nature of things, which had not first been of God and in God.

Since therefore it has (as I conceive) been satisfactorily proved, under the guidance of Scripture, that God did not produce everything out of nothing, but of himself, I proceed to consider the necessary consequence of this doctrine, namely, that if all things are not only from God, but of God, no created thing can be finally annihilated. And, not to mention that not a word is said of this annihilation in the sacred writings, there are other reasons, besides that which has been just alleged, and which is the strongest of all, why this doctrine should be altogether exploded. First, because God is neither willing, nor, properly speaking, able to annihilate anything altogether. He is not

[9] .....Know that in the soul
Are many lesser faculties, that serve
Reason as chief. *Paradise Lost,* V. 100.

.....And food alike those pure
Intelligential substances require,
As doth your rational; and both contain
Within them every lower faculty
Of sense, whereby they hear, see, smell, touch, taste,
Tasting concoct, digest, assimilate,
And corporeal to incorporeal turn. *Ibid.* 407.

willing, because he does everything with a view to some end,—but nothing can be the end neither of God, nor of anything whatever. Not of God, because he is himself the end of himself; not of anything whatever, because good of some kind is the end of everything. Now nothing is neither good, nor in fact anything. Entity is good, non-entity consequently is not good; wherefore it is neither consistent with the goodness or wisdom of God to make out of entity, which is good, that which is not good, or nothing. Again, God is not able to annihilate anything altogether, because by creating nothing he would create and not create at the same time, which involves a contradiction. If it be said that the creative power of God continues to operate, inasmuch as he makes that not to exist which did exist; I answer, that there are two things necessary to constitute a perfect action, motion and the effect of motion: in the present instance the motion is the act of annihilation; the effect of motion is none, that is, nothing, no effect. Where then there is no effect there is no efficient.

Creation is either of things invisible or visible.

The things invisible, or which are at least such to us, are, the highest heaven, which is the throne and habitation of God, and the heavenly powers, or angels.

Such is the division of the apostle, Col. i. 16. The first place is due to things invisible, if not in respect of origin, at least of dignity. For the highest heaven is as it were the supreme citadel and habitation of God. See Deut. xxvi. 15. 1 Kings viii. 27, 30, *heaven of heavens.* Neh. ix. 6. Isai. lxiii. 15. *far above all heavens,* Eph. iv. 10. where God *dwelleth in the light which no man can approach unto,* 1 Tim. vi. 16.[1] Out of this light it appears that pleasures and glories, and a kind of perpetual heaven, have emanated

[1] . . . . . God is light,
And never but in unapproached light
Dwelt from eternity. *Paradise Lost,* III. 3.

and subsist. Psal. xvi. 11. *at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.* Isai. lvii. 15. *the high and lofty one that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy; I dwell in the high and holy place.*

It is improbable that God should have formed to himself such an abode for his majesty only at so recent a period as at the beginning of the world. For if there be any one habitation of God, where he diffuses in an eminent manner the glory and brightness of his majesty, why should it be thought that its foundations are only coeval with the fabrick of this world, and not of much more ancient origin? At the same time it does not follow that heaven should be eternal, nor, if eternal, that it should be God; for it was always in the power of God to produce any effect he pleased at whatever time and in whatever manner seemed good to him. We cannot form any conception of light independent of a luminary; but we do not therefore infer that a luminary is the same as light, or equal in dignity. In the same manner we do not think that what are called *the back parts* of God, Exod. xxxiii. are, properly speaking, God; though we nevertheless consider them to be eternal. It seems more reasonable to conceive in the same manner of the heaven of heavens, the throne and habitation of God, than to imagine that God should have been without a heaven till the first of the six days of creation.[2] At the same time I give this opinion, not as venturing to determine anything certain on such a subject, but rather with a view of showing that others have been too bold in affirming that the invisible and highest heaven was made on the first day, contemporaneously with that heaven

[2] The same opinion has been held by the Fathers, as well as by most of the moderns. 'In libro de Trinitate, sive Novatiani sive Tertulliani sit, tam mundus angelicus quam superfirmamentarius conditus dicitur ante mundum Mosaicum his verbis. *Quum etiam superioribus, id est, super ipsum quoque solidamentum partibus, angelos prius instituerit Deus, spirituales virtutes digesserit, thronos potestatesque præfecerit, et alia multa cœlorum immensa spatia condiderit,* &c. *ut hic mundus novissimum magis Dei opus esse appareat, quam solum et unicum.* Denique Catholicorum communem hanc fuisse sententiam notat Cassianus suo tempore, nempe sæculo quinto ineunte; *ante illud Geneseως temporale principium, omnes illas potestates cœlestes Deum creasse, non dubium est.*' T. Burnet. *Archæol. Philos.* c. 8.

which is within our sight. For since it was of the latter heaven alone, and of the visible world, that Moses undertook to write, it would have been foreign to his purpose to have said anything of what was above the world.

In this highest heaven seems to be situated the heaven of the blessed; which is sometimes called Paradise, Luke xxiii. 43. 2 Cor. xii. 2, 4. and Abraham's bosom, Luke xvi. 22. compared with Matt. viii. 11. where also God permits himself to be seen by the angels and saints (as far as they are capable of enduring his glory), and will unfold himself still more fully to their view at the end of the world, 1 Cor. xiii. 12. John xiv. 2, 3. *in my Father's house are many mansions.* Heb. xi. 10, 16. *he looked for a city which hath foundations..... they desire a better country, that is, an heavenly ..... for he hath prepared for them a city.*

It is generally supposed that the angels were created at the same time with the visible universe, and that they are to be considered as comprehended under the general name of *heavens.* That the angels were created at some particular period, we have the testimony of Numb. xvi. 22. and xxvii. 16. *God of the spirits,* Heb. i. 7. Col. i. 16. *by him were all things created..... visible and invisible, whether they be thrones,* &c.[3] But that

[3] The opinion that angels were not created, but self-existent, is with great propriety attributed to Satan in Paradise Lost.

> That we were form'd then say'st thou? and the work
> Of secondary hands, by task transferr'd
> From Father to his Son? strange point and new!
> Doctrine which we would know whence learn'd? who saw
> When this creation was? remember'st thou
> Thy making, while the Maker gave thee being?
> We know no time when we were not as now;
> Know none before us, self-begot, self-rais'd
> By our own quick'ning power, when fatal course
> Had circled his full orb, the birth mature
> Of this our native Heav'n, ethereal sons. V. 853.

In another place Satan proposes the question as doubtful;

> Whether such virtue spent of old now fail'd
> More angels to create, if they at least
> Are his created—. IX. 145.

they were created on the first, or on any one of the six days, seems to be asserted (like most received opinions) with more confidence than reason, chiefly on the authority of the repetition in Gen. ii. 1. *thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them,*—unless we are to suppose that more was meant to be implied in the concluding summary than in the previous narration itself, and that the angels are to be considered as the host who inhabit the visible heavens. For what is said Job xxxviii. 7. that they shouted for joy before God at the creation, proves rather that they were then already in existence, than that they were then first created. 'Many at least of the Greek, and some of the Latin Fathers, are of opinion that angels, as being spirits, must have existed long before the material world;[4] and it seems even probable, that the apostasy which caused the expulsion of so many thousands from heaven, took place before the foundations of this world were laid. 'Certainly there is no sufficient foundation for the common opinion, that motion and time (which is the measure of motion) could not, according to the ratio of priority and subsequence, have existed before this world was made; since Aristotle, who teaches that no ideas of motion and time can be formed except in reference to this world, nevertheless pronounces the world itself to be eternal.[5]

[4] 'Plures e patribus Christianis angelos extitisse ante terram, vel ante mundum Mosaicum, per ignota nobis sæcula, statuerunt; aliqui etiam cœlos supremos, vel cœlum empyreum. Sed de angelis constantior est et a pluribus celebrata sententia. Ut mittam Origenem, hoc Sanctus Basilius in *Hexaëmero,* Chrysostomus πρὸς τοὺς σκανδαλισθέντας, c. 7. πολλῷ ταύτης τῆς κτίσεως πρεσβύτεροι, &c. Gregorius Nazianzenus *Orat.* 38. et alibi, Johannes Damascenus l. ii. *Orth. Fid.* c. 3. Joh. Philoponus *De Creatione Mundi,* l. i. c. 10. Olympiodorus in Job. xxxviii. aliique e Græcis docuere. E Latinis etiam non pauci eidem sententiæ adhæserunt. Hilarius, l. xii. *De Trinitate;* Hieronymus, Ambrosius in *Hexaëmero,* l. i. c. 5. Isidorus Hispalensis, Beda, aliique.' T. Burnet. *Archæol. Philos.* l. ii. c. 8. It is observable that Milton had indirectly declared himself to have believed in the pre-existence of angels in the Paradise Lost, where he represents Uriel to have been present at the creation of the visible world, and puts into his mouth the beautiful description quoted in a preceding page,—'*I saw* when at his word the formless mass,' &c.

[5] See Aristot. *Natural. Auscult.* lib. viii. cap. 1. In reference to this Milton says elsewhere:

> ..... Time, though in eternity, applied
> To motion, measures all things durable
> By present, past, and future. *Paradise Lost,* V. 580.

Angels are spirits, Matt. viii. 16. and xii. 45. inasmuch as a legion of devils is represented as having taken possession of one man, Luke viii. 30. Heb. i. 14. *ministering spirits.* They are of ethereal nature,[6] 1 Kings xxii. 21. Psal. civ. 4. compared with Matt. viii. 31. Heb. i. 7. *as lightning,* Luke x. 18. whence also they are called Seraphim. Immortal, Luke xx. 36. *neither can they die any more.* Excellent in wisdom; 2 Sam. xiv. 20. Most powerful in strength; Psal. ciii. 20. 2 Pet. ii. 11. 2 Kings xix. 35. 2 Thess. i. 7. Endued with the greatest swiftness, which is figuratively denoted by the attribute of wings;[7] Ezek. i. 6. In number almost infinite; Deut. xxxiii. 2. Job xxv. 3. Dan. vii. 10. Matt. xxvi. 53. Heb. xii. 22. Rev. v. 11, 12. Created in perfect holiness and righteousness; Luke ix. 26. John viii. 44. 2 Cor. xi. 14, 15. *angels of light ..... ministers of righteousness.* Matt. vi. 10. *thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven.* xxv. 31. *holy angels.* Hence they are also called sons of God,[8] Job i. 6. and xxxviii. 7. Dan. iii. 25. compared with v. 28. and even Gods, Psal. viii. 5. xcvii. 7. But they are not to be compared with God; Job iv. 18. *his angels he charged with folly.* xv. 15. *the heavens are not clean in his sight.* xxv. 5. *yea, the stars are not pure in his sight.* Isai. vi. 2. *with two wings he covered his face.*[9] They are distinguished one from another by offices and degrees;[1] Matt. xxv. 41.

[6] Your bodies may at last turn all to spirit,
Improv'd by tract of time, and wing'd ascend
Ethereal as we. *Paradise Lost,* V. 499.

And when Satan receives his wound from Michael,
..... th' ethereal substance clos'd,
Not long divisible. VI. 330.

[7] Meanwhile the winged heralds, by command
Of sovran pow'r—. I. 752.

[8] I came among the sons of God, when he
Gave up into my hands Uzzean Job. *Paradise Regained,* I. 368.

[9] Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear,
Yet dazzle heav'n, that brightest Seraphim
Approach not, but with both wings veil their eyes. *Paradise Lost,* III. 380.

[1] 'Yea the angels themselves, in whom no disorder is feared, as the apostle that saw them in his rapture describes, are distinguished and quaternioned into their celestial princedoms and satrapies, according as God himself has writ his imperial decrees through the great provinces of heaven.' *Reason of Church Government,* &c. Prose Works, I. 81.

Rom. viii. 38. Col. i. 16. Eph. i. 21. and iii. 10. 1 Pet. iii. 22. Rev. xii. 7. Cherubim, Gen. iii. 24. Seraphim, Isai. vi. 2. and by proper names; Dan. viii. 16. ix. 21. x. 13. Luke i. 19. Michael, Jude 9. Rev. xii. 7. 1 Thess. iv. 16. *with the voice of the Archangel.* Josh. v. 14. See more on this subject in the ninth chapter. To push our speculations further on this subject, is to incur the apostle's reprehension, Col. ii. 18. *intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind.*

THE VISIBLE CREATION comprises the material universe, and all that is contained therein; and more especially the human race.

The creation of the world in general, and of its individual parts, is related Gen. i. It is also described Job xxvi. 7, &c. and xxxviii. and in various passages of the Psalms and Prophets. Psal. xxxiii. 6—9. civ. cxlviii. 5. Prov. viii. 26, &c. Amos iv. 13. 2 Pet. iii. 5. Previously, however, to the creation of man, as if to intimate the superior importance of the work, the Deity speaks like to a man deliberating:[2] Gen. i. 26. *God said, Let us make man in our own image, after our own likeness.* So that it was not the body alone that was then made, but the soul of man also (in which our likeness to God principally consists); which precludes us from attributing pre-existence to the soul which was then formed,—a groundless notion sometimes entertained, but refuted by Gen. ii. 7. *God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; thus man became a living soul.* Job xxxii. 8. *there is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding.* Nor did God merely breathe that spirit into man,[3] but moulded it in each individual, and infused it throughout, enduing and embellishing it with its proper faculties. Zech. xii. 1. *he formeth the spirit of man within him.*

We may understand from other passages of Scripture, that when

[2] '*It is not good.* God here presents himself like to a man deliberating; both to show us that the matter is of high consequence,' &c. *Tetrachordon.* Prose Works, II. 127.

[3] Lest that pure breath of life, the spirit of man
Which God inspir'd—. *Paradise Lost,* X. 784.

God infused the breath of life into man, what man thereby received was not a portion of God's essence, or a participation of the divine nature, but that measure of the divine virtue or influence, which was commensurate to the capabilities of the recipient.[4] For it appears from Psal. civ. 29, 30. that he infused the breath of life into other living beings also;—*thou takest away their breath, they die..... thou sendest forth thy spirit, they are created;* whence we learn that every living thing receives animation from one and the same source of life and breath; inasmuch as when God takes back to himself that spirit or breath of life, they cease to exist. Eccles. iii. 19. *they have all one breath.* Nor has the word *spirit* any other meaning in the sacred writings, but that breath of life which we inspire, or the vital, or sensitive, or rational faculty, or some action or affection belonging to those faculties.

Man having been created after this manner, it is said, as a consequence, that *man became a living soul;*[5] whence it may be inferred (unless we had rather take the heathen writers for our teachers respecting the nature of the soul) that man is a living being, intrinsically and properly one and individual, not compound or separable, not, according to the common opinion, made up and framed of two distinct and different natures, as of soul and body,—but that the whole man is soul, and the soul man, that is to say, a body, or substance individual, animated, sensitive, and rational; and that the breath of life was neither a part of the divine essence, nor the soul itself, but as it were an inspiration of some divine virtue fitted for the exercise of life and reason, and infused into the organic body; for man himself, the whole man, when finally created, is called in express terms *a living soul.* Hence the word used in Genesis

[4] 'Unde a quibusdam dicitur, *particula auræ divinæ,* Horat. II. Sat. ii. quod non reprehendo, modo bene intelligatur non quasi a Dei essentia, tanquam ejus pars, avulsa fuisset; sed quod ineffabili quodam modo profluere eam ex se fecerit.' Curcellæi *Institutio,* III. 7.

[5] ..... He form'd thee, Adam, thee, O man,
Dust of the ground, and in thy nostrils breath'd
The breath of life; in his own image he
Created thee, in the image of God
Express, and thou becam'st a living soul. *Paradise Lost,* VII. 523.

to signify *soul*, is interpreted by the apostle, 1 Cor. xv. 45. *animal*.[6] Again, all the attributes of the body are assigned in common to the soul: the touch, Lev. v. 2, &c. *if a soul touch any unclean thing*,—the act of eating, vii. 18. *the soul that eateth of it shall bear his iniquity;* v. 20. *the soul that eateth of the flesh*, and in other places:—hunger, Prov. xiii. 25. xxvii. 7.—thirst, xxv. 25. *as cold waters to a thirsty soul.* Isai. xxix. 8.—capture, 1 Sam. xxiv. 11. *thou huntest my soul to take it.* Psal. vii. 5. *let the enemy persecute my soul, and take it.*

Where however we speak of the body as of a mere senseless stock, there the soul must be understood as signifying either the spirit, or its secondary faculties, the vital or sensitive faculty for instance. Thus it is as often distinguished from the spirit, as from the body itself. Luke i. 46, 47. 1 Thess. v. 23. *your whole spirit and soul and body.* Heb. iv. 12. *to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit.* But that the spirit of man should be separate from the body, so as to have a perfect and intelligent existence independently of it, is nowhere said in Scripture, and the doctrine is evidently at variance both with nature and reason, as will be shown more fully hereafter. For the word *soul* is also applied to every kind of living being; Gen. i. 30. *to every beast of the earth*, &c. *wherein there is life* (anima vivens, Tremell.) vii. 22. *all in whose nostrils was the breath of life, of all that was in the dry land, died;* yet it is never inferred from these expressions that the soul exists separate from the body in any of the brute creation.

On the seventh day God ceased from his work, and ended the whole business of creation; Gen. ii. 2, 3.

[6] See Beza's version in loc. 'Factus est prior homo Adamus *animal vivens.*'

..... when God said,
Let th' earth bring forth soul living in her kind. VII. 450.

in which passage the original reading, even in the copies corrected by Milton, was *fowl* instead of *soul*. Dr. Newton agrees with Bentley, Pearce and Richardson in preferring *soul*, and gives the following reason: 'We observed before, that when Milton makes the Divine Person speak, he keeps closely to Scripture. Now what we render *living creature* (Gen. i. 24.) is *living soul* in the Hebrew, which Milton usually follows rather than our translation.'

It would seem therefore, that the human soul is not created daily by the immediate act of God, but propagated from father to son in a natural order;[7] which was considered as the more probable opinion by Tertullian and Apollinarius, as well as by Augustine, and the whole western church in the time of Jerome, as he himself testifies, Tom. II. Epist. 82. and Gregory of Nyssa in his treatise on the soul.[8] God would in fact have left his creation imperfect, and a vast, not to say a servile task would yet remain to be performed, without even allowing time for rest on each successive sabbath, if he still continued to create as many souls daily as there are bodies multiplied throughout the whole world, at the bidding of what is not seldom the flagitious wantonness of man.[9] Nor is there

[7] The question which Milton now begins to discuss, is thus stated by Fiddes in his *Body of Divinity*, Book iii. Part I. 'Whether they were all created at once in order to be united to certain bodies which should be prepared afterwards in convenient time for their reception; or whether they are created at the instant when the bodies they are to inform are fit to receive them, are questions which have been much controverted.....But the arguments which have been produced for the pre-existence of souls appear to be more specious, and in the opinion of some of the greatest men of antiquity, heathen and Christian, whom certain moderns of distinction in the learned world have followed, really conclusive.'

[8] 'Super animæ statu memini vestræ quæstiunculæ, immo maxime Ecclesiasticæ questionis; utrum lapsa de cœlo sit, ut Pythagoras philosophus, omnesque Platonici, et Origenes putant; an a propria Dei substantia, ut Stoici, Manichæus, et Hispana Priscilliani hæresis suspicantur; an in thesauro habeantur Dei olim conditæ, ut quidam Ecclesiastici stulta persuasione confidunt; an quotidie a Deo fiant, et mittantur in corpora, secundum illud quod in evangelio scriptum est, *Pater meus usque modo operatur et ego operor;* an certe ex traduce, ut Tertullianus, Apollinarius, et maxima pars occidentalium autumant, ut quomodo corpus ex corpore, sic anima nascatur ex anima, et simili cum brutis animantibus conditione subsistat.' Hieronymi *Epist.* 82. (78. Edit. Benedict.) ad Marcellinum et Anapsychiam. Οὐκ ἄρα νῦν αἱ ψυχαὶ γίνονται· τὸ γὰρ, ὁ Πατήρ μου ἕως ἄρτι ἐργάζεται, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ κτίζειν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ προνοεῖν εἰρῆσθαι· καὶ αὐτῷ δοκεῖ Ἀπολλιναρίῳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν τίκτεσθαι ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων. προϊέναι γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν κατὰ διαδοχὴν τοῦ πρώτου ἀνθρώπου εἰς τοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνου τεχθέντας, καθάπερ τὴν σωματικὴν διαδοχήν. Greg. Nyssen. *De Anima.*

[9] 'Deus absoluta sex diebus creatione mundi dicitur *quievisse ab omni opere suo,* Gen. xi. 2. Non autem vere a creando quievisset, si nunc singulis momentis ipse multas animas immediate produceret. Ut nunc non dicam indignum prorsus Deo videri, ut sit minister generationum fœdarum et incestuosarum quas ipse abominatur, et severe in lege prohibuit; ita ut simul atque libeat hominibus impuris corpora sua miscere, oporteat illum adesse, qui fœtui, quantumvis illegitime concepto, animam infundat.' Curcell. *Instit.* III. 6.

any reason to suppose that the influence of the divine blessing is less efficacious in imparting to man the power of producing after his kind, than to the other parts of animated nature; Gen. i. 22, 28.[1] Thus it was from one of the ribs of the man that God made the mother of all mankind, without the necessity of infusing the breath of life a second time, Gen. ii. 22. and Adam himself begat a son in his own likeness after his image, v. 3. Thus 1 Cor. xv. 49. *as we have borne the image of the earthy;* and this not only in the body, but in the soul, as it was chiefly with respect to the soul[2] that Adam was made in the divine image. So Gen. xlvi. 26. *all the souls which came with Jacob out of Egypt, which came out of his loins.* Heb. vii. 10. *Levi was in the loins of Abraham:* whence in Scripture an offspring is called *seed,* and Christ is denominated *the seed of the woman.* Gen. xvii. 7. *I will be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee.* 1 Cor. xv. 44. *it is sown a natural body.* v. 46. *that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural.*

But besides the testimony of revelation, some arguments from reason may be alleged in confirmation of this doctrine. Whoever is born, or

[1] 'Deus, Adamo et Eva creatis, ipsis benedictionem suam impertitus est ad humani generis propagationem, dicens, *Crescite,* &c. Gen. i. 28. et ix. 1. Ergo dedit eis facultatem alios homines sibi similes, qui corpore et anima constarent, producendi; quemadmodum et cæteris animantibus, quibus benedixit, talem communicavit.....Nec vero dixisset Moses *Adamum genuisse,* &c. Gen. v. 3. nempe ut ipse ad imaginem Dei factus erat. Ista enim Dei imago præcipue in anima consistit.....Et rursus dicit Moses, *cunctæ animæ,* &c. Gen. xlvi. 25. Ergo non solum corpora, sed etiam animæ liberorum et nepotum Jacobi ab eo prognatæ sunt.' Curcell. *Instit.* III. 4.

[2] ..... God on thee
Abundantly his gifts hath also pour'd
Inward and outward both, his image fair. *Paradise Lost,* VIII. 219.

On which passage, in answer to Warburton's insinuation, that one would think by this *outward* that Milton was of the sect of Anthropomorphites, as well as Materialists, Mr. Todd has well observed that the poet only meant to allude to the *complete* nature of man, the *animal* and the *intellectual* parts united, which the learned Hale, treating of the words *in the image of God made he man,* minutely and admirably illustrates. See also above, page 18, and the note there.

shapen and conceived, in sin,[3] (as we all are, not David only, Psal. li. 5.) if he receive his soul immediately from God, cannot but receive it from him shapen in sin; for to be generated and conceived, means nothing else than to receive a soul in conjunction with the body. If we receive the soul immediately from God, it must be pure, for who in such case will venture to call it impure?[4] But if it be pure, how are we conceived in sin in consequence of receiving a pure soul, which would rather have the effect of cleansing the impurities of the body; or with what justice is the pure soul charged with the sin of the body? But, it is contended, God does not create souls impure, but only impaired in their nature, and destitute of original righteousness. I answer, that to create pure souls destitute of original righteousness,—to send them into contaminated and corrupt bodies,—to deliver them up in their innocence and helplessness to the prison house of the body, as to an enemy, with understanding blinded and with will enslaved,—in other words, wholly deprived of sufficient strength for resisting the vicious propensities of the body—to create souls thus circumstanced, would argue as much injustice, as to have created them impure would have argued impurity; it would have argued as much injustice, as to have created the first man Adam himself impaired in his nature, and destitute of original righteousness.

Again, if sin be communicated by generation, and transmitted from father to son, it follows that what is the πρῶτον δεκτικὸν,[5] or original subject of sin, namely, the rational soul, must be propagated in the

[3] 'Proclivitas ad malum, cum qua infantes nascuntur, huic etiam opinioni favet. Nam ea a Deo non est, ut omnes fatentur, neque etiam a corpore, quod non est vitii moralis capax.' Curcell. *Instit.* III. 8.

[4] Yet evil whence? in thee can harbour none,
Created pure. *Paradise Lost,* V. 99.

[5] 'Subjectum distingui potest in recipiens, quod Græce δεκτικὸν appellant, et occupans, quod objectum dici solet, quia in eo adjuncta occupantur..... Sic anima est subjectum scientiæ, ignorantiæ, virtutis, vitii, quia hæc animæ adjunguntur, id est, præter essentiam accedunt.' *Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio.* Prose Works, VI. 220.

same manner; for that it is from the soul that all sin in the first instance proceeds, will not be denied. Lastly, on what principle of justice can sin be imputed through Adam to that soul, which was never either in Adam, or derived from Adam? In confirmation of which Aristotle's argument may be added, the truth of which in my opinion is indisputable.[6] If the soul be equally diffused throughout any given whole, and throughout every part of that whole, how can the human seed, the noblest and most intimate part of all the body, be imagined destitute and devoid of the soul of the parents, or at least of the father, when communicated to the son by the laws of generation? It is acknowledged by the common consent of almost all philosophers, that every *form*,[7] to which class the human soul must be considered as belonging, is produced by the power of matter.

It was probably by some such considerations as these that Augustine

[6] See Aristot. περὶ ψυχῆς, I. 9.—'Per omnes ejus particulas tota simul adest, nec minor in minoribus, et in majoribus major, sed alicubi intensius, alicubi remissius, et in omnibus tota, et in singulis tota est.' Augustinus *De Origine animæ hominis* ad Hieron. Ep. 166. Edit. Benedict.

> ..... Spirits that live throughout
> Vital in every part, not as frail man
> In entrails, heart or head, liver or reins.—
> . . . . . .
> All heart they live, all head, all eye, all ear,
> All intellect, all sense. *Paradise Lost,* VI. 344.
>
> ..... if it be true
> That light is in the soul,
> She all in every part—. *Samson Agonistes,* 91.

[7] Milton frequently uses the word *forma* in its philosophical sense. In his English works he commonly expresses it by the word *shape.*

> ..... saw
> Virtue *in her shape* how lovely. *Paradise Lost,* IV. 846.

'Discipline is not only the removal of disorder; but if any visible shape can be given to divine things, *the very visible shape* and image of virtue.' *The Reason of Church Government,* &c. Prose Works, I. 81. Regenerate in us the lovely *shapes* of virtues and graces.' *Ibid.* 86. 'Truth indeed came once into the world with her divine master, and was *a perfect shape* most glorious to look on.' *Speech for Liberty of Printing. Ibid.* 319.

was led to confess that he could neither discover by study, nor prayer, nor any process of reasoning, how the doctrine of original sin could be defended on the supposition of the creation of souls.[8] The texts which are usually advanced, Eccles. xii. 7. Isai. lvii. 16. Zech. xii. 1. certainly indicate that nobler origin of the soul implied in its being breathed from the mouth of God; but they no more prove that each soul is severally and immediately created by the Deity, than certain other texts, which might be quoted, prove that each individual body is formed in the womb by the immediate hand of God.[9] Job x. 8—10. *thine hands have made me.....hast not thou poured me out as milk?* Psal. xxxiii. 15. *he fashioneth their hearts alike.* Job xxxi. 15. *did not he that made me in the womb make him?* Isai. xliv. 24. *thus saith Jehovah....he that formed thee from the womb.* Acts xvii. 26. *he hath made of one blood all nations of men.* We are not to infer from these passages, that natural causes do not contribute their ordinary efficacy for the propagation of the body; nor on the other hand that the soul is not received by tra-

[8] 'We cannot deny but that besides Origen, several others of the ancient fathers before the fifth council seem either to have espoused the pre-existence of souls, or at least to have had a favour and kindness for it; insomuch that St. Augustine himself is sometimes staggering in this point, and thinks it to be a great secret whether men's souls existed before their generations or no, and somewhere concludes it to be a matter of indifferency, wherein every one may have his liberty of opinion either way without offence.' Cudworth's *Intellectual System*, chap. v. 'Hujus igitur damnationis in parvulis causam requiro, quia neque animarum, si novæ fiunt singulis singulæ, video esse ullum in illa ætate peccatum, nec a Deo damnari aliquam credo quam videt nullum habere peccatum.' Augustinus *De Origine animæ*, &c. ad Hieron. 'Quære ubi, vel unde, vel quando cœperint [animæ] damnationis meritum habere, si novæ sunt, ita sane ut Deum non facias, nec aliquam naturam, quam non condidit Deus, vel peccati earum vel innocentum damnationis auctorem. Et si inveneris quod te quærere admonui, quod ipse adhuc, fateor, non inveni, defende quantum potes, atque assere animam infantium ejusmodi esse novitatem, ut nulla propagatione ducantur; et nobiscum quod inveneris fraterna dilectione communica.' Augustinus *Ep.* 157. (190. Edit. Benedict.) ad Optatum.

[9] 'Sunt quædam scripturæ loca, quæ id asserere videntur, ut Job. xxxiii. 4. Eccles. xii. 9. Zach. xii. 4. Respondeo, ex eo quod Jobus ait, *spiraculum Omnipotentis vitam sibi indidisse*, non magis sequi id factum esse immediate a Deo, quam ex eo quod idem dicit, *nonne sicut lac mulsisti me*, &c. Job. x. 8. colligi legitime potest corpora nostra a parentibus non gigni, sed immediate a Deo ipso formari.' Curcell. *Institutio.* III. 10. 9.

duction from the father, because at the time of death it again betakes itself to different elements than the body, in conformity with its own origin.

With regard to the passage, Heb. xii. 9. where *the fathers of the flesh* are opposed to *the Father of spirits*, I answer, that it is to be understood in a theological, not in a physical sense, as if the father of the body were opposed to the father of the soul; for *flesh* is taken neither in this passage, nor probably any where else, for the body without the soul; nor *the father of spirits* for the father of the soul, in respect of the work of generation; but *the father of the flesh* here means nothing else than the earthly or natural father, whose offspring are begotten in sin; *the father of spirits* is either the heavenly father, who in the beginning created all spirits, angels as well as the human race, or the spiritual father, who bestows a second birth on the faithful; according to John iii. 6. *that which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit.* The argument, too, will proceed better, if the whole be understood as referring to edification and correction, not to generation; for the point in question is not, from what source each individual originated, or what part of him thence originated, but who had proved most successful in the employment of chastisement and instruction. By parity of reasoning, the apostle might exhort the converts to bear with his rebuke, on the ground that he was their spiritual father. God indeed is as truly the father of the flesh as of *the spirits of flesh*, Numb. xvi. 22. but this is not the sense intended here, and all arguments are weak which are deduced from passages of Scripture originally relating to a different subject.

With regard to the soul of Christ, it will be sufficient to answer that its generation was supernatural, and therefore cannot be cited as an argument in the discussion of this controversy. Nevertheless, even he is called *the seed of the woman, the seed of David according to the flesh;* that is, undoubtedly, according to his human nature.

There seems therefore no reason, why the soul of man should be made an exception to the general law of creation. For, as has been shown before, God breathed the breath of life into the other living beings, and blended it so intimately with matter, that the propagation and production of the human form were analogous to those of other forms, and the proper effect of that power which had been communicated to matter by the Deity.

Man being formed after the image of God, it followed as a necessary consequence that he should be endued with natural wisdom, holiness, and righteousness. Gen. i. 27, 31. ii. 25. Eccles. vii. 29. Eph. iv. 24. Col. iii. 10. 2 Cor. iii. 18. Certainly without extraordinary wisdom he could not have given names to the whole animal creation with such sudden intelligence, Gen. ii. 20.[1]

[1] In this illustration the chief stress is laid upon the suddenness with which Adam was enabled to give appropriate names to the brute creation, as it passed in review before him. Milton has two other allusions to this event, and the same circumstance is marked as the prominent feature of the case in both passages. There is nothing in the scriptural narration to suggest the particular idea, or the coincidence would have been less remarkable.

> I nam'd them as they pass'd, and understood
> Their nature, with such knowledge God endu'd
> *My sudden apprehension.* *Paradise Lost,* VIII. 352.

'But Adam, who had the wisdom given him to know all creatures, and to name them according to their properties, no doubt but had the gift to discern perfectly that which concerned him much more, *and to apprehend at first sight* the true fitness of that consort which God provided him.' *Tetrachordon.* Prose Works, II. 133.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Providence of God, or of his General government of the Universe.

The remaining species of God's external efficiency, is his GOVERNMENT OF THE WHOLE CREATION.

This government is either GENERAL or SPECIAL.

His GENERAL GOVERNMENT is that whereby GOD THE FATHER REGARDS, PRESERVES, AND GOVERNS THE WHOLE OF CREATION WITH INFINITE WISDOM AND HOLINESS ACCORDING TO THE CONDITIONS OF HIS DECREE.

GOD THE FATHER. Neh. ix. 6. *thou, even thou, art Jehovah alone... thou hast made, and thou preservest them all.* To this truth Christ himself bears witness everywhere. Matt. v. 45. *that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; for he maketh his sun to rise.... and sendeth rain,* &c. vi. 4. *thy Father which seeth in secret.* v. 8. *your Father knoweth.* v. 13. *thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory.* v. 26. *your heavenly Father feedeth them.* v. 32. *your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things.* vii. 11. *your Father which is in heaven shall give good things unto them that ask him.* x. 29. *one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father.* Acts i. 7. *the times and the seasons which the Father hath put in his own power.* Eph. i. 11. *according to the purpose of him who*

worketh all things after the counsel of his own will. James i. 17. *every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights.* Even as regards the Son himself. Acts iv. 27. *against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed.....for to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done.* The preservation of the universe is attributed to the Son also, but in what sense, and on what grounds, may be seen in the fifth chapter, on the Son of God. Col. i. 17. *by him all things consist,*—but both the preceding and following verses explain on what account; namely, because the Father, v. 13. *hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son,* and because, v. 19. *it pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell.* Heb. i. 3. *upholding all things by the word of his power,* namely, because, v. 2. the Father *hath appointed him heir of all things.* Further, it will appear on an examination of the passage, that the original ought to be translated, not of *his own* power,[2] but of *his,* namely, the Father's, of whose person he was the express image: and the right reading in the Greek is αὐτοῦ, not αὑτοῦ, since δι' ἑαυτοῦ immediately follows, as if put expressly for the sake of distinction. Lastly, Christ testifies of himself, Matt. xxviii. 18. *all power is given unto me in heaven and in earth;* and to the same effect in many other places.

Regards. Job xxxi. 4. *doth not he count all my steps?* 2 Chron. xvi. 9. *the eyes of Jehovah run to and fro throughout the whole earth.* Psal. xxxiii. 15. *he fashioneth their hearts alike; he considereth all their works.* Jer. xxxii. 19. *thine eyes are open upon all the ways of the sons of men.* Hos. ii. 21. *I will hear the heavens.*

[2] In allusion to the versions of Beza and Tremellius, who translate the clause, *sustineatque omnia verbo potentiæ suæ,* or *verbo illo suo potente,* and, *sustinet omnia virtute verbi sui.* Mill reads αὐτοῦ, without noticing the other reading, nor have I remarked that Waterland, who often quotes and argues upon the passage, takes any notice of the variation. It is however mentioned by Doddridge; and Wetstein, who reads αὐτοῦ, has the following note: 'αὐτοῦ, ut ad Patrem referatur. Christus verbo potentiæ paternæ cuncta fert. Editio Erasmi, Colinæi.' To these two names Archbishop Newcome has added that of Bengelius, in the copy of Wetstein's New Testament which formerly belonged to that prelate, and which is enriched with several annotations in his hand-writing.

Preserves. Deut. viii. 3. *man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of Jehovah.* Job vii. 20. *O thou preserver of men.* Psal. xxx. 7. *thou didst hide thy face, and I was troubled.* lxxx. 1. *O Shepherd of Israel, thou that leadest Joseph like a flock .... shine forth.* v. 3. *cause thy face to shine and we shall be saved.* civ. 29. *thou takest away their breath, they die.* Nehem. ix. 6. *thou hast made .... and thou preservest them all.* Acts xiv. 17. *he left not himself without witness.* xvii. 25. *he giveth to all life.* v. 28. *in him we live.*

According to the conditions of his decree. It is necessary to add this qualification, inasmuch as God preserves neither angels, nor men, nor any other part of creation absolutely, but always with reference to the conditions of his decree. For he preserves mankind, since their spontaneous fall, and all other things with them, only so far as regards their existence, and not as regards their primitive perfection.

Governs. Job xiv. 5. *thou hast appointed his bounds.* Psal. xxix. 10. *Jehovah sitteth king for ever.* xciii. 1. *Jehovah reigneth .... the world also is established.* ciii. 19. *his kingdom ruleth over all.* Prov. xx. 24. *man's goings are of Jehovah.* xxi. 1. *the king's heart is in the hand of Jehovah .... he turneth it whithersoever he will.*

With infinite wisdom and holiness. Job ix. 10. *which doeth great things past finding out, yea, and wonders without number.* Prov. x. 24. *the fear of the wicked it shall come upon him; but the desire of the righteous shall be granted.* xii. 3. *a man shall not be established by wickedness.* xiii. 9. *the light of the righteous rejoiceth.* Isai. lv. 9. *my ways are higher than your ways.* Deut. xxxii. 4. *all his ways are judgement.* Psal. xix. 9. *the judgements of Jehovah are true and righteous altogether.* lxxvii. 13. *thy way, O God, is in the sanctuary.* Generally speaking, however, no distinction is made between the righteous and the wicked, with regard to the final issue of events, at least in this life. Job xii. 6. *the tabernacles of robbers prosper.* xxi. 7. *wherefore do*

the wicked live, become old? Eccles. vii. 15. *there is a just man that perisheth in his righteousness, and there is a wicked man that prolongeth his life in his wickedness.* viii. 14. *there be just men unto whom it happeneth according to the work of the wicked; again, there be wicked men, to whom it happeneth according to the work of the righteous.* ix. 2. *there is one event to the righteous and to the wicked.* The reason for this may be seen Job v. 7. *man is born unto trouble as the sparks fly upward.* xxiv. 23. *though it be given him to be in safety, whereon he resteth; yet his eyes are upon their ways,* &c. Psal. lxxiii. 12, &c. *behold, these are the ungodly who prosper in the world,* &c. .... *until I went into the sanctuary of God; then understood I their end.* xcii. 7. *when the wicked spring as the grass,* &c..... *it is that they shall be destroyed for ever.* Eccles. vii. 18. *it is good that thou shouldest take hold of this; yea also from this withdraw not thine hand; for he that feareth God shall come forth of them all.* viii. 12. *though a sinner do evil an hundred times, and his days be prolonged; yet surely I know that it shall be well with them that fear God.* Jer. xii. 1. *wherefore doth the way of the wicked prosper?* Dan. xii. 10. *many shall be purified, and made white, and tried.*

THE WHOLE OF CREATION. Gen. viii. 1. *God remembered Noah, and every living thing, and all the cattle.* ix. 9, 10, 12, 15. *I, behold I establish my covenant with you .... and every living creature that is with you.* Prov. xv. 3. *the eyes of Jehovah are in every place, beholding the evil and the good.*

Even the smallest objects. Job xxxiv. 21. *for his eyes are upon the ways of man, and he seeth all his goings.* Psal. civ. 21. *the young lions roar after their prey, and seek their meat from God.* cxlvii. 9. *he giveth to the beast his food.* Matt. vi. 26. x. 29, 30. *a sparrow shall not fall on the ground without your Father: but the very hairs of your head are all numbered.*

At the same time, God does not extend an equal share of his providential care to all things indiscriminately. 1 Cor. ix. 9. *doth God*

take care for oxen? that is, as much care as he takes for man? Zech. ii. 8. *he that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of his eye.* 1 Tim. iv. 10. *the Saviour of all men, specially of those that believe.*

Natural things. Exod. iii. 21. *I will give this people favour in the sight of the Egyptians;* that is, by operating a change in their natural affections. Jer. li. 16. *he uttereth his voice, there is a multitude of waters in the heavens; and he causeth the vapours to ascend from the ends of the earth.* Amos v. 8. *that calleth for the waters of the sea, and poureth them out upon the face of the earth; Jehovah is his name.*

Even such as are supernatural. Lev. xxv. 20, 21. *and if ye shall say, What shall we eat the seventh year? ..... it shall bring forth fruit for three years.* Deut. viii. 3, 4. *he fed thee with manna .... thy raiment waxed not old upon thee, neither did thy foot swell these forty years.* See also xxix. 5. 1 Kings xvii. 4. *I have commanded the ravens to feed thee there.* v. 14. *the barrel of meal shall not waste,* &c.

Events contingent or fortuitous. Exod. xxi. 13. *if God deliver him into his hand.* Prov. xvi. 33. *the whole disposing of the lot is of Jehovah.* Nor is anything derogatory to divine providence intended by Scripture, even where (as sometimes happens) it scruples not to employ the names of fortune or chance; all that is meant is to exclude the idea of human causation. Eccles. ix. 11. *time and chance happeneth to them all.* Luke x. 31. *by chance there came down a certain priest that way.*

Voluntary actions. 2 Chron. x. 15. *so the king hearkened not unto the people: for the cause was of God.* Prov. xvi. 9. *a man's heart deviseth his way; but Jehovah directeth his steps.* xx. 24. *man's goings are of Jehovah.* xxi. 1. *the king's heart is in the hand of Jehovah as the rivers of water; he turneth it whithersoever he will.* Jer. x. 23. *O Jehovah, I know that the way of man is not in himself.* In this, however, there is no infringement on the liberty of the human will; otherwise man would be deprived of the power of free agency, not only with regard to what

is right, but with regard to what is indifferent, or even positively wrong.

Lastly, temporal evils no less than blessings. Exod. xxi. 13. *if God deliver him into his hand.* Isai. xlv. 7. *I make peace and create evil,*—that is, what afterwards became evil, and now remains so; for whatever God created was originally good, as he himself testifies, Gen. i. Matt. xviii. 7. *woe unto the world because of offences; for it must needs be that offences come: but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh.* 1 Cor. xi. 19. *for there must be also heresies amongst you, that they which are approved may be made manifest amongst you.*

God, however, is concerned in the production of evil only in one of these two ways; either he permits its existence by throwing no impediment in the way of natural causes and free agents, (as, Acts ii. 23. *him being delivered by the determinate counsel of God.... ye have slain.* xiv. 16. *who in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways.* 1 Pet. iii. 17. *it is better, if the will of God be so, that ye suffer for well-doing.* iv. 19. *them that suffer according to the will of God,*) or, secondly, he causes evil by the infliction of judgements, which is called the evil of punishment. 2 Sam. xii. 11. *behold I will raise up evil against thee out of thine own house,*—that is, punishment. Prov. xvi. 4. *Jehovah hath made all things for himself; yea, even the wicked for the day of evil;* that is, him who, having been created good, became subsequently wicked by his own fault, in conformity with the explanation already given of Isai. xlv. 7. liv. 16. *I created the waster to destroy.* Lam. iii. 38, 39. *out of the mouth of the Most High proceedeth not evil and good? wherefore doth a living man complain, a man for the punishment of his sins?* Amos iii. 6. *shall there be evil in a city, and Jehovah hath not done it?* For God, who is infinitely good, cannot be the doer of wickedness, or of the evil of sin; on the contrary, out of the wickedness of men he produces good. Gen. xlv. 5. *God did send me before you to preserve life.* l. 20. *as for you, ye thought evil against me; but God meant it unto good.*

If (inasmuch as I do not address myself to such as are wholly ignorant, but to those who are already competently acquainted with the outlines of Christian doctrine) I may be permitted, in discoursing on the general providence of God, so far to anticipate the natural order of arrangement, as to make an allusion to a subject which belongs properly to another part of my treatise, that of sin, I might remark, that even in the matter of sin God's providence finds its exercise, not only in permitting its existence, or in withdrawing his grace, but also in impelling sinners to the commission of sin, in hardening their hearts, and in blinding their understandings.

In impelling sinners to the commission of sin. Exod. ix. 16. *for this cause have I raised thee up.* Judges ix. 23. *God sent an evil spirit between Abimelech and the men of Shechem.* 2 Sam. xii. 11, 12. *I will raise up evil against thee out of thine own house, and I will take thy wives before thine eyes, and give them unto thy neighbour ..... I will do this thing.* xvi. 10. *Jehovah hath said unto him, Curse David.* xxiv. 1. *Jehovah moved David against them to say, Go, number Israel and Judah.* Compare 1 Chron. xxi. 1. 1 Kings xxii. 20. *who shall persuade Ahab?* Psal. cv. 25. *he turned their heart to hate his people.* Ezek. xiv. 9. *I Jehovah have deceived that prophet.*

In hardening their hearts. Exod. iv. 21. vii. 3. *I will harden Pharaoh's heart.* Deut. ii. 30. *Jehovah thy God hardened his spirit.* Josh. xi. 20. *it was of Jehovah to harden their hearts.* John xii. 39, 40. *therefore they could not believe, because that Esaias said again ..... he hath hardened their heart.* Rom. ix. 18. *whom he will he hardeneth.*

In blinding their understandings. Deut. xxviii. 28. *Jehovah shall smite thee with madness, and blindness, and astonishment of heart.* 1 Sam. xvi. 14. *an evil spirit from Jehovah troubled him.* 1 Kings xxii. 22. *I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets: and Jehovah said, Thou shalt persuade him.* Isai. viii. 14. *he shall be for a stone of stumbling and for a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel; for a gin and for a*

snare—. xix. 14. *Jehovah hath mingled a perverse spirit in the midst thereof, and they have caused Egypt to err.* xxix. 10. *Jehovah hath poured out upon you the spirit of deep sleep, and hath closed your eyes.* Matt. xiii. 13. *therefore speak I to them in parables, because they seeing see not.* John xii. 40. compared with Isai. vi. 9. *he hath blinded their eyes.* Rom. i. 28. *God gave them over to a reprobate mind.* 2 Thess. ii. 11. *God shall send them a strong delusion, that they should believe a lie.*

But though in these, as well as in many other passages of the Old and New Testament, God distinctly declares that it is himself who impels the sinner to sin, who hardens his heart, who blinds his understanding, and leads him into error; yet on account of the infinite holiness of the Deity, it is not allowable to consider him as in the smallest instance the author of sin. Hos. xiv. 9. *the ways of Jehovah are right, and the just shall walk in them; but the transgressors shall fall therein.* Psal. v. 4. *thou art not a God that hath pleasure in wickedness, neither shall evil dwell with thee.* Rom. vii. 8. *sin, taking occasion by the commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiscence.* James i. 13, 14. *let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God; for God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man: but every man is tempted when he is drawn away of his own lust and enticed.* iv. 1. *from whence come wars and fightings amongst you? come they not hence, even of your lusts which war in your members?* 1 John ii. 16. *for all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world.* For it is not the human heart in a state of innocence and purity, and repugnance to evil, that is induced by him to act wickedly and deceitfully; but after it has conceived sin, and when it is about to bring forth, he, in his character of sovereign disposer of all things,[5] inclines and biasses it in this or that direction, or towards this or that object. Psal. xciv. 23. *he shall bring upon them their own iniquity, and shall cut them off in their own wickedness, yea, Jehovah our God shall cut them off;*—that is to say, by

[5] ..... Therefore was law giv'n them to evince
Their natural pravity, by stirring up
Sin against law to fight. *Paradise Lost,* XII. 287.

the infliction of punishment. Nor does God make that will evil which was before good, but the will being already in a state of perversion, he influences it in such a manner, that out of its own wickedness it either operates good for others, or punishment for itself, though unknowingly, and with the intent of producing a very different result. Prov. xvi. 9. *a man's heart deviseth his way, but Jehovah directeth his steps.* Thus Ezek. xxi. 21, 22. when the king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way in doubt whether he should go to war against the Ammonites or against the Jews, God so ordered the divination, as to determine him on going against Jerusalem.[4] Or, to use the common simile, as a rider who urges on a stumbling horse in a particular direction is the cause of its increasing its speed, but not of its stumbling,—so God, who is the supreme governor of the universe, may instigate an evil agent, without being in the least degree the cause of the evil. I shall recur again to this simile hereafter. For example,—God saw that the mind of David was so elated and puffed up by the increase of his power, that even without any external impulse he was on the point of giving some remarkable token of his pride; he therefore excited in him the desire of numbering the people: he did not inspire him with the passion of vain glory, but impelled him to display in this manner, rather than in any other, that latent arrogance of his heart which was ready to break forth. God therefore was the author of the act itself, but David alone was responsible for its pride and wickedness. Further, the end which a sinner has in view is generally something evil and unjust, from which God uniformly educes a good and just result, thus as it were creating light out of darkness. By this means he proves the inmost intentions of men, that is, he makes man to have a thorough insight into the latent wickedness of his own heart, that he may either be induced thereby to forsake his sins, or if not, that he may

[4] 'Deus interdum peccatores inscios et præter mentem suam ad objectum aliquod contra quod peccent, potius quam ad aliud dirigit; vel ad hoc potius peccatum, quam ad aliud quod animo ante conceperant, eos ferri sinit ... cum rex Babylonis ambitione sua incitatus bellum gerere constituisset, at penderet adhuc animo, nesciens utrum Judæos an vero Ammonitas impetere deberet, Deus ita direxit sortes, quas consulebat, ut in Judæos, quorum peccata ultionem suam magis provocaverant, expeditionem illam militarem susciperet, Ezech. xxi. 29, &c.' Curcell. *Institutio,* III. 12. 7.

become notorious and inexcusable in the sight of all; or lastly, to the end that both the author and the sufferer of the evil may be punished for some former transgression. At the same time, the common maxim, that God makes sin subservient to the punishment of sin, must be received with caution; for the Deity does not effect his purpose by compelling any one to commit crime, or by abetting him in it, but by withdrawing the ordinary grace of his enlightening spirit, and ceasing to strengthen him against sin. There is indeed a proverb which says, that he who is able to forbid an action, and forbids it not, virtually commands it.[5] This maxim is indeed binding on man, as a moral precept; but it is otherwise with regard to God.[6] When, in conformity with the language of mankind, he is spoken of as instigating, where he only does not prohibit evil, it does not follow that he therefore bids it, inasmuch as there is no obligation by which he is bound to forbid it. Psal. lxxxi. 11, 12. *my people would not hearken to my voice, and Israel would none of me: so I gave them up unto their own hearts' lust, and they walked in their own counsels.* Hence it is said, Rom. i. 24. *wherefore God also gave them up to uncleanness,*—that is, he left them to be actuated by their own lusts, to walk in them; for properly speaking God does not instigate, or give up, him whom he leaves entirely to himself, that is, to his own desires and counsels, and to the suggestions of his ever active spiritual enemy. In the same sense the Church is said to give up to Satan the contumacious member, whom it interdicts from its communion. With regard to the case of David's numbering the people, a single word will be sufficient. For it is not God, but Satan who is said to have instigated him, 2 Sam. xxiv. 1.[7] 1 Chron. xxi. 1. A

[5] 'But they shift it; he permitted only. Yet silence in the law is consent, and consent is accessory.' *Tetrachordon.* Prose Works, II. 9. 'Yea, but to permit evil, is not to do evil. Yes, it is in a most eminent manner to do evil; where else are all our grave and faithful sayings, that he whose office is to forbid and forbids not, bids, exhorts, encourages?' *Ibid.* 182.

[6] As if they would confine th' Interminable,
And tie him to his own prescript,
Who made our laws to bind us, not himself. *Samson Agonistes,* 307.

[7] *Perrexit autem ira Jehovæ accendi in Israelitas, quum incitasset adversarius Davidem in eos,* &c. Version of Tremellius. Our authorized translation renders the passage differently.

The

similar explanation applies to the passage in 2 Sam. xii. 11, 12. *behold, I will raise up evil against thee out of thine own house,*—that is, the evil of punishment,—*and I will take thy wives before thine eyes, and give them unto thy neighbour,*—that is, I will permit thy son to go in unto them, according to the counsel of Ahithophel; for this is the meaning of the word *give,* as has been just shown. As to the popular simile of the stumbling horse, the argument drawn from it is itself a lame one; for the sinner, if he be really instigated, is not instigated simply to act, as in the case of the horse, but to act amiss,—or in other words, he is instigated to stumble, because he stumbles.[8] In both the instances above adduced, God had determined to punish openly the secret adultery of David: he saw Absalom's propensity to every kind of wickedness; he saw the mischievous counsels of Ahithophel, and did nothing more than influence their minds, which were already in a state of preparation for any atrocity, to perpetrate one crime in preference to another, when opportunity should offer; according to the passage of Proverbs quoted above, xvi. 9. *a man's heart deviseth his way; but Jehovah directeth his steps.* For to offer an occasion of sinning, is only to manifest the wickedness of the sinner, not to create it. The other position, that God eventually converts every evil deed into an instrument of good, contrary to the expectation of sinners, and overcomes evil with good,[9] is sufficiently illustrated in the example of Joseph's sale by his brethren, Gen. xlv. 8. Thus also in the crucifixion of

The anger of Jehovah was kindled against Israel, and he moved David against them to say, Go, number Israel and Judah.

[8] 'Atqui, inquies, id fit quia sunt mali, non quia Dei concursus eos tales reddat, veluti cum agaso armentum equorum aut asinorum claudorum agitat, causa quidem est incessus illorum, sed vitium ipsis adhærens est causa cur claudicarent. Respondeo istam similitudinem claudicare, nec posse applicari primo hominis peccato, quo cætera omnia inevitabiliter fluere existimant. Nullus enim tunc in eo erat defectus, qui efficeret ut Deo ad agendum impellente male ageret.' Curcell. *Institutio,* IV. 2, 3.

[9] ..... If then his Providence
Out of our evil seek to bring forth good—. *Paradise Lost,* I. 162.
..... Who seeks
To lessen thee, against his purpose serves
To manifest the more thy might; his evil
Thou usest, and from thence creat'st more good. VII. 613. See also XII. 470.

'Denique

Christ, the sole aim of Pilate was to preserve the favour of Cæsar; that of the Jews to satisfy their own hatred and vengeance; but God, whose *hand and counsel had determined before every thing that was to be done*, Acts iv. 28. made use of their cruelty and violence as instruments for effecting the general redemption of mankind. Rom. xi. 11. *through their fall salvation is come unto the Gentiles.* 1 Cor. xi. 19. *there must be also heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you.* Philipp. i. 12, 14. *the things which happened unto me have fallen out rather unto the furtherance of the gospel.*

Again, as God's instigating the sinner does not render him the author of sin, so neither does his hardening the heart or blinding the understanding involve that consequence; inasmuch as he does not produce these effects by infusing an evil disposition, but on the contrary by employing such just and kind methods, as ought rather to soften the hearts of sinners than harden them. First, by his long-suffering. Rom. ii. 4, 5. *despisest thou the riches of his long-suffering.....but after thy hardness and impenitent heart treasurest up unto thyself wrath?* Secondly, by urging his own good and reasonable commands in opposition to the obstinacy of the wicked; as an anvil, or adamant, is said to be hardened under the hammer. Thus Pharaoh became more furious and obdurate in proportion as he resisted the commands of God. Exod. v. 2. *who is Jehovah?* vii. 2, 3. *thou shalt speak all that I command thee ..... and I will harden Pharaoh's heart.* Isai. vi. 10. *make the heart of this people fat,*—that is to say, by the repeated inculcation of the divine commands, as in xxviii. 13. *the word of Jehovah was unto them precept upon precept..... that they might go and fall backward.* Thirdly, by correction or punishment. Ezek. iii. 20. *when a righteous man doth turn from his righteousness and commit iniquity, and I lay a stumbling-block before him, he shall die.* Jer. v. 3. *thou hast*

'Denique providentia divina circa peccatum jam commissum se exerit, non tantum puniendo ipsum ex severitate, aut condonando ex misericordia, sed etiam ad bonum aliquem finem inservire faciendo, contra perpetrantis intentionem. Ita Deus usus est venditione Josephi, ad conservandum familiam patris et regnum Ægypti, ne fame perirent; et scelere Judæorum Jesum morti tradentium, ad generis humani redemptionem.' Curcell. *Institutio*, III. 12. 8.

stricken them, but they have not grieved ..... they have made their faces harder than a rock. The hardening of the heart, therefore, is usually the last punishment inflicted on inveterate wickedness and unbelief in this life. 1 Sam. ii. 25. *they hearkened not unto the voice of their father, because the Lord would slay them.* God often hardens in a remarkable manner the powerful and rebellious princes of this world, in order that through their insolence and haughtiness his glory may be magnified among the nations. Exod. ix. 16. *for this cause have I raised thee up, for to show in thee my power.* See also x. 2. compared with Rom. ix. 17. *even for this same purpose have I raised thee up, that I might show my power in thee.* Exod. xiv. 4, 17. *I will be honoured upon Pharaoh.* Yet the act of hardening is not so exclusively the work of God, but that the wicked themselves fully co-operate in it, though with any view but that of fulfilling the divine will. Hence Pharaoh is said to harden his own heart, Exod. ix. 34. *when he saw that the rain and the hail and the thunders were ceased, he sinned yet more, and hardened his heart, he and his servants.* 2 Chron. xxxvi. 13. *he stiffened his neck, and hardened his heart from turning unto Jehovah.* Psal. xcv. 8. *harden not your heart.* Zech. vii. 12. *they made their hearts as an adamant stone, lest they should hear the law and the words which Jehovah of hosts hath sent.*

Thus also with regard to the blinding of the understanding. Deut. xxviii. 15. compared with v. 28. *it shall come to pass, if thou wilt not hearken unto the voice of Jehovah thy God ..... Jehovah shall smite thee with madness, and blindness, and astonishment of heart,* that is, by withdrawing the light of his grace, by confounding or stupifying the faculties of the mind, or by simply permitting Satan to work these effects in the sinner. Rom. i. 28. *even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind.* 2 Cor. iv. 4. *in whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not.* Eph. ii. 2. *the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience.* 2 Thess. ii. 11. *for this cause God shall send them strong delusion.* Lastly, God is said to deceive men, not in the sense of seducing them to sin, but of beguiling them to their own punishment, or even to the production

of some good end. Ezek. xiv. 9—11. *if the prophet be deceived when he hath spoken a thing, I Jehovah have deceived that prophet, and I will stretch out my hand upon him,* &c. .....*and they shall bear the punishment of their iniquity* ..... *that the house of Israel may go no more astray from me.* God first deceived the already corrupt and covetous prophet, by disposing his mind to prophesy things acceptable to the people, and then deservedly cut off both the people who inquired of him, and the prophet of whom they inquired, to deter others from sinning in a similar manner; because on the one hand a bad intention had been displayed on the part of the inquirers, and on the other a false answer had been returned, which God had not commanded.

To this view of providence must be referred what is called temptation, whereby God either tempts men, or permits them to be tempted by the devil or his agents.

Temptation is either for evil or for good.

An evil temptation is when God, as above described, either withdraws his grace, or presents occasions of sin, or hardens the heart, or blinds the understanding. This is generally an evil temptation in respect of him who is tempted, but most equitable on the part of the Deity, for the reasons above-mentioned. It also serves the purpose of unmasking hypocrisy;[1] for God tempts no one in the sense of enticing or persuading to sin, (see James i. 13. as above,) though there be some towards whom he deservedly permits the devil to employ such temptations. We are taught in the Lord's prayer to deprecate temptations of this kind; Matt. vi. 13. *lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.*[2]

A good temptation is that whereby God tempts even the righteous

[1] 'Yet I will not insist on that which may seem to be the cause on God's part; as his judgement on our sins, the trial of his own, the unmasking of hypocrites—.' *Of Reformation in England,* I. 5.

[2] *Ab illo malo.* Tremellius. *from that evil one.*

for the purpose of proving them, not as though he were ignorant of the disposition of their hearts, but for the purpose of exercising or manifesting their faith or patience, as in the case of Abraham and Job; or of lessening their self-confidence, and reproving their weakness, that both they themselves may become wiser by experience, and others may profit by their example: as in the case of Hezekiah, 2 Chron. xxxii. 31. whom *God left*—partially, or for a time—*to try him, that he might know all that was in his heart.* He tempted the Israelites in the wilderness with the same view. Deut. viii. 2. *to humble thee, and to prove thee, to know what was in thine heart, whether thou wouldest keep his commandments or no.* Psal. lxvi. 10. *thou, O God, hast proved us, thou hast tried us as silver is tried.* 1 Pet. i. 7. *that the trial of your faith.... might be found unto praise.* iv. 12. *beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing happened unto you.* Rev. ii. 10. *behold, the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried.*

This kind of temptation is therefore rather to be desired. Psal. xxvi. 2. *examine me, O Jehovah, and prove me; try my reins and my heart.* James i. 2, 3. *my brethren, count it all joy when ye fall into divers temptations; knowing this, that the trying of your faith worketh patience.*

God also promises a happy issue. 1 Cor. x. 13. *there hath no temptation taken you but such as is common to man: but God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able, but will with the temptation also make a way to escape, that ye may be able to bear it.* James i. 12. *blessed is the man that endureth temptation; for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life.*

Yet even believers are not always sufficiently observant of these various operations of divine providence, until they are led to investigate the subject more deeply, and become more intimately conversant with the word of God. Psal. lxxiii. 2, 17. *my feet were almost gone..... until I went into the sanctuary of God: then understood I their end.*

Dan. xii. 10. *many shall be purified, and made white, and tried; but the wicked shall do wickedly: and none of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand.*

Having said in the prefatory definition, that the providence of God extends to all things, and that it has enacted certain immutable laws, by which every part of the creation is administered, it may not be an useless digression to inquire in this place, whether, among other fixed regulations, a limit has been set to the duration of human life, which is not to be passed.[3] That such is the case, Scripture clearly intimates. Job xiv. 5. *seeing his days are determined, the number of his months are with thee, thou hast appointed his bounds that he cannot pass.* Psal. xc. 10. *the days of our years are threescore years and ten, and if by reason of strength they be fourscore years, yet is their strength labour and sorrow; for it is soon cut off, and we fly away.* From these and similar passages, and especially from the early history of the world, it is evident that God, at least after the fall of man,[4] limited human life to a certain term, which in the progress of ages, from Adam to David, gradually became more and more contracted; so that whether this term be one and the same to all, or appointed differently to each individual, it is in the power of no one to prolong or exceed its limits. This is the province of God alone, as is proved beyond all doubt by the promise of long life made by him

[3] 'Tertia quæstio spectat conservationem individuorum, utrum Deus absoluto decreto unicuique homini certum vitæ terminum assignarit, quem nemo ulla ratione aut contrahere aut producere possit.' Curcell. *Institutio*, III. 11. 1.

[4] This seems to intimate a belief in the doctrine held by the Fathers and best divines, that if Adam had not sinned, he would not have died. The opinion is expressed in the same doubtful manner in a speech of Raphael:

> . . . . . time may come, when men
> With angels may participate . . . . . .
> And from these corporal nutriments perhaps
> Your bodies may at last turn all to spirit,
> Improv'd by tract of time, and wing'd ascend
> Ethereal as we, or may at choice
> Here, or in heav'nly Paradises dwell. *Paradise Lost*, V. 493.

to his people, and by his addition of fifteen years to the life of Hezekiah when at the point of death. The power of shortening or anticipating the term in question, on the contrary, is not the exclusive privilege of God, though this also is exercised by him, both for purposes of reward and punishment; the same effect may be, and in fact frequently is, produced by the crimes or vices of mortals themselves. Prov. x. 27. *the fear of Jehovah prolongeth days, but the years of the wicked shall be shortened.* Exod. xx. 12. *honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land,* &c. See also numerous passages to the same purpose, during the time of the law. Psal. lv. 23. *bloody and deceitful men shall not live out half their days,* that is, they shall not live to the end of that term, to which by the constitution of their bodies they might otherwise have arrived; in which class are to be placed all those who lay violent hands on themselves, or who accelerate death by intemperate living.

The providence of God is either ordinary or extraordinary.[5]

His ordinary providence is that whereby he upholds and preserves the immutable order of causes appointed by him in the beginning. This is commonly, and indeed too frequently, described by the name of nature; for nature cannot possibly mean anything but the mysterious power and efficacy of that divine voice which went forth in the beginning, and to which, as to a perpetual command, all things have since paid obedience. Job xxxviii. 12. *hast thou commanded the morning since thy days?* v. 33. *knowest thou the ordinances of heaven?* Psal. cxlviii. 8. *fire and hail, snow and vapours, stormy wind fulfilling his word.* Isai. xlv. 12. *I have stretched out the heavens, and all their host have I commanded.* Jer. xxxi. 36. *if those ordinances depart from before me.* xxxiii. 20. *my covenant of the day and my covenant of the night.*

[5] 'Qualitas providentiæ in duobus præcipue spectatur. 1. Quod alia sit ordinaria, alia vero extraordinaria ... Providentia ordinaria est, qua Deus in hominum regimine ordinem a se ab initio institutum observat, et omnia convenienter naturæ, quam ipsis indidit, gubernat.' Curcell. *Institutio,* III. 12. 10.

The extraordinary providence of God is that whereby God produces some effect out of the usual order of nature, or gives the power of producing the same effect to whomsoever he may appoint. This is what we call a miracle. Hence God alone is the primary author of miracles, as he only is able to invert that order of things which he has himself appointed. Psal. lxxii. 18. *who only doeth wondrous things.* John x. 21. *can a devil open the eyes of the blind?* 2 Thess. ii. 9. *whose coming is after the power of Satan, with all power and signs and lying wonders.*

The use of miracles is to manifest the divine power, and confirm our faith. Exod. vi. 6, 7. *I will redeem you ..... with great judgements ..... and ye shall know that I am Jehovah your God.* viii. 22. *I will sever in that day the land of Goshen ..... to the end thou mayest know that I am Jehovah.* 1 Kings xvii. 24. *now by this I know that thou art a man of God.* Mark xvi. 20. *the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following.* Heb. ii. 4. *God also bearing them witness, both with signs and wonders and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to his own will.*

Miracles are also designed to increase the condemnation of unbelievers, by taking away all excuse for unbelief. Matt. xi. 21. *woe unto thee, Chorazin ....for if the mighty works which were done in you had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago—,* John xv. 24. *if I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin: but now they have no cloke for their sin.*

CHAP. IX.

Of the Special Government of Angels.

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT OF PROVIDENCE has been hitherto the subject of consideration. The SPECIAL GOVERNMENT is that which embraces with peculiar regard angels and men, as beings far superior to the rest of the creation.

Angels are either good or evil, Luke ix. 26. viii. 2. for it appears that many of them revolted from God of their own accord before the fall of man. John viii. 44. *he abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him: when he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own, for he is a liar and the father of it.* 2 Pet. ii. 4. *God spared not the angels that sinned.* Jude 6. *the angels which kept not their first estate.* 1 John iii. 8. *the devil sinneth from the beginning.* Psal. cvi. 37. *they sacrificed unto devils.*

Some are of opinion that the good angels are now upheld, not so much by their own strength, as by the grace of God. 1 Tim. v. 21. *the elect angels,* that is, who have not revolted.[6] Eph. i. 10. *that he might*

[6] Milton employs the word *elect* in opposition to the apostate angels, in the description of the first battle in heaven:

> ..... but those elect
> Angels, contented with their fame in Heav'n,
> Seek not the praise of men: the other sort,
> In might though wond'rous—, &c. *Paradise Lost,* VI. 374.

gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth. Job iv. 18. *his angels he charged with folly.* See also xv. 15. Hence arises, in their opinion, the delighted interest which the angels take in the mystery of man's salvation;[7] 1 Pet. i. 12. *which things the angels desire to look into.* Eph. iii. 10. *that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known by the church the manifold wisdom of God.* Luke ii. 13, 14. *a multitude of the heavenly host praising God,* namely, on account of the birth of Christ. xv. 10. *there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth.* They assign the same reason for their worshipping Christ. Heb. i. 6. *let all the angels of God worship him.* Matt. iv. 11. *angels came and ministered unto him.* Philipp. ii. 10. *at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven—.* 2 Thess. i. 7. *the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels.* 1 Pet. iii. 22. *angels being made subject unto him.* Rev. v. 11, 12. *worthy is the Lamb that was slain.* It seems, however, more agreeable to reason, to suppose that the good angels are upheld by their own strength no less than man himself was before his fall;—that they are called *elect,* in the sense of beloved, or excellent;—that it is not from any interest of their own, but from their love to mankind, that they desire to look into the mystery of our salvation;—that they are not comprehended in the covenant of reconciliation;—that, finally, they are included under Christ as their head, not as their Redeemer.[8]

For the rest, they are represented as standing dispersed around the throne of God in the capacity of ministering agents.[9] Deut. xxxiii. 2. *he came with ten thousands of saints.* 1 Kings xxii. 19. *I saw Jehovah*

[7] Nor less think we in heav'n of thee on earth
Than of our fellow servant, and enquire
Gladly into the ways of God with man. *Paradise Lost,* VIII. 224.

[8] When the great ensign of Messiah blaz'd,
..... Michael soon reduc'd
His army, circumfus'd on either wing,
Under their head embodied all in one. VI. 775.

[9] ..... Ye behold him, and with songs
And choral symphonies, day without night,
Circle his throne rejoicing. V. 161.

sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing by him on his right hand and on his left. Job i. 6. *there was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before Jehovah.* See also ii. 1. Dan. vii. 10. *ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him.* Matt. xviii. 10. *their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.* Luke i. 19. *I am Gabriel who stand in the presence of God.*

Praising God. Job xxxviii. 7. *all the sons of God shouted for joy.* Psal. cxlviii. 2. *praise ye him, all his angels.* Neh. ix. 6. *the host of heaven worshippeth thee.* Isai. vi. 3. *one cried unto another and said, Holy, holy, holy.* See also Rev. iv. 8. vii. 11. *the angels fall before the throne on their faces.*

They are obedient to God in all respects. Gen. xxviii. 12. *behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it.* Psal. ciii. 20. *his angels ..... that do his commandments.* Zech. i. 10. *these are they whom Jehovah hath sent to walk to and fro through the earth.*

Their ministry relates especially to believers.[1] Heb. i. 14. *are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation?* Psal. xxxiv. 7. *the angel of Jehovah encampeth round about them that fear him.* xci. 11. *he shall give his angels charge over thee.* Isai. lxiii. 9. *the angel of his presence saved them.* Matt. xviii. 10. *their angels do always behold the face of my Father.* xiii. 41. *the Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all*

[1] The tutelary care of angels is incidentally alluded to in Paradise Lost:

> ..... except whom
> God and good angels guard by special grace. II. 1032.
> Subjected to his service angel wings
> And flaming ministers, to watch and tend
> Their earthly charge. IX. 155.
> Send me the angel of thy birth, to stand
> Fast by thy side. *Samson Agonistes,* 1431.
> ..... some good angel bear
> A shield before us. *Comus,* 658.

things that offend. xxiv. 31. *they shall gather together his elect from the four winds.* Acts xii. 15. *it is his angel.* 1 Cor. xi. 10. *for this cause ought the woman to have power on her head because of the angels,* namely, as some think, (and numerous examples in confirmation of their opinion are not wanting) those angels whose office it was to be present at the religious assemblies of believers.[2]

Seven of these, in particular, are described as traversing the earth in the execution of their ministry.[3] Zech. iv. 10. *those seven are the eyes of Jehovah which run to and fro through the whole earth.* Rev. v. 6. *which are the seven Spirits of God sent forth into all the earth.* See also i. 4. and iv. 5.

It appears also probable that there are certain angels appointed to preside over nations, kingdoms, and particular districts. Dan. iv. 13, 17. *this matter is by the decree of the watchers.* xii. 1. *Michael ..... the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people.* x. 13. *I remained there with the kings of Persia.* 2 Pet. ii. 11. *whereas angels, which are greater in power and might, bring not railing accusation against them before the Lord.* Gen. iii. 24. *to keep the way of the tree of life.*

They are sometimes sent from heaven as messengers of the divine vengeance, to punish the sins of men. They destroy cities and nations.

[2] This is the interpretation of Grotius, Hammond, (who quotes from the Fathers in support of his opinion) Wolf, Doddridge, Pearce, &c. But Milton probably alluded to Tremellius, whose version he principally used, and whose note is as follows: 'Hujus autem rei testes sunt et observatores angeli in ecclesia Dei, ab externo ordine internam Dei gratiam et pietatem membrorum optime recognoscentes. Psal. xxxiv. 8. et xci. 11. Matt. xviii. 10. John i. 52. Eph. iii. 10. 1 Tim. v. 21. Heb. i. 14. 1 Pet. i. 12.' These seem to have been the 'numerous examples' referred to above.

[3] Th' Arch-Angel Uriel, one of the sev'n
Who in God's presence, nearest to his throne,
Stand ready at command, and are his eyes
That run through all the heav'ns, or down to th' earth
Bear his swift errands over moist and dry,
O'er sea and land. *Paradise Lost,* III. 648.

Gen. xix. 13. 2 Sam. xxiv. 16. 1 Chron. xxi. 16. *David saw the angel of Jehovah ..... having a drawn sword in his hand stretched out over Jerusalem.* They lay waste whole armies with unexpected destruction. 2 Kings xix. 35. Compare also other passages to the same effect. Hence they are frequently represented as making their appearance in the shape of an armed host. Gen. xxxii. 1, 2. *this is God's host.* Josh. v. 15. *the captain of the host of Jehovah.* 2 Kings vi. 17. *the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire.* Psal. lxviii. 17. *the chariots of God are twenty thousand.* Luke ii. 13. *a multitude of the heavenly host.*

Angels are also described Isai. vi. Hos. i. 7. Matt. xxviii. 2, 3. Rev. x. 1.

There appears to be one who presides over the rest of the good angels, to whom the name of Michael is often given.[4] Josh. vi. 14. *as captain of the host of Jehovah am I come.* Dan. xi. 13. *Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help me.* xii. 1. *Michael shall stand up, the great prince.* Rev. xii. 7, 8. *Michael and his angels fought against the dragon.* It is generally thought that Michael is Christ. But Christ vanquished the devil, and trampled him under foot singly; Michael, the leader of the angels, is introduced in the capacity of a hostile commander waging war with the prince of the devils, the armies on both sides being drawn out in battle array, and separating after a doubtful conflict.[5] Rev. xii. 7, 8. Jude also says of the same angel, *when contending with the devil he disputed about the body of Moses, he durst not bring against him a railing accusation,*—which would be an improper expression to use with reference to Christ, especially if he be God. 1 Thess. iv. 16. *the Lord*

[4] Go, Michael, of celestial armies prince. *Paradise Lost,* VI. 44.

[5] So in the description of the first fight in Paradise Lost, which is borrowed from the prophecy in the Apocalypse quoted above, 'long time in even scale the battle hung,' till at last Michael, 'the prince of angels,' engages in single combat with the Adversary:

..... from each hand with speed retir'd,
Where erst was thickest fight, th' angelic throng,
And left large field. VI. 307.

himself shall descend from heaven with the voice of the archangel. Besides, it seems strange that an apostle of Christ, in revealing things till then so new and unheard-of concerning his master, should express himself thus obscurely, and should even shadow the person of Christ under a difference of name.

The good angels do not look into all the secret things of God, as the Papists pretend; some things indeed they know by revelation, and others by means of the excellent intelligence with which they are gifted; there is much, however, of which they are ignorant. An angel is introduced inquiring Dan. viii. 13. *how long shall be the vision?* xii. 6. *how long shall it be to the end of these wonders?* Matt. xxiv. 36. *of that day knoweth no man, no not even the angels in heaven.* Eph. iii. 10. *to the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known by the church the manifold wisdom of God.* Rev. v. 3. *no man in heaven was able to open the book.*

The evil angels are reserved for punishment. Matt. viii. 29. *art thou come hither to torment us before the time?* 2 Pet. ii. 4. *God cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgement.* Jude 6. *he hath reserved them in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgement of the great day.* 1 Cor. vi. 3. *know ye not that we shall judge angels?* Matt. xxv. 41. *everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.* Rev. xx. 10. *they shall be tormented for ever and ever.*

They are sometimes, however, permitted to wander throughout the whole earth, the air, and heaven itself, to execute the judgements of God.[6]

[6] ... do him mightier service as his thralls
By right of war, whate'er his business be,
Here in the heart of hell to work in fire,
Or do his errands in the gloomy deep. *Paradise Lost,* I. 148.
..... the spirits perverse
With easy intercourse pass to and fro
To tempt or punish mortals. II. 1031.

Job i. 7. *from going to and fro in the earth.* 1 Sam. xvi. 15. *the Spirit of Jehovah departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from Jehovah troubled him.* 1 Pet. v. 8. *the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about.* John xii. 31. *the prince of this world.* 2 Cor. iv. 4. *the god of this world.* Matt. xii. 43. *he walketh through dry places.* Eph. ii. 2. *according to the prince of the power of the air.* vi. 12. *against spiritual wickedness in high places.* They are even admitted into the presence of God. Job i. 6. ii. 1. 1 Kings xxii. 21. *there came forth a spirit, and stood before Jehovah.* Zech. iii. 1. *he showed me Joshua the high priest standing before the angel of Jehovah, and Satan standing at his right hand to resist him.* Luke x. 18. *I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven.* Rev. xii. 12. *woe to the inhabiters of the earth, for the devil is come down unto you.* Their proper place, however, is the bottomless pit, from which they cannot escape without permission.[7] Luke viii. 31. *they besought him that he would not command them to go out into the deep.* Matt. xii. 43. *he walketh through dry places, seeking rest, and findeth none.* Mark v. 10. *he besought him much that he would not send them away out of the country.* Rev. xx. 3. *and cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up.* Nor can they do anything without the command of God. Job i. 12. *Jehovah said unto Satan, Behold, all that he hath is in thy power.* Matt. viii. 31. *suffer us to go away into the herd of swine.* Rev. xx. 2. *he laid hold on the dragon ..... and bound him a thousand years.*

Their knowledge is great, but such as tends rather to aggravate than diminish their misery; so that they utterly despair of their salvation.[8] Matt.

[7] So stretch'd out huge in length the Arch-Fiend lay,
Chain'd on the burning lake, nor ever thence
Had ris'n or heav'd his head, but that the will
And high permission of all-ruling heav'n
Left him at large to his own dark designs. *Paradise Lost,* I. 209.

[8] ..... his doom
Reserv'd him to more wrath; for now the thought
Both of lost happiness and lasting pain
Torments him—. I. 52.

..... hope

viii. 29. *what have we to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God? art thou come hither to torment us before the time?* See also Luke iv. 34. James ii. 19. *the devils believe and tremble,* knowing that they are reserved for punishment, as has been shown.

The devils also have their prince. Matt. xii. 24. *Beelzebub, the prince of the devils.* See also Luke xi. 15. Matt. xxv. 41. *the devil and his angels.* Rev. xii. 9. *the great dragon was cast out ..... and his angels.* They retain likewise their respective ranks.[9] Col. ii. 15. *having spoiled principalities and powers.* Eph. vi. 12. *against principalities, against powers.* Their leader is the author of all wickedness, and the opponent of all good. Job i. and ii. Zech. iii. 1. *Satan.* John viii. 44. *the father of lies.* 1 Thess. ii. 18. *Satan hindered us.* Acts v. 3. *Satan hath filled thine heart.* Rev. xx. 3, 8. *that he should deceive the nations no more.* Eph. ii. 2. *the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience.* Hence he has obtained many names corresponding to his actions. He is frequently called *Satan,* that is, an enemy or adversary,[1] Job i. 6. 1 Chron. xxi. 1. *the great dragon, that old serpent, the*

..... hope never comes
That comes to all. *Paradise Lost,* I. 66.

..... We are decreed,
Reserv'd, and destin'd to eternal woe;
Whatever doing, what can we suffer more,
What can we suffer worse? II. 159.

Me miserable! which way shall I fly
Infinite wrath, and infinite despair? IV. 73.

[9] The Stygian council thus dissolv'd, and forth
In order came the grand infernal peers:
Midst came their mighty Paramount—. II. 506.

[1] ..... To whom th' Arch-Enemy,
And thence in heav'n call'd Satan—. I. 81.

..... the Adversary of God and man,
Satan—. II. 629.

High proof ye now have giv'n to be the race
Of Satan (for I glory in the name,
Antagonist of heav'n's Almighty King). X. 385. See also VI. 281.

devil, that is, the false accuser, Rev. xii. 9. *the accuser of the brethren*, v. 10. *the unclean spirit*, Matt. xii. 43. *the tempter*,[2] iv. 3. *Abaddon*, *Apollyon*, that is, the destroyer,[3] Rev. ix. 11. *a great red dragon*, xii. 3.

[2] The tempter ere th' accuser of mankind. *Paradise Lost*, IV. 10.

[3] ..... who bids abstain
But our Destroyer, foe to God and man? IV. 749.

CHAP. X.

OF THE

SPECIAL GOVERNMENT OF MAN

BEFORE THE FALL,

INCLUDING

THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE SABBATH AND OF MARRIAGE.

THE Providence of God as regards mankind, relates to man either in his state of rectitude, or since his fall.

With regard to that which relates to man in his state of rectitude, God, having placed him in the garden of Eden, and furnished him with whatever was calculated to make life happy, commanded him, as a test of his obedience, to refrain from eating of the single tree of knowledge of good and evil, under penalty of death if he should disregard the injunction.[4] Gen. i. 28. *subdue the earth, and have dominion*—. ii. 15—17. *he put him into the garden of Eden.... of every tree in the garden thou mayest freely eat; but in the day that thou eatest of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt surely die.*

[4] .....well thou know'st
God hath pronounc'd it death to taste that tree,
The only sign of our obedience left. *Paradise Lost*, IV. 426.
.....lest the like befall
In Paradise to Adam or his race
Charg'd not to touch the interdicted tree,
If they transgress, and slight that sole command,
So easily obey'd amid the choice
Of all tastes else to please their appetite,
Though wand'ring. VII. 44.

This is sometimes called *the covenant of works,*[5] though it does not appear from any passage of Scripture to have been either a covenant, or of works. No works whatever are required of Adam; a particular act only is forbidden. It was necessary that something should be forbidden or commanded as a test of fidelity, and that an act in its own nature indifferent, in order that man's obedience might be thereby manifested. For since it was the disposition of man to do what was right, as a being naturally good and holy, it was not necessary that he should be bound by the obligation of a covenant to perform that to which he was of himself inclined;[6] nor would he have given any proof of obedience by the performance of works to which he was led by a natural impulse, independently of the divine command. Not to mention, that no command, whether proceeding from God or from a magistrate, can properly be called a covenant, even where rewards and punishments are attached to it; but rather an exercise of jurisdiction.

The tree of knowledge of good and evil was not a sacrament, as it is generally called;[7] for a sacrament is a thing to be used, not abstained from: but a pledge, as it were, and memorial of obedience.

It was called the tree of knowledge of good and evil from the event; for since Adam tasted it, we not only know evil, but we

[5] So Bishop Taylor. 'I find in Scripture no mention made of any such covenant as is dreamt of about the matter of original sin; only the covenant of works God did make with all men till Christ came; but he did never exact it after Adam.' Works, IX. 399. And in his treatise on *The Doctrine and Practice of Repentance,* Gen. ii. 17. is quoted as the first of the texts to prove 'the old covenant, or the covenant of works.' VIII. 303.

[6] 'Were it merely natural, why was it here ordained more than the rest of moral law to man in his original rectitude, in whose breast all that was natural or moral was engraven without external constitutions and edicts?' *Tetrachordon.* Prose Works, II. 133.

[7] 'That some of the objects in Eden were of a sacramental nature we can hardly doubt, when we read of the tree of knowledge, and of the tree of life.' Bp. Horne's *Sermon on the Garden of Eden.* See also his two Sermons on *the Tree of Knowledge* and *of Life.*

know good only by means of evil.[8] For it is by evil that virtue is chiefly exercised, and shines with greater brightness.

The tree of life, in my opinion, ought not to be considered so much a sacrament,[9] as a symbol of eternal life, or rather perhaps the nutriment by which that life is sustained. Gen. iii. 22. *lest he take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever.* Rev. ii. 7. *to him that overcometh, will I give to eat of the tree of life.*

Seeing, however, that man was made in the image of God, and had the whole law of nature so implanted and innate in him, that he needed no precept to enforce its observance, it follows, that if he received any additional commands, whether respecting the tree of knowledge, or the institution of marriage, these commands formed no part of the law of nature, which is sufficient of itself to teach whatever is agreeable to right reason, that is to say, whatever is intrinsically good.[1] Such commands must therefore have been founded on what is called positive right, whereby God, or any one invested with lawful power, commands or forbids what is in itself neither good nor bad, and what therefore would not have been obligatory on any one, had there been no law to enjoin or prohibit it. With regard to the Sabbath, it is clear that God hallowed it to himself, and dedicated it to rest, in remembrance of the consummation of his work;[2] Gen. ii. 2, 3. Exod. xxxi. 17. Whether its institution was ever made known to Adam, or whether any commandment relative to its observance was given previous to the delivery

[8] 'Perhaps this is that doom which Adam fell into of knowing good and evil, that is to say, of knowing good by evil.' *Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing.* Prose Works, I. 299.

.....the tree of knowledge grew fast by,
Knowledge of good bought dear by knowing ill. *Paradise Lost,* IV. 222.

[9] 'The church began in innocency, and yet it began with a sacrament, the tree of life—.' Bp. Taylor. *Works,* I. 149.

[1] See the passage quoted from our author's *Tetrachordon* in the preceding page, note 6.

[2] . . . . . from work
Now resting, bless'd and hallow'd the sev'nth day,
As resting on that day from all his work. *Paradise Lost,* VII. 590.

of the law on Mount Sinai, much less whether any such was given before the fall of man, cannot be ascertained, Scripture being silent on the subject. The most probable supposition is, that Moses, who seems to have written the book of Genesis much later than the promulgation of the law, inserted this sentence from the fourth commandment, into what appeared a suitable place for it; where an opportunity was afforded for reminding the Israelites, by a natural and easy transition, of the reason assigned by God, many ages after the event itself, for his command with regard to the observance of the Sabbath by the covenanted people. An instance of a similar insertion occurs Exod. xvi. 33, 34. *Moses said unto Aaron, Take a pot, and put an omer full of manna therein.... so Aaron laid it up;* which however did not take place till long afterwards. The injunction respecting the celebration of the Sabbath in the wilderness, Exod. xvi. a short time previous to the delivery of the law, namely, that no one should go out to gather manna on the seventh morning, because God had said that he would not rain it from heaven on that day, seems rather to have been intended as a preparatory notice, the groundwork, as it were, of a law for the Israelites, to be delivered shortly afterwards in a clearer manner; they having been previously ignorant of the mode of observing the Sabbath. Compare v. 5. with v. 22—30. For the rulers of the congregation, who ought to have been better acquainted than the rest with the commandment of the Sabbath, if any such institution then existed, wondered why the people gathered twice as much on the sixth day, and appealed to Moses; who then, as if announcing something new, proclaimed to them that the morrow would be the Sabbath. After which, as if he had already related in what manner the Sabbath was for the first time observed, he proceeds, v. 30. *so the people rested on the seventh day.*

That the Israelites had not so much as heard of the Sabbath before this time, seems to be confirmed by several passages of the prophets. Ezek. xx. 10—12. *I caused them to go forth out of the land of Egypt, and brought them into the wilderness; and I gave them my statutes, and showed them my judgements,...moreover also I gave them my sabbaths, to be a sign between me and them, that they might know*

that I am Jehovah that sanctify them. Neh. ix. 13, 14. *thou camest down also upon mount Sinai...and gavest them right judgements.....and madest known unto them thy holy sabbath, and commandedst them precepts, statutes and laws, by the hand of Moses thy servant.* This subject, however, will come again under discussion, Book II. Chap. vii.

With regard to marriage, it is clear that it was instituted, if not commanded, at the creation, and that it consisted in the mutual love, society, help, and comfort of the husband and wife, though with a reservation of superior rights to the husband.[3] Gen. ii. 18. *it is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him an help meet for him.* 1 Cor. xi. 7—9. *for a man....is the image of the glory of God, but the woman is the glory of the man: for the man is not of the woman, but the woman of the man; neither was the man created for the woman, but the woman for the man.* The power of the husband was even increased after the fall. Gen. iii. 16. *thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee.* Therefore the word בעל in the Hebrew signifies both husband and lord. Thus Sarah is represented as calling her husband Abraham *lord,* 1 Pet. iii. 6. 1 Tim. ii. 12—14. *I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence: for Adam was first formed, then Eve; and Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived, was in the transgression.*

[3] See *Tetrachordon.* 'It might be doubted, &c..... lost by her means.' Prose Works, II. 121, 122. 'What an injury is it after wedlock.....to be contended with in point of house rule who shall be the head....'I suffer not,' saith St. Paul, 'the woman to usurp authority over the man.' If the apostle would not suffer it, into what mould is he mortified that can?' *Doctrine,* &c. *of Divorce,* II. 36.

> ....Was she made thy guide,
> Superior, or but equal, that to her
> Thou didst resign thy manhood, and the place
> Wherein God set thee above her made of thee? *Paradise Lost,* X. 146.

See also XI. 291, 634—636.

> Therefore God's universal law
> Gave to the man despotic power
> Over his female in due awe,
> Nor from that right to part an hour,
> Smile she or lower. *Samson Agonistes,* 1064.

Marriage, therefore, is a most intimate connection of man with woman, ordained by God, for the purpose either of the procreation of children, or of the relief and solace of life. Hence it is said, Gen. ii. 24. *therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh.* This is neither a law nor a commandment, but an effect or natural consequence of that most intimate union which would have existed between them in the perfect state of man; nor is the passage intended to serve any other purpose, than to account for the origin of families.

In the definition which I have given, I have not said, in compliance with the common opinion, *of one man with one woman*, lest I should by implication charge the holy patriarchs and pillars of our faith, Abraham, and the others who had more than one wife at the same time, with habitual fornication and adultery; and lest I should be forced to exclude from the sanctuary of God as spurious, the holy offspring which sprang from them, yea, the whole of the sons of Israel, for whom the sanctuary itself was made. For it is said, Deut. xxiii. 2. *a bastard shall not enter into the congregation of Jehovah, even to his tenth generation.* Either therefore polygamy is a true marriage,[4] or all children born in that state are spurious; which would include the whole race of Jacob, the twelve holy tribes chosen by God. But as such an assertion would be absurd in the extreme, not to say impious, and as it is the height of injustice, as well as an example of most dangerous tendency in religion, to account as sin what is not such in reality;[5] it appears

[4] 'Certain it is that whereas *other nations used a liberty not unnatural,* for one man to have many wives, the Britons altogether as licentious, but more absurd and preposterous in their license, had one or many wives in common among ten or twelve husbands.' *History of England.* Prose Works, IV. 68. With the exception of this hint, I am not aware of any passage in Milton's printed works which contains a clew to his opinions respecting polygamy. His history was written just before he became Latin Secretary to the Council, about the year 1650; and it is observable that although, according to the above quotation, he appears to have been inclined in favour of the practice, he then admitted its licentiousness.

[5] See the title to *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce;*—'wherein also are set down the bad consequences of abolishing, or condemning of sin, that which the law of God allows, and Christ abolished not.' Prose Works, I. 332. 'In these opinions it would be more religion

to me, that, so far from the question respecting the lawfulness of polygamy being a trivial, it is of the highest importance that it should be decided.

Those who deny its lawfulness, attempt to prove their position from Gen. ii. 24. *a man shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh,* compared with Matt. xix. 5. *they twain shall be one flesh.* A man shall cleave, they say, to his wife, not to his wives, and they twain, and no more, shall be one flesh. This is certainly ingenious; and I therefore subjoin the passage in Exod. xx. 17. *thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass:* whence it would follow that no one had more than a single house, a single man-servant, a single maid-servant, a single ox or ass. It would be ridiculous to argue, that it is not said houses, but house, not man-servants, but man-servant, not even neighbours, but neighbour; as if it were not the general custom, in laying down commandments of this kind, to use the singular number, not in a numerical sense, but as designating the species of the thing intended. With regard to the phrase, *they twain,* and not more, *shall be one flesh,* it is to be observed, first, that the context refers to the husband and that wife only whom he was seeking to divorce, without intending any allusion to the number of his wives, whether one or more. Secondly, marriage is in the nature of a relation; and to one relation there can be no more than two parties. In the same sense therefore as if a man has many sons, his paternal relation towards them all is manifold, but towards each individually is single and complete in itself; by parity of reasoning, if a man has many wives, the relation which he bears to each will not be less perfect in itself, nor will the husband be less *one flesh* with each of them, than if he had only one wife. Thus it might be properly said of Abraham, with regard to Sarah and Hagar respectively, *these twain were one flesh.* And with good reason; for whoever consorts with harlots, however many in number, is still

religion to advise well, lest we make ourselves juster than God, by censuring rashly that for sin, which his unspotted law without rebuke allows, and his people without being conscious of displeasing him have used.' *Doctrine,* &c. II. 32.

said to be *one flesh* with each; 1 Cor. vi. 16. *what, know ye not, that he which is joined to an harlot is one body? for two, saith he, shall be one flesh.* The expression may therefore be applied as properly to the husband who has many wives, as to him who has only one. Hence it follows that the commandment in question (though in fact it is no commandment at all, as has been shown) contains nothing against polygamy, either in the way of direct prohibition or implied censure; unless we are to suppose that the law of God, as delivered by Moses, was at variance with his prior declarations; or that, though the passage in question had been frequently inspected by a multitude of priests, and Levites, and prophets, men of all ranks, of holiest lives and most acceptable to God, the fury of their passions was such as to hurry them by a blind impulse into habitual fornication; for to this supposition are we reduced, if there be anything in the present precept which renders polygamy incompatible with lawful marriage.

Another text from which the unlawfulness of polygamy is maintained, is Lev. xviii. 18. *neither shalt thou take a wife to her sister, to vex her, to uncover her nakedness, beside the other in her life time.* Here Junius translates the passage *mulierem unam ad alteram*, instead of *mulierem ad sororem suam*, in order that from this forced and inadmissible interpretation he may elicit an argument against polygamy. In drawing up a law, as in composing a definition, it is necessary that the most exact and appropriate words should be used, and that they should be interpreted not in their metaphorical, but in their proper signification. He says, indeed, that the same words are found in the same sense in other passages. This is true; but it is only where the context precludes the possibility of any ambiguity, as in Gen. xxvi. 31. *juraverunt vir fratri suo*, that is, *alteri, they sware one to another.* No one would infer from this passage that Isaac was the brother of Abimelech; nor would any one, on the other hand, entertain a doubt that the passage in Leviticus was intended as a prohibition against taking a wife to her sister; particularly as the preceding verses of this chapter treat of the degrees of affinity to which intermarriage is forbidden.

Moreover, this would be *to uncover her nakedness,* the evil against which the law in question was intended to guard; whereas the caution would be unnecessary in the case of taking another wife not related or allied to the former; for no nakedness would be thereby uncovered. Lastly, why is the clause *in her life time* added? For there could be no doubt of its being lawful after her death to marry another who was neither related nor allied to her, though it might be questionable whether it were lawful to marry a wife's sister. It is objected, that marriage with a wife's sister is forbidden by analogy in the sixteenth verse, and that therefore a second prohibition was unnecessary. I answer, first, that there is in reality no analogy between the two passages; for that by marrying a brother's wife, the brother's nakedness is uncovered; whereas by marrying a wife's sister, it is not a sister's nakedness, but only that of a kinswoman by marriage, which is uncovered. Besides, if nothing were to be prohibited which had been before prohibited by analogy, why is marriage with a mother forbidden, when marriage with a father had been already declared unlawful? or why marriage with a mother's sister, when marriage with a father's sister had been prohibited? If this reasoning be allowed, it follows that more than half the laws relating to incest are unnecessary. Lastly, whereas the prevention of enmity is alleged as the principal motive for the law before us, it is obvious, that if the intention had been to condemn polygamy, reasons of a much stronger kind might have been urged from the nature of the original institution, as was done in the ordinance of the Sabbath.[6]

A third passage which is advanced, Deut. xvii. 17. is so far from condemning polygamy, either in a king, or in any one else, that it expressly allows it; and only imposes the same restraints upon this condition which are laid upon the multiplication of horses, or the accumulation of treasure; as will appear from the seventeenth and eighteenth verses.

[6] 'But they were to look back to the first institution; nay rather why was not that individual institution brought out of Paradise, as was that of the Sabbath, and repeated in the body of the law, that man might have understood it to be a command?' *Doctrine,* &c. II. 29.

Except the three passages which are thus irrelevantly adduced, not a trace appears of the interdiction of polygamy throughout the whole law; nor even in any of the prophets, who were at once the rigid interpreters of the law, and the habitual reprovers of the vices of the people. The only shadow of an exception occurs in a passage of Malachi, the last of the prophets, which some consider as decisive against polygamy. It would be indeed a late and postliminous enactment, if that were for the first time prohibited after the Babylonish captivity which ought to have been prohibited many ages before. For if it had been really a sin, how could it have escaped the reprehension of so many prophets who preceded him? We may safely conclude that if polygamy be not forbidden in the law, neither is it forbidden here; for Malachi was not the author of a new law. Let us however see the words themselves as translated by Junius, ii. 15. *Nonne unum effecit? quamvis reliqui spiritus ipsi essent: quid autem unum?* It would be rash and unreasonable indeed, if, on the authority of so obscure a passage, and one which has been tortured and twisted by different interpreters into such a variety of meanings, we were to form a conclusion on so important a subject, and to impose it upon others as an article of faith.[7] But whatever be the signification of the words *nonne unum effecit*, what do they prove? are we, for the sake of drawing an inference against polygamy, to understand the phrase thus—*did not he make one woman?* But the gender, and even the case, are at variance with this interpretation; for nearly all the other commentators render the words as follows: *annon unus fecit? et residuum spiritus ipsi? et quid ille unus?* We ought not therefore to draw any conclusion from a passage like the present in behalf of a doctrine which is either not mentioned elsewhere, or only in doubtful terms; but rather conclude that the prophet's design was to reprove a practice which the whole of Scripture concurs in reproving, and which forms

[7] Though the words of this difficult clause are rendered very variously by the different commentators, yet, with the exception of Grotius, who explains the passage with reference to the origin of souls *ex traduce* from our natural parents, nearly all agree in considering it as an argument against polygamy. The interpretation which Milton seems to prefer, is suggested by Tirinus and Menochius. See Poole's *Synopsis* in loc.

the principal subject of the very chapter in question, v. 11—16. namely, marriage with *the daughter of a strange god;* a corruption very prevalent among the Jews of that time, as we learn from Ezra and Nehemiah.[8]

With regard to the words of Christ, Matt. v. 32. and xix. 5. the passage from Gen. ii. 24. is repeated not for the purpose of condemning polygamy, but of reproving the unrestrained liberty of divorce, which is a very different thing; nor can the words be made to apply to any other subject without evident violence to their meaning. For the argument which is deduced from Matt. v. 32. that if a man who marries another after putting away his first wife, committeth adultery, much more must he commit adultery who retains the first and marries another, ought itself to be repudiated as an illegitimate conclusion.[9] For in the first place, it is the divine precepts themselves that are obligatory, not the consequences deduced from them by human reasoning; for what appears a reasonable inference to one individual, may not be equally obvious to

[8] 'It wrought so little disorder among the Jews, that from Moses till after the captivity, not one of the prophets thought it worth the rebuking; for that of Malachi well looked into will appear to be not against divorcing, but rather against keeping strange concubines, to the vexation of their Hebrew wives.' *Doctrine,* &c. Prose Works, II. 61. 'He that reads attentively will soon perceive, that God blames not here the Jews for putting away their wives, but for keeping strange concubines, to the *profaning of Judah's holiness,* and the vexation of their Hebrew wives, v. 11 and 14. *Judah hath married the daughter of a strange god:* and exhorts them rather to put away their wives whom they hate, as the law permitted, than to keep them under such affronts. And it is received, that this prophet lived in those times of Ezra and Nehemiah (nay by some is thought to be Ezra himself) when the people were forced by these two worthies to put their strange wives away. So that what the story of those times, and the plain context of the 11th verse, from whence this rebuke begins, can give us to conjecture of the obscure and curt Ebraisms that follow, this prophet does not forbid putting away, but forbids keeping, and commands putting away according to God's law, which is the plainest interpreter both of what God will, and what he can best suffer.' *Tetrachordon,* II. 146.

[9] The original of this sentence affords no satisfactory sense. 'Id ejusmodi est profecto, ut argumentum ipsum pro adulterio sit protinus repudiandum.' The fondness for that play upon words which is so characteristic of Milton, and of which, as has been already observed (see p. 14.) this treatise furnishes numerous examples, renders it not improbable that it was originally written *pro adulterino;* for which the amanuensis employed in transcribing this part of the manuscript, substituted the more common word *adulterio.*

another of similar discernment. Secondly, he who puts away his wife and marries another, is not said to commit adultery because he marries another, but because in consequence of his marriage with another he does not retain his former wife, to whom also he owed the performance of conjugal duties; whence it is expressly said, Mark x. 11. *he committeth adultery against her.* That he is in a condition to perform his conjugal duties to the one, after having taken another to her, is shown by God himself, Exod. xxi. 10. *if he take him another wife, her food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage shall he not diminish.* It cannot be supposed that the divine forethought intended to provide for adultery.

Nor is it allowable to argue, from 1 Cor. vii. 2. *let every man have his own wife,* that therefore none should have more than one; for the meaning of the precept is, that every man should have his own wife to himself, not that he should have but one wife. That bishops and elders should have no more than one wife is explicitly enjoined 1 Tim. iii. 2. and Tit. i. 6. *he must be the husband of one wife,* in order probably that they may discharge with greater diligence the ecclesiastical duties which they have undertaken. The command itself, however, is a sufficient proof that polygamy was not forbidden to the rest, and that it was common in the church at that time.

Lastly, in answer to what is urged from 1 Cor. vii. 4. *likewise also the husband hath not power of his own body, but the wife,* it is easy to reply, as was done above, that the word *wife* in this passage is used with reference to the species, and not to the number. Nor can the power of the wife over the body of her husband be different now from what it was under the law, where it is called עׂונָה, Exod. xxi. 10. and signifies *her stated times,* which St. Paul expresses in the present chapter by the phrase, *her due benevolence.* With regard to what is *due,* the Hebrew word is sufficiently explicit.[1]

On the other hand, the following passages clearly admit the lawfulness of polygamy. Exod. xxi. 10. *if he take him another wife, her food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage shall he not diminish.* Deut. xvii. 17.

[1] .... Love's *due* rites, nuptial embraces sweet. *Paradise Lost,* X. 994.

neither shall he multiply wives to himself, that his heart turn not away. Would the law have been so loosely worded, if it had not been allowable to take more wives than one at the same time? Who would venture to subjoin as an inference from this language, therefore let him have one only? In such case, since it is said in the preceding verse, *he shall not multiply horses to himself*, it would be necessary to subjoin there also, therefore he shall have one horse only. Nor do we want any proof to assure us, that the first institution of marriage was intended to bind the prince equally with the people; if therefore it permits only one wife, it permits no more even to the prince. But the reason given for the law is this, *that his heart turn not away;* a danger which would arise if he were to marry many, and especially strange women, as Solomon afterwards did. Now if the present law had been intended merely as a confirmation and vindication of the primary institution of marriage, nothing could have been more appropriate than to have recited the institution itself in this place, and not to have advanced that reason alone which has been mentioned.

Let us hear the words of God himself, the author of the law, and the best interpreter of his own will. 2 Sam. xii. 8. *I gave thee thy master's wives into thy bosom....and if that had been too little, I would moreover have given unto thee such and such things.* Here there can be no subterfuge; God gave him wives, he gave them to the man whom he loved, as one among a number of great benefits; he would have given him more, if these had not been enough. Besides, the very argument which God uses towards David, is of more force when applied to the gift of wives, than to any other,—thou oughtest at least to have abstained from the wife of another person, not so much because I had given thee thy master's house, or thy master's kingdom, as because I had given thee the wives of the king. Beza indeed objects, that David herein committed incest, namely, with the wives of his father-in-law.[2] But he had forgotten

[2] 'Deinde, si valeret Ochini argumentum, profecto non tantum polygamiam sed etiam incestus probaret; si quidem consanguinei uxoris eodem gradu junguntur viro quo ipsi uxori. Itaque non magis licuit Davidi ducere uxoris suæ Michal novercas, quam suam ipsius novercam.' Beza *De Polygamia.*

what is indicated by Esther ii. 12, 13. that the kings of Israel had two houses for the women, one appointed for the virgins, the other for the concubines, and that it was the former and not the latter which were given to David. This appears also from 1 Kings i. 4. *the king knew her not.* Cantic. vi. 8. *there are fourscore concubines, and virgins without number.* At the same time, it might be said with perfect propriety that God had given him his master's wives, even supposing that he had only given him as many in number and of the same description, though not the very same; even as he gave him, not indeed the identical house and retinue of his master, but one equally magnificent and royal.

It is not wonderful, therefore, that what the authority of the law, and the voice of God himself has sanctioned, should be alluded to by the holy prophets in their inspired hymns as a thing lawful and honourable. Psal. xlv. 9. (which is entitled *A song of loves*) *kings' daughters were among thy honourable women.* v. 14. *the virgins her companions that follow her shall be brought unto thee.* Nay, the words of this very song are quoted by the apostle to the Hebrews, i. 8. *unto the Son he saith, Thy throne, O God,* &c. as the words wherein God the Father himself addresses the Son, and in which his divinity is asserted more clearly than in any other passage. Would it have been proper for God the Father to speak by the mouth of harlots, and to manifest his holy Son to mankind as God in the amatory songs of adulteresses? Thus also in Cantic. vi. 8—10. the queens and concubines are evidently mentioned with honour, and are all without distinction considered worthy of celebrating the praises of the bride: *there are threescore queens, and fourscore concubines, and virgins without number ....the daughters saw her and blessed her; yea, the queens and the concubines, and they praised her.* Nor must we omit 2 Chron. xxiv. 2, 3. *Joash did that which was right in the sight of the Lord all the days of Jehoiada the priest: and Jehoiada took for him two wives.* For the two clauses are not placed in contrast, or disjoined from each other, but it is said in one and the same connection that under the guidance of Jehoiada he did that which was right, and that by the authority of the same individual he married two wives. This is contrary

to the usual practice in the eulogies of the kings, where, if to the general character anything blameable be subjoined, it is expressly excepted; 1 Kings xv. 5. *save only in the matter of Uriah the Hittite.* v. 11, 14. *and Asa did that which was right.....but the high places were not removed: nevertheless Asa's heart was perfect.* Since therefore the right conduct of Joash is mentioned in unqualified terms, in conjunction with his double marriage, it is evident that the latter was not considered matter of censure; for the sacred historian would not have neglected so suitable an opportunity of making the customary exception, if there had really been anything which deserved disapprobation.

Moreover, God himself, in an allegorical fiction, Ezek. xxiii. 4. represents himself as having espoused two wives, Aholah and Aholibah; a mode of speaking which he would by no means have employed, especially at such length, even in a parable, nor indeed have taken on himself such a character at all, if the practice which it implied had been intrinsically dishonourable or shameful.

On what grounds, however, can a practice be considered dishonourable or shameful, which is prohibited to no one even under the gospel? for that dispensation annuls none of the merely civil regulations which existed previous to its introduction.[3] It is only enjoined that elders and deacons should be chosen from such as were husbands of one wife, 1 Tim. iii. 2. and Tit. i. 6. This implies, not that to be the husband of more than one wife would be a sin, for in that case the restriction would have been equally imposed on all; but that, in proportion as they were less entangled in domestic affairs, they would be more at leisure for the business of the church. Since therefore polygamy is interdicted in this passage to the ministers of the church alone, and that not on account of any sinfulness in the practice, and since none of the other members are

[3] 'Sciunt enim qui labris aliquanto primoribus evangelium gustarunt, ecclesiæ gubernationem divinam esse totam ac spiritualem, non civilem.' *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio.* Prose Works, V. 196.

precluded from it either here or elsewhere, it follows that it was permitted, as abovesaid, to all the remaining members of the church, and that it was adopted by many without offence.

Lastly, I argue as follows from Heb. xiii. 4. Polygamy is either marriage, or fornication, or adultery; the apostle recognizes no fourth state. Reverence for so many patriarchs who were polygamists will, I trust, deter any one from considering it as fornication or adultery; for *whoremongers and adulterers God will judge;* whereas the patriarchs were the objects of his especial favour, as he himself witnesses. If then polygamy be marriage properly so called, it is also lawful and honourable, according to the same apostle: *marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled.*

It appears to me sufficiently established by the above arguments that polygamy is allowed by the law of God; lest however any doubt should remain, I will subjoin abundant examples of men whose holiness renders them fit patterns for imitation, and who are among the lights of our faith. Foremost I place Abraham, the father of all the faithful, and of the holy seed, Gen. xvi. 1, &c. Jacob, chap. xxx. and, if I mistake not, Moses, Numb. xii. 1. *for he had married* [*a Cushite*, Marginal Translation, or] *an Ethiopian woman.* It is not likely that the wife of Moses, who had been so often spoken of before by her proper name of Zipporah, should now be called by the new title of a Cushite; or that the anger of Aaron and Miriam should at this time be suddenly kindled, because Moses forty years before had married Zipporah; nor would they have acted thus scornfully towards one whom the whole house of Israel had gone out to meet on her arrival with her father Jethro. If then he married the Cushite during the lifetime of Zipporah, his conduct in this particular received the express approbation of God himself, who moreover punished with severity the unnatural opposition of Aaron and his sister. Next I place Gideon, that signal example of faith and piety, Judg. viii. 30, 31. and Elkanah, a rigid Levite, the father of Samuel; who was so far from believing himself less acceptable

to God on account of his double marriage, that he took with him his two wives every year to the sacrifices and annual worship, into the immediate presence of God; nor was he therefore reproved, but went home blessed with Samuel, a child of excellent promise, 1 Sam. ii. 10. Passing over several other examples, though illustrious, such as Caleb, 1 Chron. ii. 46, 48. vii. 1, 4. the sons of Issachar, in number *six and thirty thousand men, for they had many wives and sons*, contrary to the modern European practice, where in many places the land is suffered to remain uncultivated for want of population; and also Manasseh, the son of Joseph, 1 Chron. vii. 14. I come to the prophet David, whom God loved beyond all men, and who took two wives, besides Michal; and this not in a time of pride and prosperity, but when he was almost bowed down by adversity, and when, as we learn from many of the psalms, he was entirely occupied in the study of the word of God, and in the right regulation of his conduct. 1 Sam. xxv. 42, 43. and afterwards, 2 Sam. v. 12, 13. *David perceived that Jehovah had established him king over Israel, and that he had exalted his kingdom for his people Israel's sake: and David took him more concubines and wives out of Jerusalem.* Such were the motives, such the honourable and holy thoughts whereby he was influenced, namely, by the consideration of God's kindness towards him for his people's sake. His heavenly and prophetic understanding saw not in that primitive institution what we in our blindness fancy we discern so clearly; nor did he hesitate to proclaim in the supreme council of the nation the pure and honourable motives to which, as he trusted, his children born in polygamy owed their existence. 1 Chron. xxviii. 5. *of all my sons, for Jehovah hath given me many sons, he hath chosen*, &c. I say nothing of Solomon, notwithstanding his wisdom, because he seems to have exceeded due bounds; although it is not objected to him that he had taken many wives, but that he had married strange women;[4]

[4] ..... where stood
Her temple on th' offensive mountain, built
By that uxorious king, whose heart, though large,
Beguil'd by fair idolatresses, fell
To idols foul. *Paradise Lost*, I. 442.

Women

1 Kings xi. 1. Nehem. xiii. 26. His son Rehoboam *desired many wives*, not in the time of his iniquity, but during the three years in which he is said to have walked in the way of David, 2 Chron. xi. 17, 21, 23. Of Joash mention has already been made; who was induced to take two wives, not by licentious passion, or the wanton desires incident to uncontrolled power, but by the sanction and advice of a most wise and holy man, Jehoiada the priest. Who can believe, either that so many men of the highest character should have sinned through ignorance for so many ages; or that their hearts should have been so hardened; or that God should have tolerated such conduct in his people? Let therefore the rule received among theologians have the same weight here as in other cases: "The practice of the saints is the best interpretation of the commandments."

It is the peculiar province of God to make marriage prosperous and happy. Prov. xix. 14. *a prudent wife is from Jehovah.* xviii. 22. *whoso findeth a wife, findeth a good thing, and obtaineth favour of Jehovah.*

The consent of parents, if living, should not be wanting.[5] Exod. xxii. 17. *if his father utterly refuse to give her unto him—.* Deut. vii. 3. *thy daughter thou shalt not give unto his son.* Jer. xxix. 6. *take wives for your sons.* But the mutual consent of the parties themselves is naturally the first and most important requisite; for there

> Women, when nothing else, beguil'd the heart
> Of wisest Solomon, and made him build,
> And made him bow to the gods of his wives. *Paradise Regained*, II. 169.

[5] 'The 18th chapter (of Bucer's *Kingdom of Christ*) I only mention as determining a thing not here in question, that marriage without consent of parents ought not to be held good, yet with this qualification fit to be known,' &c. Prose Works, II. 81. 'It is generally held by reformed writers against the Papist, that .... the father not consenting, his main will without dispute shall dissolve all..... Because the general honour due to parents is great, they hold he may, and perhaps hold not amiss.' *Tetrachordon.* Prose Works, II. 136.

can be no love or good will, and consequently no marriage, without mutual consent.[6]

In order that marriage may be valid, the consent must be free from every kind of fraud, especially in respect of chastity. Deut. xxii. 20, 21, 23. It will be obvious to every sensible person that maturity of age is requisite.

The degrees of affinity which constitute incest are to be determined by the law of God, Lev. xviii. Deut. xxvii. and not by ecclesiastical canons or legal decrees. We are moreover to interpret the text in its plain and obvious meaning, without attempting to elicit more from it than it really contains. To be wise beyond this point, savours of superstitious folly, and a spurious preciseness.

It is also necessary that the parties should be of one mind in matters of religion. Under the law this precept was understood as applying to marriages already contracted, as well as to those in contemplation. Exod. xxxiv. 15, 16. Deut. vii. 3, 4. compared with Ezra x. 11, &c. and Nehem. xiii. 23, 30. A similar provision was made under the gospel for preventing the contraction of any marriage where a difference of religious opinion might exist: 1 Cor. vii. 39. *she is at liberty to be married to whom she will, only in the Lord.* 2 Cor. vi. 14. *be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers.* But if the marriage be already contracted, it is not to be dissolved, while any hope remains of doing good to the unbeliever.[7] 1 Cor. vii. 12. For the rest, what kind

[6] 'There must be a joint consent and good liking on both sides.' *Doctrine,* &c. Prose Works, I. 366. 'This brings in the parties' consent; until which be, the marriage hath no true being.' *Tetrachordon,* II. 143.

[7] 'His drift, as was heard before, is plain; not to command our stay in marriage with an infidel; that had been a flat renouncing of the religious and moral law; but to inform the Corinthians, that the body of an unbeliever was not defiling, if his desire to live in Christian wedlock showed any likelihood that his heart was opening to the faith; and therefore advises to forbear departure so long till nothing have been neglected to set forward a conversion; this I say he advises—.' *Doctrine,* &c. Prose Works, I. 365. See also *Tetrachordon:* 'I cannot see by this golden dependence——not an endless servitude.' II. 123, 124. and pp. 206—218.

of issue generally follows such marriages may be seen in the case of the antediluvian world, Gen. vi. of Solomon, 1 Kings xi. 1, &c. of Ahab, xxi. 25. of Jehoshaphat, who gave his son Jehoram a wife of the daughters of Ahab, 2 Kings viii.

The *form*[8] of marriage consists in the mutual exercise of benevolence, love, help, and solace between the espoused parties, as the institution itself, or its definition, indicates.

The end of marriage is nearly the same with the form. Its proper fruit is the procreation of children; but since Adam's fall, the provision of a remedy against incontinency has become in some degree a secondary end. 1 Cor. vii. 2. Hence marriage is not a command binding on all, but only on those who are unable to live with chastity out of this state.[9] Matt. xix. 11. *all men cannot receive this saying.*

Marriage is honourable in itself, and prohibited to no order of men; wherefore the Papists act contrary to religion in excluding the ministers of the church from this rite.[1] Heb. xiii. 4. *marriage is*

[8] 'What is not therefore among the causes constituting marriage, must not stay in the definition. Those causes are concluded to be matter, and, as the artist calls it, *form*..... First, therefore, the material cause of matrimony is man and woman; the author and efficient, God and their consent; the internal *form* and soul of this relation is conjugal love arising from a mutual fitness to the final causes of wedlock, help and society in religious, civil, and domestic conversation, which includes as an inferior end the fulfilling of natural desire, and specifical increase; these are the final causes both moving the efficient, and perfecting the *form*.' *Tetrachordon.* Prose Works, II. 140. See also p. 143. 'Marriage is a divine institution——common duty than matrimonial.'

[9] 'If we speak of a command in the strictest definition, then marriage itself is no more a command than divorce; but only a free permission to him that cannot contain.' *Doctrine,* &c. Prose Works, II. 13.

[1] Whatever hypocrites austerely talk
Of purity, and place, and innocence,
Defaming as impure what God declares
Pure, and commands to some, leaves free to all.
Our Maker bids increase; who bids abstain
But our Destroyer, foe to God and Man? *Paradise Lost,* IV. 744.

honourable in all. Gen. ii. 24. 1 Cor. ix. 5. *have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as other apostles?* 1 Tim. iii. 2. *a bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife.* v. 4. *one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection.*

Marriage, by its definition, is an union of the most intimate nature; but not indissoluble or indivisible,[2] as some contend, on the ground of its being subjoined, Matt. xix. 5. *they two shall be one flesh.* These words, properly considered, do not imply that marriage is absolutely indissoluble, but only that it ought not to be lightly dissolved. For it is upon the institution itself, and the due observance of all its parts, that what follows respecting the indissolubility of marriage depends, whether the words be considered in the light of a command, or of a natural consequence. Hence it is said, *for this cause shall a man leave father and mother .... and they two shall be one flesh;* that is to say, if, according to the nature of the institution as laid down in the preceding verses, Gen. ii. 18, 20. the wife be an help meet for the husband; or in other words, if good will, love, help, comfort, fidelity, remain unshaken on both sides,[3] which, according to universal acknowledgement, is the *essential form* of marriage. But if the essential form be dissolved, it follows that the marriage itself is virtually dissolved.

[2] This is in direct opposition to the sentiments attributed to Adam in his original innocency:

> ..... to have thee by my side
> *Henceforth an individual solace* dear. *Paradise Lost*, IV. 485.

[3] The same comment upon the passage in Genesis occurs elsewhere, and is remarked by Newton as a beautiful climax.

> ..... for this cause he shall forego
> Father and mother, and to his wife adhere;
> And they shall be one flesh, one heart, one soul. VIII. 497.

And again, Eve replying to Adam, who had said, "we are one flesh."

> Adam, from whose dear side I boast me sprung,
> And gladly of our union hear thee speak,
> One heart, one soul in both. IX. 965.

Great stress, however, is laid upon an expression in the next verse; *what God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.* What it is that God has joined together, the institution of marriage itself declares. God has joined only what admits of union, what is suitable, what is good, what is honourable;[4] he has not made provision for unnatural and monstrous associations, pregnant only with dishonour, with misery, with hatred, and with calamity. It is not God who forms such unions, but violence, or rashness, or error, or the influence of some evil genius.[5] Why then should it be unlawful to deliver ourselves from so pressing an intestine evil?[6] Further, our doctrine does not separate those whom God has joined together in the spirit of his sacred institution, but only those whom God has himself separated by the authority of his equally sacred law; an authority which ought to have the same force with us now, as with his people of old. As to Christian perfection, the promotion of which is urged by some as an argu-

[4] 'Lastly, Christ himself tells who should not be put asunder, namely, those whom God hath joined. A plain solution of this great controversy, if men would but use their eyes; for when is it that God may be said to join?..... only then when the minds are fitly disposed and enabled to maintain a cheerful conversation, to the solace and love of each other, according as God intended and promised in the very first foundation of matrimony; *I will make him a help meet for him:* for surely what God intended and promised, that only can be thought to be his joining, and not the contrary.' *Doctrine,* &c. II. 39. 'But here the Christian prudence lies, to consider what God hath joined: shall we say that God hath joined error, fraud, unfitness, wrath, contention, perpetual loneliness, perpetual discord; whatever lust, or wine, or witchery, threat or enticement, avarice or ambition hath joined together, faithful and unfaithful, christian with anti-christian, hate with hate, or hate with love, shall we say this is God's joining?' *Tetrachordon,* Prose Works, II. 178.

[5] 'It is error or some evil angel which either blindly or maliciously hath drawn together, in two persons ill embarked in wedlock, the sleeping discords and enmities of nature.' *Doctrine,* &c. Prose Works, I. 370. 'The rest whom either disproportion or deadness of spirit, or something distasteful and averse in the immutable bent of nature renders conjugal, error may have joined, but God never joined against the meaning of his own ordinance.' *Ibid.* II. 40. 'Charity and wisdom disjoins that which not God, but error and disaster joined.' *Tetrachordon,* II. 203.

[6] Once join'd, the contrary she proves, a thorn
Intestine, far within defensive arms
A cleaving mischief. *Samson Agonistes,* 1036.

ment for the indissolubility of marriage, that perfection is not to be forced upon us by compulsion and penal laws, but must be produced, if at all, by exhortation and Christian admonition. Then only can man be properly said to dissolve a marriage lawfully contracted, when, adding to the divine ordinance what the ordinance itself does not contain, he separates, under pretence of religion, whomsoever it suits his purpose. For it ought to be remembered that God in his just, and pure, and holy law, has not only permitted divorce on a variety of grounds, but has even ratified it in some cases, and enjoined it in others, under the severest penalties, Exod. xxi. 4, 10, 11. Deut. xxi. 14. xxiv. 1. Ezra x. 3. Nehem. xiii. 23, 30.

But this, it is objected, was *because of the hardness of their hearts*, Matt. xix. 8. I reply, that these words of Christ, though a very appropriate answer to the Pharisees who tempted him, were never meant as a general explanation of the question of divorce.[7] His intention was, as usual, to repress the arrogance of the Pharisees, and elude their snares; for his answer was only addressed to those who taught from Deut. xxiv. 1. that it was lawful to put away a wife for any cause whatever, provided a bill of divorcement were given. This is evident from the former part of the same chapter, v. 3. *is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause?* not for the sole reason allowed by Moses, namely, if *some uncleanness were found in her*, which might convert love into hatred; but because it had become a common practice to give bills of divorce, under the pretence of uncleanness, without just cause; an abuse which, since the law was unable to restrain it, he thought it advisable to tolerate, notwithstanding the hardness of heart which it implied,[8] rather than to prevent the disso-

[7] 'The occasion which induced our Saviour to speak of divorce, was either to convince the extravagance of the Pharisees in that point, or to give a sharp and vehement answer to a tempting question.' *Doctrine*, &c. Prose Works, II. 2.

[8] 'Now that many licentious and hard-hearted men took hold of this law to cloke their bad purposes, is nothing strange to believe, and these were they, not for whom Moses made the law, (God forbid) but whose hardness of heart taking ill advantage by this law he held it better to suffer as by accident, where it could not be detected, rather than good men should

lution of unfortunate marriages, considering that the balance of earthly happiness or misery rested principally on this institution.[9]

For, if we examine the several causes of divorce enumerated in the law, we shall find that wherever divorce was permitted, it was not in compliance with the hardness of the human heart, but on grounds of the highest equity and justice. The first passage is Exod. xxi. 1—4. *these are the judgements which thou shalt set before them: if thou buy an Hebrew servant ..... in the seventh year he shall go out free for nothing .....if he were married, then his wife shall go out with him: if his master have given him a wife, and she have born him sons or daughters, the wife and her children shall be her master's, and he shall go out by himself.* Nothing could be more just than this law, which, so far from conceding anything to the hardness of their hearts, rather restrained it; inasmuch as, while it provided against the possibility of any Hebrew, at whatever price he might have been purchased, remaining more than seven years in bondage, it at the same time established the claim of the master as prior to that of the husband. Again, v. 10, 11. *if he take him another wife, her food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage shall he not diminish: and if he do not these three unto her, then shall she go out free without money.* This law is remarkable for its consummate

should lose their just and lawful privilege of remedy; Christ therefore having to answer these tempting Pharisees, according as his custom was, not meaning to inform their proud ignorance what Moses did in the true intent of the law, which they had ill-cited, suppressing the true cause for which Moses gave it, and extending it to every slight matter, tells them their own, what Moses was forced to suffer by their abuse of his law.' *Doctrine*, &c. Prose Works, II. 21. See also p. 42. 'Moses had granted—contentious cause whatsoever.' Again; 'This was that hardness of heart, and abuse of a good law, which Moses was content to suffer, rather than good men should not have it at all to use needfully.' *Ibid.* p. 50. 'Why did God permit this to his people the Jews, but that the right and good which came directly thereby, was more in his esteem than the wrong and evil which came by accident?' *Colasterion.* Prose Works, II. 251.

[9] Quandoquidem in iis tantum vitæ *momentum* vel beatæ vel miseræ positum esse judicavit; an expression which will be best illustrated by the author himself:

> .....each on himself relied,
> As only in his arm *the moment lay*
> *Of victory. Paradise Lost*, VI. 237.

humanity and equity; for while it does not permit the husband to put away his wife through the mere hardness of his heart, it allows the wife to leave her husband on the most reasonable of all grounds, that of inhumanity and unkindness. Again, Deut. xxi. 13, 14. it was permitted by the right of war, both to take a female captive to wife, and to divorce her afterwards; but it was not conceded to the hardness of their hearts, that she should be subsequently sold, or that the master should derive any profit from the possession of her person as a slave.[1]

The third passage is Deut. xxiv. 1. *when a man hath taken a wife, and married her, and it come to pass that she find no favour in his eyes, because he hath found some uncleanness in her, then let him write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house.* There is no room here for the charge of hardness of heart, supposing the cause alleged to be a true, and not a fictitious one. For since, as is evident from the institution itself, God gave a wife to man at the beginning to the intent that she should be his help and solace and delight, if, as often happens, she should eventually prove to be rather a source of sorrow, of disgrace, of ruin, of torment, of calamity, why should we think that we are displeasing God by divorcing such a one?[2] I should attribute hardness of heart rather to him who retained her, than to him who sent her away under such circumstances; and not I alone, but Solomon himself, or rather the Spirit of God itself speaking by the mouth of Solomon;[3] Prov. xxx. 21, 23. *for three things the earth*

[1] 'Lastly, it gives place to the right of war, for a captive woman, lawfully married, and afterwards not beloved, might be dismissed, only without ransom; Deut. xxi.' *Tetrachordon.* Prose Works, II. 156.

[2] 'Cleave to a wife, but let her be a wife, let her be a meet help, a solace, not a nothing, not an adversary, *not a desertrice*; can any law or command be so unreasonable, as to make men cleave to calamity, to ruin, to perdition?' *Tetrachordon.* Prose Works, II. 137.

[3] 'This law the Spirit of God by the mouth of Solomon, Prov. xxx. 21, 23. testifies to be a good and a necessary law, by granting it that *a hated woman* (for so the Hebrew word signifies rather than *odious*, though it come all to one) that *a hated woman, when she is married, is a thing that the earth cannot bear.*' *Doctrine*, &c. Prose Works, II. 21.

is disquieted, and for four which it cannot bear; for an odious woman when she is married—. On the contrary, Eccles. ix. 9. *live joyfully with the wife whom thou lovest all the days of the life of thy vanity, which he hath given thee;* the wife therefore *which he hath given thee* is she *whom thou lovest,* not she whom thou hatest: and thus Mal. ii. 16. *whoever hateth,* or, *because he hateth, let him dismiss her,*[4] as all before Junius explain the passage. God therefore appears to have enacted this law by the mouth of Moses, and reiterated it by that of the prophet, with the view, not of giving scope to the hard-heartedness of the husband, but of rescuing the unhappy wife from its influence, wherever the case required it. For there is no hard-heartedness in dismissing honourably and freely her whose own fault it is that she is not loved. That one who is not beloved, who is, on the contrary, deservedly neglected, and an object of dislike and hatred; that a wife thus situated should be retained, in pursuance of a most vexatious law, under a yoke of the heaviest slavery (for such is marriage without love) to one who entertains for her neither attachment nor friendship, would indeed be a hardship more cruel than any divorce whatever.[5] God therefore gave laws of divorce, in their proper use

[4] 'If Solomon's advice be not overfrolic, *live joyfully,* saith he, *with the wife whom thou lovest, all thy days, for that is thy portion.* .... Yea, God himself commands us in his law more than once, and by his prophet Malachi, as Calvin and the best translations read, that *he who hates, let him divorce,* that is, he who cannot love.' *Doctrine,* &c. Prose Works, I. 358. 'Although this place also hath been tampered with, as if it were to be thus rendered—*The Lord God saith, that he hateth putting away.* But this new interpretation rests only in the authority of Junius; for neither Calvin, nor Vatablus himself, nor any other known divine so interpreted before,' &c. *Tetrachordon,* II. 146. *Sibi odio esse dimissionem ait Jehova Deus Israelis.* Junius. *Si odio habueris, dimitte, ait Dominus Deus Israelis.* Lat. Vulg. It appears from Poole's Synopsis that the version of Piscator is the only one which agrees with Junius.

[5] 'To retain still, and not be able to love, is to heap up more injury.' *Doctrine,* &c. *of Divorce.* Prose Works, I. 355. And again—'not to be beloved, and yet retained, is the greatest injury to a gentle spirit.' *Ibid.* 'Not he who after sober and cool experience, and long debate within himself, puts away whom, though he cannot love or suffer as a wife with that sincere affection that marriage requires, yet loves at least with that civility and goodness, as not to keep her under a neglected and unwelcome residence, when nothing can be hearty, and not being, it must needs be both unjoyous and injurious to any perceiving person so detained, and more injurious than to be freely and upon good terms dismissed.' *Tetrachordon.* II. 196.

most equitable and humane; he even extended the benefit of them to those whom he knew would abuse them through the hardness of their hearts, thinking it better to bear with the obduracy of the wicked, than to refrain from alleviating the misery of the righteous, or suffer the institution itself to be subverted, which, from a divine blessing, was in danger of becoming the bitterest of all calamities.

The two next passages, Ezra x. 3. and Nehem. xiii. 23, 30. do not permit divorce on account of the people's hardness of heart, but positively command it for the most sacred religious reasons. On what authority did these prophets found their precept? They were not the promulgators of a new law; the law of Moses alone could be their warrant.[6] But the law of Moses nowhere commands the dissolution of marriages of this kind; it only forbids the contracting of such: Exod. xxxiv. 15, 16. Deut. vii. 3, 4. whence they argued, that the marriage which ought never to have been contracted, ought, if contracted, to be dissolved. So groundless is the vulgar maxim, that what ought not to have been done, is valid when done.[7]

Marriage therefore gives place to religion; it gives place, as has been seen, to the right of a master;[8] and the right of a husband, as appears from the passages of Scripture above quoted, as well as from the whole tenor of the civil law, and the universal custom of nations, is nearly the same as that of the master. It gives way, finally, to

[6] 'This command thus gospellized to us, hath the same force with that whereon Ezra grounded the pious necessity of divorcing. Neither had he other commission for what he did, than such a general command in Deuteronomy as this, nay not so direct, for he is bid there not to marry, but not bid to divorce,' &c. *Doctrine*, &c. Prose Works, I. 362.

[7] 'But,' saith the lawyer, 'that which ought not to have been done, once done, avails.' I answer, this is but a crotchet of the law, but that brought against it is plain Scripture.' *Doctrine*, &c. Prose Works, I. 365.

[8] 'The law of marriage gives place to the power of parents; for we hold that consent of parents not had may break the wedlock, though else accomplished. It gives place to masterly power, for the master might take away from a Hebrew servant the wife which he gave him, Exod. xxi.' *Tetrachordon*. Prose Works, II. 156.

irresistible antipathies, and to that natural aversion with which we turn from whatever is unclean; but it is nowhere represented as giving way to hardness of heart, if this latter be really alleged as the sole or principal reason for enacting the law. This appears still more evidently from Deut. xxii. 19. *because he hath brought up an evil name upon a virgin of Israel, she shall be his wife; he may not put her away all his days:* and v. 29. *she shall be his wife, because he hath humbled her; he may not put her away all his days.* Now if the law of Moses did not give way to his hardness of heart who was desirous of putting away the virgin whom he had humbled, or to his who was willing to put away the wife against whom he had brought up an evil report, why should we imagine that it would give way to his alone who was averse from uncleanness, supposing that such aversion could properly be included under the definition of hardness of heart? Christ therefore reproves the hardness of heart of those who abused this law, that is, of the Pharisees and others, when he says, *on account of the hardness of your hearts he permitted you to put away your wives;* but he does not abrogate the law itself, or the legitimate use of it; for he says that Moses permitted it on account of the hardness of their hearts, not that he permitted it wrongfully or improperly. In this sense almost the whole of the civil law might be said to have been given on account of the hardness of their hearts; whence Paul reproves the brethren, 1 Cor. vi. 6. because they had recourse to it, though no one argues from hence that the civil law is, or ought to be abrogated. How much less then can any one who understands the spirit of the Gospel believe, that this latter denies what the law did not scruple to concede, either as a matter of right or of indulgence, to the infirmity of human nature?[9]

The clause in the eighth verse, *from the beginning it was not so,* means nothing more than what was more clearly intimated above in the

[9] 'O perverseness! that the law should be made more provident of peace-making than the gospel; that the gospel should be put to beg a most necessary help of mercy from the law, but must not have it!' *Doctrine,* &c. Prose Works, I. 358. See also Book II. chap. vii. 'But if those indulgences, &c. —— work of our redemption.' II. 19, 20.

fourth verse, *he which made them at the beginning, made them male and female;* namely, that marriage in its original institution was not capable of being dissolved even by death, for sin and death were not then in existence. If however the purpose of the institution should be violated by the offence of either, it was obvious that death, the consequence of that offence, must in the course of things dissolve the bond; and reason taught them that separation must frequently take place even before that period. No age or record, since the fall of man, gives a tradition of any other *beginning* in which *it was not so.*[1] In the earliest ages of our faith, Abraham himself, the father of the faithful, put away his contentious and turbulent wife Hagar by the command of God, Gen. xxi. 10, 12, 14.

Christ himself, v. 9. permitted divorce for the cause of fornication; which could not have been, if those whom God had once joined in the bands of matrimony were never afterwards to be disunited. According to the idiom of the eastern languages, however, the word fornication signifies, not adultery only,[2] but either what is called *any unclean thing*, or a defect in some particular which might justly be required in a wife, Deut. xxiv. 1. (as Selden was the first to prove by numerous Rabbinical testimonies in his *Uxor Hebræa*[3]) or it signifies what-

[1] 'From the beginning, that is to say, by the institution in Paradise, it was not intended that matrimony should dissolve for every trivial cause, as you Pharisees accustom. But that it was not thus suffered from the beginning ever since the race of men corrupted, and laws were made, he who will affirm must have found out other antiquities than are yet known. Besides, we must consider now, what can be so as from the beginning, not only what should be so. In the beginning, had men continued perfect, it had been just that all things should have remained, as they began to Adam and Eve,' &c. *Tetrachordon.* Prose Works, II. 192.

[2] 'For the language of Scripture signifies by fornication .... not only the trespass of body..... but signifies also any notable disobedience, or intractable carriage of the wife to the husband.' *Tetrachordon.* Prose Works, II. 198.

[3] See Book III. Chap. xxii. and xxvii. Selden is quoted again with approbation in the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce.* 'Let him hasten to be acquainted with that noble volume written by our learned Selden, '*Of the Law of Nature and of Nations,*' a work more useful and more worthy to be perused by whosoever studies to be a great man in wisdom, equity, and justice,' &c. Prose Works, II. 59. He calls him also in the *Speech for the Liberty of Unlicenced*

ever is found to be irreconcilably at variance with love, or fidelity, or help, or society, that is, with the objects of the original institution; as Selden proves, and as I have myself shown in another treatise[4] from several texts of Scripture. For it would have been absurd, when the Pharisees asked, whether it was allowable to put away a wife for every cause, to answer, that it was not lawful except in case of adultery, when it was well known already to be not only lawful but necessary to put away an adulteress, and that not by divorce, but by death. Fornication, therefore, must be here understood in a much wider sense than that of simple adultery, as is clear from many passages of Scripture, and particularly from Judg. xix. 2. *his concubine played the whore against him;* not by committing adultery, for in that case she would not have dared to flee to her father's house, but by refractory behaviour towards her husband.[5] Nor could Paul have allowed divorce in consequence of

Unlicensed Printing, 'the chief of learned men reported in this land.' I. 298. Again, in his *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano,* referring to the treatise here quoted, he says, 'quid item de excepta solum fornicatione sentiendum sit, et meam aliorumque sententiam exprompsi, et clarissimus vir Seldenus noster, in *Uxore Hebræa* plus minus biennio post edita, uberius demonstravit.' V. 234.

[4] This is the only direct reference to any of Milton's printed works which this treatise contains. The allusion is to a passage in *Tetrachordon,* where the author explains the text, *saving for the cause of fornication.* Prose Works, II. 197—201. It has been generally supposed that Milton's opinions on the subject of divorce were influenced by the well-known circumstances connected with his first marriage, and Warton says that he published Tetrachordon in consequence. Some probability seems to have been given to this conjecture by the passage quoted in note 2, page 250. But though Milton's attention may have been first directed to this subject by his own domestic unhappiness, it is evident from the work now published, that his sentiments respecting divorce were deliberately conceived, and that the treatises which he printed during his life time were not merely intended to serve a temporary purpose in which he was personally interested.

[5] 'Grotius shows also, that fornication is taken in Scripture for such a continual headstrong behaviour, as tends to plain contempt of the husband, and proves it out of Judg. xix. 2. where the Levite's wife is said to have *played the whore against him;* which Josephus and the Septuagint, with the Chaldean, interpret only of stubbornness and rebellion against her husband.....Had it been whoredom, she would have chosen any other place to run to than to her father's house, it being so infamous for a Hebrew woman to play the harlot, and

the departure of an unbeliever,[6] unless this also were a species of fornication. It does not affect the question, that the case alluded to is that of a heathen; since whoever deserts her family *is worse than an infidel*, 1 Tim. v. 8. Nor could anything be more natural, or more agreeable to the original institution, than that the bond which had been formed by love, and the hope of mutual assistance through life, and honourable motives, should be dissolved by hatred and implacable enmity, and disgraceful conduct on either side. For man, therefore, in his state of innocence in Paradise, previously to the entrance of sin into the world, God ordained that marriage should be indissoluble; after the fall, in compliance with the alteration of circumstances, and to prevent the innocent from being exposed to perpetual injury from the wicked, he permitted its dissolution; and this permission forms part of the law of nature and of Moses, and is not disallowed by Christ. Thus every covenant, when originally concluded, is intended to be perpetual and indissoluble, however soon it may be broken by the bad faith of one of the parties; nor has any good reason yet been given why marriage should differ in this respect from all other compacts; especially since the apostle has pronounced that *a brother or a sister is not under bondage*, not merely in a case of desertion, but *in such cases*, that is, in all cases that produce an unworthy bondage.[7] 1 Cor. vii. 15. *a brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases, but God hath called us in peace*, or *to peace:*[8] he has not therefore called us to the end that we should be

and so opprobrious to the parents. Fornication then in this place of the Judges is understood for stubborn disobedience against the husband, and not for adultery.' *Doctrine*, &c. II. 46.

[6] See 1 Cor. vii. 15.

[7] 'St. Paul leaves us here the solution not of this case only, which little concerns us, but of such like cases, which may occur to us.' *Tetrachordon*. Prose Works, II. 216.

[8] 'Having declared his opinion in one case, he leaves a further liberty for Christian prudence to determine in cases of like importance, using words so plain as not to be shifted off, that *a brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases*, adding also that *God hath called us to peace* in marriage. Now if it be plain that a Christian may be brought into unworthy bondage, and his religious peace not only interrupted now and then, but perpetually

harassed with constant discord and vexations; for the object of our call is peace and liberty, not marriage, much less perpetual discord and the slavish bondage of an unhappy union, which the apostle declares to be above all things unworthy of a free man and a Christian.[9] It is not to be supposed that Christ would expunge from the Mosaic law any enactment which could afford scope for the exercise of mercy towards the wretched and afflicted, or that his declaration on the present occasion was intended to have the force of a judicial decree, ordaining new and severer regulations on the subject; but that, having exposed the abuses of the law, he proceeded after his usual manner to lay down a more perfect rule of conduct, disclaiming on this, as on all other occasions, the office of a judge, and inculcating truth by simple admonition, not by compulsory decrees. It is therefore a most flagrant error to convert a gospel precept into a civil statute, and enforce it by legal penalties.

It may perhaps be asked, if the disciples understood Christ as promulgating nothing new or more severe than the existing law on the subject of divorce, how it happened that they were so little satisfied with his explanation, as to say, v. 10. *if the case of the man be so with his wife, it is not good to marry?* I answer, that it is no wonder if the disciples, who had imbibed the doctrines of their time, thought and felt like the Pharisees with regard to divorce; so that the declaration of our Lord, that it was not lawful to put away a wife for every cause, only having given her a writing of divorcement, must have appeared to them a new and hard saying.[1]

petually and finally hindered in wedlock, by misyoking with a diversity of nature as well as of religion, the reasons of St. Paul cannot be made special to that one case of infidelity, but are of equal moment to a divorce wherever Christian liberty and peace are without fault equally obstructed.' *Doctrine,* &c. II. 48.

[9] 'St. Paul here warrants us to seek peace rather than to remain in bondage. If God hath called us to peace, why should not we follow him? why should we miserably stay in perpetual discord under a servitude not required?' *Tetrachordon.* II. 215.

[1] 'But if it be thought that the disciples, offended at the rigour of Christ's answer, could yet obtain no mitigation of the former sentence pronounced to the Pharisees, it may be fully answered, that our Saviour continues the same reply to his disciples, as men leavened with

 the

The whole argument may be summed up in brief as follows. It is universally admitted that marriage may lawfully be dissolved, if the prime end and form of the institution be violated; which is generally alleged as the reason why Christ allowed divorce in cases of adultery only. But the prime end and form of marriage, as almost all acknowledge, is not the nuptial bed, but conjugal love, and mutual assistance through life; for that must be regarded as the prime end and form of a rite, which is alone specified in the original institution.[2] Mention is there made of the pleasures of society, which are incompatible with the isolation consequent upon aversion, and of conjugal assistance, which is afforded by love alone; not of the nuptial bed, or of the production of offspring, which may take place even without love: from whence it is evident that conjugal affection is of more importance and higher excellence than the nuptial bed itself, and more worthy to be considered as the prime end and form of the institution. No one can surely be so base and sensual as to deny this. The very cause which renders the pollution of the marriage bed so heavy a calamity, is, that in its consequences it interrupts peace and affection; much more therefore must the perpetual interruption of peace and affection by mutual differences and unkindness be a sufficient reason for granting the liberty of divorce. And that it is such, Christ himself declares in the above passage; for it is certain, and has been proved already, that fornication signifies, not so

the same customary license which the Pharisees maintained, and displeased at the removing of a traditional abuse, whereto they had so long not unwillingly been used.' *Doctrine*, &c. Prose Works, II. 25. 'Some may think, if this our Saviour's sentence be so fair, as not commanding aught that patience or nature cannot brook, why then did the disciples murmur and say, *it is not good to marry?* I answer, that the disciples had been longer bred up under the Pharisæan doctrine, than under that of Christ, and so no marvel though they yet retained the infection of loving old licentious customs; no marvel though they thought it hard they might not for any offence, that thoroughly angered them, divorce a wife, as well as put away a servant, since it was but giving her a bill, as they were taught.' *Tetrachordon*. II. 204.

[2] 'For although God in the first ordaining of marriage taught us to what end he did it, in words expressly implying the apt and chearful conversation of man with woman, to comfort and refresh him against the evil of solitary life, not mentioning the purpose of generation till afterwards, as being but a secondary end in dignity, though not in necessity,' &c. *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*. Prose Works, I. 343.

much adultery, as the constant enmity, faithlessness, and disobedience of the wife, arising from the manifest and palpable alienation of the mind, rather than of the body.[3] Not to mention, that the common, though false interpretation, by which adultery is made the sole ground of divorce, so far from vindicating the law, does in effect abrogate it; for it was ordained by the law of Moses, not that an adulteress should be put away, but that she should be brought to judgement, and punished with death.[4]

[3] 'Thus much that the word fornication is to be understood as the language of Christ understands it, for a constant alienation and disaffection of mind, or for the continual practice of disobedience and crossness from the duties of love and peace.' *Tetrachordon.* II. 200.

[4] 'And also that there was no need our Saviour should grant divorce for adultery, it being death by law, and law then in force.' *Ibid.* II. 199.

CHAP. XI.

OF THE FALL OF OUR FIRST PARENTS, AND OF SIN.

THE Providence of God as regards the fall of man, is observable in the sin of man, and the misery consequent upon it, as well as in his restoration.

SIN, as defined by the apostle, is *ἀνομία*, or *the transgression of the law*, 1 John iii. 4.

By the law is here meant, in the first place, that rule of conscience which is innate, and engraven upon the mind of man;[5] secondly, the special command which proceeded out of the mouth of God, (for the law written by Moses was long subsequent) Gen. ii. 17. *thou shalt not eat of it.* Hence it is said, Rom. ii. 12. *as many as have sinned without law, shall also perish without law.*

Sin is distinguished into THAT WHICH IS COMMON TO ALL MEN, and THE PERSONAL SIN OF EACH INDIVIDUAL.

[5] 'That which is thus moral, besides what we fetch from those unwritten laws and ideas which nature hath engraven in us'—. *Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty.* Prose Works, I. 90.

THE SIN WHICH IS COMMON TO ALL MEN IS THAT WHICH OUR FIRST PARENTS, AND IN THEM ALL THEIR POSTERITY COMMITTED,[6] WHEN, CASTING OFF THEIR OBEDIENCE TO GOD, THEY TASTED THE FRUIT OF THE FORBIDDEN TREE.

OUR FIRST PARENTS. Gen. iii. 6. *the woman took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her, and he did eat.* Hence 1 Tim. ii. 14. *Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived, was in the transgression.* This sin originated, first, in the instigation of the devil, as is clear from the narrative in Gen. iii. and from 1 John iii. 8. *he that committeth sin is of the devil, for the devil sinneth from the beginning.* Secondly, in the liability to fall with which man was created,[7] whereby he, as the devil had done before him, *abode not in the truth,* John viii. 44. nor *kept his first estate, but left his own habitation,* Jude 6. If the circumstances of this crime are duly considered, it will be acknowledged to have been a most heinous offence, and a transgression of the whole law. For what sin can be named, which was not included in this one act? It comprehended at once distrust in the divine veracity, and a proportionate credulity in the assurances of Satan; unbelief; ingratitude; disobedience; gluttony;[8]

[6] His crime makes guilty all his sons. *Paradise Lost,* III. 290.

..... in me all
Posterity stands curs'd; fair patrimony
That I must leave you, sons. XI. 317.

[7] ..... should Man
.....
Fall circumvented thus by fraud, though join'd
With his own folly? III. 150.

Left to his own free will, his will though free,
Yet mutable; whence warn him to beware,
He swerve not, too secure. V. 236.
God made thee perfect, not immutable. *Ibid.* 324.
Firm we subsist, yet possible to swerve. IX. 359.

[8] ..... ungovern'd appetite ....
..... a brutish vice,
Inductive mainly to the sin of Eve. XI. 517.

in the man excessive uxoriousness, in the woman a want of proper regard for her husband, in both an insensibility to the welfare of their offspring, and that offspring the whole human race; parricide, theft, invasion of the rights of others, sacrilege, deceit, presumption in aspiring to divine attributes, fraud in the means employed to attain the object, pride, and arrogance.[9] Whence it is said, Eccles. vii. 29. *God hath made man upright, but they have sought out many inventions.* James ii. 10. *whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all.*

AND IN THEM ALL THEIR POSTERITY; for even such as were not then born are judged and condemned in them, Gen. iii. 16, &c. so that without doubt they also sinned in them, and at the same time with them. Rom. v. 12. *by one man sin entered into the world.* v. 15. *through the offence of one many be dead;* and v. 16. *the judgement was by one to condemnation*; v. 17. *by one man's offence death reigned by one;* and v. 18. *by the offence of one man judgement came upon all men to condemnation;* and v. 19. *by one man's disobedience many were made sinners.* 1 Cor. xv. 22. *in Adam all die;* undoubtedly therefore all sinned in Adam. For Adam being the common parent and head of all, it follows that, as in the covenant, that is, in receiving the commandment of God, so also in the defection from God, he either stood

'If our first parents, Adam and Eve, (Gen. iii. 6.) had not obeyed their greedy appetite in eating the forbidden fruit, neither had they lost the fruition of God's benefits which they then enjoyed in Paradise, neither had they brought so many mischiefs on themselves, and on all their posterity. But when they passed the bounds that God had appointed them, as unworthy of God's benefits, they are expelled and driven out of Paradise; they may no longer eat the fruits of that garden, which by excess they had so much abused.' Homily *Against Gluttony.*

[9] . . . . . they not obeying
Incurr'd (what could they less?) the penalty,
And, manifold in sin, deserv'd to fall. *Paradise Lost,* X. 14.

Newton has the following note on these lines. 'The divines, especially those of Milton's communion, reckon up several sins as included in this one act of eating the forbidden fruit; namely, pride, uxoriousness, wicked curiosity, infidelity, disobedience, &c. so that for such complicated guilt, he deserved to fall from his happy state in Paradise.'

or fell for the whole human race; in the same manner as *Levi also payed tithes in Abraham, whilst he was yet in the loins of his father,* Heb. vii. 9, 10. *he hath made of one blood all nations of men,* Acts xvii. 26. For if all did not sin in Adam, why has the condition of all become worse since his fall? Some of the modern commentators reply, that the deterioration was not moral, but physical.[1] To which I answer, that it was as unjust to deprive the innocent of their physical, as of their moral perfection; especially since the former has so much influence on the latter, that is, on the practical conduct of mankind.

It is, however, a principle uniformly acted upon in the divine proceedings, and recognized by all nations and under all religions from the earliest period, that the penalty incurred by the violation of things sacred (and such was the tree of knowledge of good and evil) attaches not only to the criminal himself, but to the whole of his posterity, who thus become accursed and obnoxious to punishment. It was thus in the deluge, and in the destruction of Sodom; in the swallowing up of Korah, Numb. xvi. 27—32. and in the punishment of Achan, Josh. vii. 24, 25. In the burning of Jericho the children suffered for the sins of their fathers, and even the cattle were devoted to the same slaughter with their masters, Josh. vi. 21. A like fate befel the posterity of Eli the priest, 1 Sam. ii. 31, 33, 36. and the house of Saul, 2 Sam. xxi. 1, &c. because their father had slain the Gibeonites.

[1] 'These do also think that the threatening made to Adam, that upon his eating the forbidden fruit he should surely die, is to be taken literally, and is to be carried no further than to a natural death..... All this these divines apprehend is conceivable, and no more; therefore they put original sin in this only, for which they pretend they have all the Fathers with them before St. Austin, and particularly St. Chrysostom and Theodoret, from whom all the later Greeks have done little more than copied out their words.' Burnet *On the Ninth Article.* The view taken of original sin by Jeremy Taylor seems not to have been essentially different from the opinion contained in the preceding quotation. Bp. Heber points out in a masterly and candid manner the inaccuracy of reasoning which led to his partial heterodoxy on this subject. *Life prefixed to Taylor's Works,* ccxx—ccxxxi.

God declares this to be the method of his justice, Exod. xx. 5. *visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me.* Numb. xiv. 33. *your children shall wander in the wilderness forty years, and bear your whoredoms;* they themselves, however, not being guiltless. He himself explains the principle by which this justice is regulated, Lev. xxvi. 39. *they that are left of you shall pine away in their iniquity.....and also in the iniquities of their fathers shall they pine away with them.* 2 Kings xvii. 14. *they hardened their necks, like to the necks of their fathers.* Ezek. xviii. 4. *behold, all souls are mine; as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine; the soul that sinneth it shall die.* [The difficulty is solved with respect to infants, by the consideration that all souls belong to God; that these, though guiltless of actual sin, were the offspring of sinful parents, and that God foresaw that, if suffered to live, they would grow up similar to their parents.] With respect to others, it is obviated by the consideration, that no one perishes, except he himself sin. Thus Agag and his people were smitten for the crime of their fathers, four hundred years after their ancestors had lain wait for Israel in the way, when he came up out of Egypt, 1 Sam. xv. 2, 3. but at the same time they were themselves justly obnoxious to punishment for sins of their own, v. 33. So too Hoshea king of Israel was better than the kings that were before him, but having fallen into the idolatry of the Gentiles, he was punished at once for his own sins and for those of his fathers, by the loss of his kingdom, 2 Kings xvii. 2—4. Thus too the sins of Manasseh were visited on his children, but they themselves were far from being innocent, xxiii. 26. compared with Jer. xxv. 3, 4. *because of all the provocations that Manasseh had provoked him withal. From the thirteenth year of Josiah the son of Amon king of Judah, even unto this day..... the word of the Lord hath come unto me; and I have spoken unto you, rising early and speaking; but ye have not hearkened.* 2 Kings xxiv. 3. *for the sins of Manasseh, according to all that he did.* On the same principle the good king Josiah, and those who resembled him, were for the most part exempt from punishment; but the case was otherwise with the Pharisees, Matt. xxiii. 34, 35.

some of them ye shall kill, &c. *that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias.*

Hence the penitent are enjoined to confess not only their own sins, but those of their fathers. Lev. xxvi. 40. *if they shall confess their iniquity, and the iniquity of their fathers.* Nehem. ix. 2. *they confessed their sins and the iniquities of their fathers.* Many similar texts occur.

Thus also entire families become obnoxious to punishment for the guilt of their head. Gen. xii. 17. *Jehovah plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues because of Sarai.* xx. 7. *if thou restore her not, know thou that thou shalt surely die, thou and all that are thine.*

Subjects also are afflicted for the sins of their rulers; thus the whole of Egypt was smitten for the offence of Pharaoh. It is remarkable that David, even while remonstrating against the hardship of punishing the people for the sins of their king, yet thought it not unjust that the sons should suffer for and with their father. 2 Sam. xxiv. 17. *lo, I have sinned, and I have done wickedly, but these sheep, what have they done? let thine hand, I pray thee, be against me, and against my father's house.*

Sometimes a whole nation is punished for the iniquity of one of the people, Josh. vii. and the trespass of one is imputed to all, v. 1, 11.

We may add, that even just men have not thought it inconsistent with equity to visit offences against themselves, not only on the offender, but on his posterity. Thus Noah scrupled not to pronounce the condemnation of Canaan for the wickedness of his father Ham, Gen. ix. 25.[2]

[2] .... Justice and some fatal curse annex'd
Deprives them of their outward liberty,

Their

This principle of divine justice in the infliction of piacular punishments was not unknown to other nations, nor was it ever by them accounted unjust. So Thucydides, Book I. Sect. 126. ἀπὸ τούτου ἐναγεῖς καὶ ἀλιτήριοι τῆς Θεοῦ ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐκαλοῦντο, καὶ τὸ γενὸς τὸ ἀπ' ἐκεινῶν. And Virgil, Æn. I. 39.

> ..... Pallasne exurere classem
> Argivûm, atque ipsos potuit submergere ponto
> Unius ob noxam?

The same might be easily shown by a multitude of other Pagan testimonies and examples.

Again, the possessions and right of citizenship of one convicted of high treason, a crime between man and man, are forfeited, not only as respects himself, but all his posterity; and legal authorities decide similarly in other analogous cases. We all know what are the recognized rights of war, not only with regard to the immediate parties themselves, but all who fall into the power of the enemy, such as women and children, and those who have contributed nothing to the progress of the war either in will or deed.

THE PERSONAL SIN OF EACH INDIVIDUAL, IS THAT WHICH EACH IN HIS OWN PERSON HAS COMMITTED, INDEPENDENTLY OF THE SIN WHICH IS COMMON TO ALL. Here likewise all men are guilty. Job ix. 20. *if I justify myself, mine own mouth shall condemn me.* x. 15. *if I be righteous, yet will I not lift up my head.* Psal. cxliii. 2. *in thy sight shall no man living be justified.* Prov. xx. 9. *who can say, I am pure from my sin?* Eccles. vii. 20. *there is not a just man upon earth that doeth good, and sinneth not.* Rom. iii. 23. *all have sinned.*

> Their inward lost: witness th' irrev'rent son
> Of him who built the ark; who for the shame
> Done to his father, heard this heavy curse,
> *Servant of servants,* on his vicious race. *Paradise Lost,* XII. 99.

Both kinds of sin, as well that which is common to all, as that which is personal to each individual, consist of these two parts, whether we term them gradations, or divisions, or modes of sin, or whether we consider them in the light of cause and effect; namely, evil concupiscence, or the desire of sinning, and the act of sin itself. James i. 14, 15. *every man is tempted, when he is drawn away of his own lust, and enticed: then when lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin.* This is not ill expressed by the poet:

Mars videt hanc, visamque cupit, potiturque cupita. Ovid. *Fast.* III. 21.

Evil concupiscence is that of which our original parents were first guilty, and which they transmitted to their posterity, as sharers in the primary transgression, in the shape of an innate propensity to sin.[3]

This is called in Scripture *the old man,* and *the body of sin,* Rom. vi. 6. Eph. iv. 22. Col. iii. 9. or simply *sin,* Rom. vii. 8. *sin taking occasion by the commandment.* v. 17, 20. *indwelling sin.* v. 21. *evil present with us.* v. 22. *the law in our members.* v. 24. *the body of death.* viii. 2. *the law of sin and death.*

The first who employed the phrase ORIGINAL SIN is said to have been Augustine in his writings against Pelagius;[4] probably because in the *origin,* that is, in the generation of man, it was handed down from

[3] Quasi habitum quendam sive fomitem deinceps peccati ingenerarunt. 'The particulars commonly reckoned, are, that from Adam we derive an original ignorance, a proneness to sin, a natural malice, a 'fomes,' or nest of sin imprinted and placed in our souls,' &c. *Taylor's* Works, IX. 10.

[4] This is incorrect. Augustine wrote in the beginning of the fifth century, but the term had been before employed by Cyprian, in the middle of the third. 'Fuerant et ante Christum viri insignes, prophetæ et sacerdotes; sed in peccatis concepti et nati, nec originali nec personali caruere delicto.' *De Jejunio et Tentatione.* Milton only once admits the expression into his poem:

Wept at completing of the mortal sin
Original. *Paradise Lost,* IX. 1003.

See Taylor's *Doctrine and Practice of Repentance,* Chap. iv. Sect 1. Works, IX. 1.

our first parents to their posterity. If however this were his meaning, the term is too limited; for that evil concupiscence, that law of sin, was not only naturally bred in us, but dwelt also in Adam after the fall, in whom it could not properly be called original.

This general depravity of the human mind and its propensity to sin is described Gen. vi. 5. *God saw that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually.* viii. 21. *the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth.* Jer. xvii. 9. *the heart is deceitful above all things.* Matt. xv. 19. *out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders,* &c. Rom. vii. 14. *the law is spiritual, but I am carnal.* Rom. viii. 7. *the carnal mind is enmity against God.* Gal. v. 17. *the flesh lusteth against the Spirit.* Eph. iv. 22. *the old man which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts.*

This depravity was engendered in us by our first parents. Job xiv. 4. *who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?* xv. 14. *what is man that he should be clean? and he which is born of a woman, that he should be righteous?* Psal. li. 5. *behold, I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me.* lviii. 3. *they go astray as soon as they be born.* Isai. xlviii. 8. *thou wast called a transgressor from the womb.* John iii. 6. *that which is born of the flesh is flesh.* Eph. ii. 3. *we were by nature the children of wrath, even as others,* those even who are born of regenerate parents; for faith, though it takes away the personal imputation of guilt, does not altogether remove indwelling sin. It is not therefore man as a regenerate being, but man in his animal capacity, that propagates his kind; as seed, though cleared from the chaff and stubble, produces not only the ear or grain, but also the stalk and husk. Christ alone was exempt from this contagion, being born by supernatural generation, although descended from Adam. Heb. vii. 26. *holy, undefiled.*

Some contend that this original sin is specially guiltiness; but guiltiness is not properly sin, but the imputation of sin, which is also called

the judgement of God, (Rom. i. 32. *who knowing the judgement of God*) whereby sinners are accounted *worthy of death,* and become ὑπόδικοι, that is, *guilty before God,* Rom. iii. 19. and *are under sin,* v. 9. Thus our first parents, in whom, as above observed, there could have been no original sin, were involved in guiltiness immediately upon their fall; and their posterity, before original sin was yet engendered, were involved in the same guiltiness in Adam; lastly, guiltiness is taken away in those who are regenerate, while original sin remains.

Others define original sin to be the loss of original righteousness, and the corruption of the whole mind.[5] But before this loss can be attributed to us, it must be attributed to our first parents, to whom, as was argued before, original sin could not attach; in them therefore it was what is called actual sin, which these divines themselves distinguish from original sin. At any rate it was the consequence of sin, rather than sin itself; or if it were sin, it was a sin of ignorance; for they expected nothing less than that they should lose any good by eating the fruit, or suffer harm in any way whatever. I shall therefore consider this loss of original righteousness in the following chapter, under the head of punishment, rather than in the present, which relates to sin.

The second thing in sin, after evil concupiscence, is the crime itself, or the act of sinning, which is commonly called Actual Sin. This may be incurred, not only by actions commonly so called, but also by words and thoughts, and even by the omission of good actions.

It is called Actual Sin, not that sin is properly an action, for in reality it implies defect; but because it commonly consists in some act. For every act is in itself good; it is only its irregularity, or

[5] 'Peccatum originis varie admodum definitur a theologis, ita ut quid per ipsum intelligant vix satis capi possit. Scholastici dicunt vulgo, esse carentiam justitiæ originalis debitæ inesse. Sed Protestantes non acquiescunt in hac definitione, nec etiam inter se bene consentiunt.' Curcell. *Dissertatio secunda de Peccato Originis,* 5.

deviation from the line of right, which, properly speaking, is evil. Wherefore the act itself is not the matter of which sin consists, but only the ὑποκείμενον or *subject* in which it is committed.

By words. Matt. xii. 36. *every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof.* xv. 11. *that which cometh out of the mouth, this defileth a man.*

By thoughts. Exod. xx. 17. *thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house—.* Psal. vii. 14. *behold, he travaileth with iniquity, and hath conceived mischief, and brought forth falsehood.* Prov. xxiv. 8. *he that deviseth to do evil—.* Jer. xvii. 9. *the heart is deceitful above all things,* &c. Matt. v. 28. *he hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.* xv. 19. *out of the heart proceed evil thoughts.* 1 John iii. 15. *whoso hateth his brother is a murderer.*

By omission. Matt. xii. 30. *he that is not with me is against me, and he that gathereth not with me, scattereth abroad.* See also Luke xi. 23. and vi. 9. where to omit saving the life of a man is accounted the same as to destroy it. Matt. xxv. 42. *I was an hungred, and ye gave me no meat.* James iv. 17. *to him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin.*

All sins however are not, as the Stoics maintained, of equal magnitude.[6] Ezek. v. 6. *she hath changed my judgements into wickedness more*

[6] 'Sins are not equal, but greater or less in their principle, as well as in their event. It was one of the errors of Jovinian, which he learned from the school of the Stoics, that all sins are alike grievous:

.... Cum dicas esse pares res
Furta latrociniis, et magnis parva mineris
Falce recisurum simili te, si tibi regnum
Permittant homines. Hor. Serm. I. 3. 121.' Taylor's Works, VIII. 337.

See also Cicero's third paradox, ὅτι ἴσα τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, καὶ τὰ κατορθώματα; and his oration pro L. Murena: 'omnia peccata esse paria; omne delictum, scelus esse nefarium; nec minus delinquere eum, qui gallum gallinaceum, cum opus non fuerit, quam eum qui patrem suffocaverit.'

than the nations. viii. 15. *thou shalt see greater abominations than these.* John xix. 11. *he that delivered me unto thee hath the greater sin.* This inequality arises from the various circumstances of person, place, time, and the like. Isai. xxvi. 10. *in the land of uprightness will he deal unjustly.*

The distinction between mortal and venial sin will come more properly under consideration in another place. In the mean time it is certain, that even the least sin renders the sinner obnoxious to condemnation. Luke xvi. 10. *he that is unjust in the least, is unjust also in much.*

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY CALIFORNIA

CHAP. XII.

Of the Punishment of Sin.

THUS far of Sin. After sin came death, as the calamity or punishment consequent upon it. Gen. ii. 17. *in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.* Rom. v. 12. *death entered by sin.* vi. 23. *the wages of sin is death.* vii. 5. *the motions of sins did work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death.*

Under the head of death, in Scripture, all evils whatever,[7] together with every thing which in its consequences tends to death, must be understood as comprehended; for mere bodily death, as it is called, did not follow the sin of Adam on the self-same day, as God had threatened.[8]

Hence divines, not inappropriately, reckon up four several degrees of death. The first, as before said, comprehends ALL THOSE EVILS WHICH LEAD TO DEATH, AND WHICH IT IS AGREED CAME INTO THE WORLD IMMEDIATELY UPON THE FALL OF MAN, the most important of which

[7] ..... the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world, *and all our woe.* *Paradise Lost,* I. 1.

[8] The divine denunciation is interpreted in the same sense in Paradise Lost:
..... my sole command
Transgress'd, inevitably thou shalt die,
From that day mortal; and this happy state
Shalt lose, expell'd from hence into a world
Of woe and sorrow. VIII. 329.

I proceed to enumerate. In the first place, guiltiness; which, though in its primary sense it is an imputation made by God to us, yet is it also, as it were, a commencement or prelude of death dwelling in us, by which we are held as by a bond, and rendered subject to condemnation and punishment. Gen. iii. 7. *the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked.* Lev. v. 2, &c. *if it shall be hidden from him, he also shall be unclean and guilty.* Rom. iii. 19. *that all the world may become guilty before God.* Guiltiness, accordingly, is accompanied or followed by terrors of conscience. Gen. iii. 8. *they heard the voice of God ..... and Adam and his wife hid themselves ..... and he said, I was afraid.* Rom. viii. 15. *ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear.* Heb. ii. 15. *who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage.* x. 27. *a certain fearful looking for of judgement.* It is attended likewise with the sensible forfeiture of the divine protection and favour; whence results a diminution of the majesty of the human countenance, and a conscious degradation of mind. Gen. iii. 7. *they knew that they were naked.* Hence the whole man becomes polluted: Tit. i. 15. *even their mind and conscience is defiled:* whence arises shame:[9] Gen. iii. 7. *they sewed fig-leaves together, and made themselves aprons.* Rom. vi. 21. *what fruit had ye then in those things whereof ye are now ashamed? for the end of those things is death.*

The second degree of death is called SPIRITUAL DEATH; by which is meant the loss of divine grace, and of that innate righteousness, wherein man in the beginning lived unto God. Eph. ii. 1. *who were dead in trespasses and sins.* iv. 18. *alienated from the life of God.* Col. ii. 13. *dead in your sins.* Rev. iii. 1. *thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead.* And this death took place not only on the very day, but at the very moment of the fall. They who are delivered from it are

[9] ..... innocence, that as a veil
Had shadow'd them from knowing ill, was gone,
Just confidence, and native righteousness,
And honour, from about them, naked left
To guilty shame. *Paradise Lost*, IX. 1054.

said to be *regenerated*, to be *born again*, and to be *created afresh*; which is the work of God alone, as will be shown in the chapter on Regeneration.

This death consists, first, in the loss, or at least in the obscuration to a great extent of that right reason which enabled man to discern the chief good, and which was as it were the life of the understanding. Eph. iv. 18. *having the understanding darkened, being alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them.* v. 8. *ye were sometime darkness.* John i. 5. *the darkness comprehended it not.* Jer. vi. 10. *they cannot hearken.* John viii. 43. *ye cannot hear my word.* 1 Cor. ii. 14. *the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God.* 2 Cor. iii. 5. *not that we are sufficient of ourselves, to think anything as of ourselves.* iv. 4. *the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them that believe not.* Col. i. 13. *who hath delivered us from the power of darkness.* It consists, secondly, in that deprivation of righteousness and of liberty to do good, and in that slavish subjection to sin and the devil, which constitutes, as it were, the death of the will. John viii. 34. *whosoever committeth sin, is the servant of sin.* All have committed sin in Adam; therefore all are born servants of sin. Rom. vii. 14. *sold under sin.* viii. 3. *what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh.* v. 7. *it is not subject unto the law of God, neither indeed can be.* vi. 16, 17. *his servants ye are to whom ye obey, whether of sin unto death,* &c. Philipp. iii. 19. *whose god is their belly.* Acts xxvi. 18. *from the power of Satan.* 2 Tim. ii. 26. *out of the snare of the devil, who are taken captive by him at his will.* Eph. ii. 2. *the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience.* Lastly, sin is its own punishment, and produces, in its natural consequences, the death of the spiritual life; more especially gross and habitual sin. Rom. i. 26. *for this cause God gave them up unto vile affections.* The reason of this is evident; for in proportion to the increasing amount of his sins, the sinner becomes more liable to death, more miserable, more vile, more destitute of the divine assistance and grace, and farther removed from his primitive glory. It ought not to be doubted that sin in itself alone is the heaviest of

all evils, as being contrary to the chief good, that is, to God; whereas punishment seems to be at variance only with the good of the creature, and not always with that.

It cannot be denied, however, that some remnants of the divine image still exist in us, not wholly extinguished by this spiritual death.[1] This is evident, not only from the wisdom and holiness of many of the heathen, manifested both in words and deeds, but also from what is said Gen. ix. 2. *the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth.* v. 6. *whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made he man.* These vestiges of original excellence are visible, first, in the understanding. Psal. xix. 1. *the heavens declare the glory of God;* which could not be, if man were incapable of hearing their voice. Rom. i. 19, 20. *that which may be known of God is manifest in them .....for the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen.* v. 32. *who knowing the judgement of God.* ii. 15. *which show the work of the law written in their hearts.* vii. 23, 24. *I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind ..... O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?* Nor, secondly, is the liberty of the will entirely destroyed. First, with regard to things indifferent, whether natural or civil. 1 Cor. vii. 36, 37, 39. *let him do what he will..... he hath power over his own will ..... she is at liberty to be married to whom she will.* Secondly, the will is clearly not altogether inefficient in respect of good works, or at any rate of good endeavours; at least after the grace of God has called us: but its power is so small and insignificant, as merely to deprive us of all excuse for inaction, without affording any subject for boasting. Deut. xxx. 19. *choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live.* Psal. lxxviii. 8. *a generation that set not their heart aright.* Jer. vii. 13—16. *because I spake unto you, rising up early, and speaking, but ye heard not; and I called you, but ye answered not;*

[1] See p. 60, note 1. And again;—'For there are left some remains of God's image in man, as he is merely man'—. *Tetrachordon.* Prose Works, II. 124.

therefore, &c. Language which would not have been applied to mere senseless stocks. xxxi. 18. *turn thou me, and I shall be turned.* Zech. i. 3. *turn ye unto me, and I will turn unto you.* Mark ix. 23, 24. *if thou canst believe .... and straightway the father of the child cried out, and said with tears, Lord, I believe, help thou mine unbelief.* Rom. ii. 14. *when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law.* vi. 16. *know ye not that to whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey; whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness?* vii. 18. *to will is present with me;* and v. 21. *when I would do good:* which words appear to be spoken in the person of one not yet fully renewed, and who, if he had experienced God's grace in vocation, was still destitute of his regenerating influence. See v. 14. *I am carnal, sold under sin.* For as to the expression in v. 25. *I thank God through Jesus Christ,* this, and similar language and conduct, are not inconsistent with the character of one who is as yet only called. ix. 31. *Israel, which followed after the law of righteousness, hath not attained to the law of righteousness.* x. 2. *they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge.* 1 Cor. ix. 17. *if I do this thing willingly, I have a reward, but if against my will—.* Philipp. iii. 6. *concerning zeal, persecuting the church; touching the righteousness which is in the law, blameless.* 1 Pet. v. 2. *feed the flock of God ..... not by constraint, but willingly.* Hence almost all mankind profess some desire of virtue, and turn with abhorrence from some of the more atrocious crimes. 1 Cor. v. 1. *such fornication as is not so much as mentioned among the Gentiles.*

There can be no doubt that for the purpose of vindicating[2] the justice of God, especially in his calling of mankind, it is much better to allow to man, (whether as a remnant of his primitive state, or as restored through the operation of the grace whereby he is called) some portion of free will in respect of good works, or at least of good en-

[2] Ad asserendam justitiam Dei. Milton introduces the Latinism in his Paradise Lost:

> That to the height of this great argument
> I may *assert* eternal Providence,
> And justify the ways of God to men. I. 24.

deavours, rather than in respect of things which are indifferent. For if God be conceived to rule with absolute disposal all the actions of men, natural as well as civil, he appears to do nothing which is not his right, neither will any one murmur against such a procedure. But if he inclines the will of man to moral good or evil, according to his own pleasure, and then rewards the good, and punishes the wicked, the course of equity seems to be disturbed; and it is entirely on this supposition that the outcry against the divine justice is founded. It would appear, therefore, that God's general government of the universe, to which such frequent allusion is made, should be understood as relating to natural and civil concerns, to things indifferent and fortuitous, in a word, to anything rather than to matters of morality and religion. And this is confirmed by many passages of Scripture. 2 Chron. xv. 12, 14. *they entered into a covenant to seek Jehovah the God of their fathers with all their heart, and with all their soul: and they sware unto Jehovah.* Psal. cxix. 106. *I have sworn, and I will perform it, that I will keep thy righteous judgements.* For if our personal religion were not in some degree dependent on ourselves, and in our own power, God could not properly enter into a covenant with us; neither could we perform, much less swear to perform, the conditions of that covenant.

CHAP. XIII.

Of

The Death of the Body.

The third degree of death is what is called THE DEATH OF THE BODY. To this all the labours, sorrows, and diseases which afflict the body, are nothing but the prelude. Gen. iii. 16. *I will greatly multiply thy sorrow.* v. 17. *in sorrow shalt thou eat of it.* v. 19. *in the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread.* Job v. 7. *man is born unto trouble, as the sparks fly upward.* Deut. xxviii. 22. *Jehovah shall smite thee with a consumption.* Hos. ii. 18. *in that day will I make a covenant for them with the beasts of the field.* Rom. ii. 9. *tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that doeth evil.* All nature is likewise subject to mortality and a curse on account of man. Gen. iii. 17. *cursed is the ground for thy sake.* Rom. viii. 20, 21. *the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly.* Even the beasts are not exempt, Gen. iii. 14. vi. 7. So *the first-born of beasts* in the land of Egypt perished for the sins of their masters, Exod. xi. 5.

The death of the body is to be considered in the light of a punishment for sin, no less than the other degrees of death, notwithstanding the contrary opinion entertained by some.[3] Rom. v. 13, 14. *until the law sin was in the world ..... death reigned from Adam to Moses.* 1 Cor. xv. 21. *since by man came death;* that is to say, temporal as well as eternal death; as is clear from the corresponding member of the sentence, *by*

[3] Pelagius, Socinus, Crellius, &c. 'That Adam should not have dyed if he had not sinned, is so manifestly the doctrine of the Scriptures, and of the church of God, both before and since Christ our Saviour's appearance in the flesh, that Pelagius of old, and Socinus in this latter age, are justly to be esteemed the most impudent of mortals for daring to call it into question.' Bp. Bull's *Discourse on the State of Man before the Fall.* See also Hopkins *On the Two Covenants.*

man came also the resurrection from the dead; therefore that bodily death from which we are to rise again, originated in sin, and not in nature; contrary to the opinion of those who maintain that temporal death is the result of natural causes, and that eternal death alone is due to sin.[4]

The death of the body is the loss or extinction of life. The common definition, which supposes it to consist in the separation of soul and body, is inadmissible.[5] For what part of man is it that dies when this separation takes place? Is it the soul? This will not be admitted by the supporters of the above definition. Is it then the body? But how can that be said to die, which never had any life of itself? Therefore the separation of soul and body cannot be called the death of man.

Here then arises an important question, which, owing to the prejudice of divines in behalf of their preconceived opinions, has usually been dismissed without examination, instead of being treated with the attention it deserves. Is it the whole man, or the body alone, that is deprived of vitality? And as this is a subject which may be discussed without endangering our faith or devotion, whichever side of the controversy we espouse, I shall declare freely what seems to me the true doctrine, as collected from numberless passages of Scripture; without regarding the opinion of those, who think that truth is to be sought in the schools of philosophy, rather than in the sacred writings.

Inasmuch then as the whole man is uniformly said to consist of body, spirit, and soul, (whatever may be the distinct provinces severally assigned

[4] This opinion is maintained by Curcellæus, *Instit.* III. 13—21. See also his second dissertation *De Peccato Originis*, 59.

[5] 'The royal preacher in my text, assuming that man is a compound of an organized body and an immaterial soul, places the formality and essence of death in the disunion and final separation of these two constituent parts: Death is, when 'the dust returns to the earth as it was, and the spirit returns to God who gave it.' Horsley's *Sermons*, III. 189. The whole of the masterly discourse from which the preceding extract is taken, deserves to be compared with this chapter, as containing in a small compass the most philosophical, as well as scriptural refutation of its arguments. See also the end of the Sermon on John xi. 25, 26. Vol. III. p. 131.

to these divisions), I will show, that in death, first, the whole man, and secondly, each component part suffers privation of life. It is to be observed, first of all, that God denounced the punishment of death against the whole man that sinned, without excepting any part. For what could be more just, than that he who had sinned in his whole person, should die in his whole person? Or, on the other hand, what could be more absurd than that the mind, which is the part principally offending, should escape the threatened death; and that the body alone, to which immortality was equally allotted, before death came into the world by sin,[6] should pay the penalty of sin by undergoing death, though not implicated in the transgression?

It is evident that the saints and believers of old, the patriarchs, prophets and apostles, without exception, held this doctrine. Jacob. Gen. xxxvii. 35. *I will go down into the grave unto my son mourning.* xlii. 36. *Joseph is not.* So also Job, ch. iii. 12—18. *as an hidden untimely birth I had not been; as infants which never saw light.* Compare x. 21. xiv. 10. *man giveth up the ghost, and where is he?* v. 13. *so man lieth down, and riseth not, till the heavens be no more.* xvii. 13. *if I wait, the grave is mine house.* v. 15, 16. *where is now my hope?....they shall go down to the bars of the pit.* See also many other passages. The belief of David was the same, as is evident from the reason so often given by him for deprecating the approach of death. Psal. vi. 5. *in death there is no remembrance of thee; in the grave who shall give thee thanks?* See also lxxxviii. 11—13. cxv. 17. *the dead praise not Jehovah.* xxxix. 13. *before I go hence, and*

[6] See Bp. Bull's *Discourse on the State of Man before the Fall,* where this opinion is illustrated. Milton introduces it in the mouth of Raphael in Paradise Lost:

> ..... Time may come when men
> With angels may participate, and find
> No inconvenient diet, nor too light fare;
> And from these corporal nutriments perhaps
> Your bodies may at last turn all to spirit,
> Improv'd by tract of time, and wing'd ascend
> Ethereal as we; or may, at choice,
> Here or in heavenly Paradises dwell. V. 493.

be no more. cxlvi. 2. *while I live will I praise Jehovah.* Certainly if he had believed that his soul would survive, and be received immediately into heaven, he would have abstained from all such remonstrances, as one who was shortly to take his flight where he might praise God unceasingly. It appears that the belief of Peter respecting David was the same as David's belief respecting himself: Acts ii. 29, 34. *let me freely speak unto you of the patriarch David, that he is both dead and buried, and his sepulchre is with us unto this day ....for David is not ascended into the heavens.* Again, it is evident that Hezekiah fully believed that he should die entirely, where he laments that it is impossible to praise God in the grave. Isai. xxxviii. 18, 19. *for the grave cannot praise thee; death cannot celebrate thee; they that go down into the pit cannot hope for thy truth: the living, the living, he shall praise thee, as I do this day.* God himself bears testimony to the same truth. Isai. lvii. 1, 2. *the righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart; and merciful men are taken away, none considering that the righteous is taken away from the evil to come: he shall enter into peace; they shall rest in their beds.* Jer. xxxi. 15. compared with Matt. ii. 18. *Rachel weeping for her children, refused to be comforted for her children, because they were not.* Thus also Daniel, ch. xii. 2. *many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake.* It is on the same principle that Christ himself proves God to be a God of the living, Luke xx. 37, &c. arguing from their future resurrection; for if they were then living, it would not necessarily follow from his argument that there would be a resurrection of the body: hence he says John xi. 25. *I am the resurrection and the life.* Accordingly he declares expressly, that there is not even a place appointed for the abode of the saints in heaven, till the resurrection: John xiv. 2, 3. *I go to prepare a place for you: and if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also.* There is no sufficient reason for interpreting this of the body; it is clear therefore that it was spoken, and should be understood, of the reception of the soul and spirit conjointly with the body into heaven, and that not till the coming of the Lord. So likewise Luke xx. 35. Acts vii. 60. *when he*

had said this, he fell asleep. xxiii. 6. *the hope and resurrection of the dead;* that is, the hope of the resurrection, which was the only hope the apostle professed to entertain. Thus also xxiv. 21. xxvi. 6—8. 1 Cor. xv. 17—19. *if Christ be not raised* (which resurrection took place for the very purpose that mankind might likewise rise again) *then they also which are fallen asleep in Christ, are perished;* whence it appears that there were only two alternatives, one of which must ensue; either they must rise again, or perish: for *if in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable;* which again indicates that we must either believe in the resurrection, or have our hope in this life only. v. 29, 30. *if the dead rise not at all, why stand we in jeopardy every hour?* v. 32. *let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die;* that is, die altogether, for otherwise the argument would have no force. In the verses which follow, from v. 42. to v. 50. the reasoning proceeds on the supposition that there are only two states, the mortal and the immortal, death and resurrection; not a word is said of any intermediate condition. Nay, Paul himself affirms that the crown of righteousness which was laid up for him was not to be received before that last day: 2 Tim. iv. 8. *henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day, and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing.* If a crown were *laid up* for the apostle, it follows that it was not to be received immediately after death. At what time then was it to be received? At the same time when it was to be conferred on the rest of the saints, that is, not till the appearance of Christ in glory. Philipp. ii. 16. *that I may rejoice in the day of Christ.* iii. 11. *if by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead.* v. 20, 21. *our conversation is in heaven, from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ; who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body.* Our conversation therefore is in heaven, not where we are now dwelling, but in that place from whence we look for the coming of the Saviour, who shall conduct us thither. Luke xx. 35, 36. *they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry,* &c. .... *for they are equal*

unto the angels... being the children of the resurrection,—that is, when they finally become such; whence it follows, that previous to the resurrection they are not admitted to that heavenly world.

Thus far proof has been given of the death of the whole man. But lest recourse should be had to the sophistical distinction, that although the whole man dies, it does not therefore follow that the whole *of* man should die, I proceed to give similar proof with regard to each of the parts, the body, the spirit, and the soul, according to the division above stated.

First, then, as to the body, no one doubts that it suffers privation of life. Nor will the same be less evident as regards the spirit, if it be allowed that the spirit, according to the doctrine laid down in the seventh chapter, has no participation in the divine nature, but is purely human; and that no reason can be assigned, why, if God has sentenced to death the whole of man that sinned, the spirit, which is the part principally offending, should be alone exempt from the appointed punishment; especially since, previous to the entrance of sin into the world, all parts of man was alike immortal; and that since that time, in pursuance of God's denunciation, all have become equally subject to death.[7] But to come to the proofs. The Preacher him-

[7] ..... Yet one doubt
Pursues me still, lest all I cannot die;
Lest that pure breath of life, the spirit of man
Which God inspir'd, cannot together perish
With this corporeal clod: then in the grave,
Or in some other dreadful place, who knows
But I shall die a living death? O thought
Horrid, if true! yet why? it was but breath
Of life that sinn'd; what dies but what had life
And sin? the body properly hath neither.
All of me then shall die: let this appease
The doubt, since human reach no further knows. *Paradise Lost*, X. 782.

When Milton wrote *Il Penseroso*, his opinions respecting the soul seem to have been different. He there summons the spirit of Plato to unfold the mystery of the separate state in which he supposed it to exist after death.

.....unsphere

self, the wisest of men, expressly denies that the spirit is exempt from death: iii. 18—20. *as the beast dieth, so dieth the man; yea, they have all one breath .... all go unto one place.* And in the twenty-first verse, he condemns the ignorance of those who venture to affirm that the way of the spirits of men and of beasts after death is different: *who knoweth the spirit of man, an sursum ascendat, whether it goeth upward?*[8] Psal. cxlvi. 4. *his breath goeth forth, he returneth to his earth; in that very day his thoughts perish.* Now the thoughts are in the mind and the spirit, not in the body; and if they perish, we must conclude that the mind and spirit undergo the same fate as the body. 1 Cor. v. 5. *that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus:* the apostle does not say *in the day of death,* but *in the day of the Lord.*

Lastly, there is abundant testimony to prove that the soul (whether we understand by this term the whole human composition, or whether it is to be considered as synonymous with the spirit) is subject to death, natural as well as violent. Numb. xxiii. 10. *let me* (anima mea, Lat. Vulg.) *die the death of the righteous.* Such are the words of Balaam, who, though not the most upright of prophets, yet in this instance uttered the words which the Lord put into his mouth; v. 9. Job xxxiii. 18. *he keepeth back his soul from the pit.* xxxvi. 14. *they* (anima eorum, Lat. Vulg.) *die in youth.* Psal. xxii. 20. *deliver my soul from the sword.* lxxviii. 50. *he spared not their soul from death.* lxxxix. 48. *shall he deliver his soul from the hand of the grave?* xciv. 17. *my soul had almost dwelt in silence.* Hence man himself,

> ..... unsphere
> The spirit of Plato to unfold
> What worlds, or what vast regions hold
> Th' immortal mind, that hath forsook
> Her mansion in this fleshly nook. *Paradise Lost,* X. 88.

[8] *Who knoweth the spirit of man that goeth upward—?* Authorized Transl. See Bp. Bull's *Discourse on the Subsistence of the Soul of Man after Death.* His supposition is, that the words are spoken by an Epicurean (if he may be allowed so to call him by an anticipation) who is deriding the notion of the soul's immortality.

when dead, is spoken of under the name of *the soul;* Lev. xix. 28. Hebr. and xxi. 1, 11. *neither shall he go in to any dead body (soul,* Hebr.) Isai. xxxviii. 17. *thou hast in love to my soul delivered it from the pit of corruption.* The just and sufficient reason assigned above for the death of the soul, is the same which is given by God himself; Ezek. xviii. 20. *the soul that sinneth, it shall die:* and therefore, on the testimony of the prophet and the apostle, as well as of Christ himself, the soul even of Christ was for a short time subject unto death on account of our sins: Psal. xvi. 10. compared with Acts ii. 27, 28, 31. *his soul was not left in hell, neither his flesh did see corruption.* Matt. xxvi. 38. *my soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death.* Nor do we anywhere read that the souls assemble, or are summoned to judgement, from heaven or from hell, but that they are all called out of the tomb, or at least that they were previously in the state of the dead. John v. 28, 29. *the hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth.* In this passage those who rise again, those who hear, those who come forth, are all described as being in the graves, the righteous as well as the wicked. 1 Cor. xv. 52. *the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised.* 1 Thess. iv. 13—17. *but I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope: for if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him: for this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep; for the Lord himself shall descend,* &c. ... *and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we which are alive and remain, shall be caught up together with them into the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air; and so shall we ever be with the Lord.* They *were asleep;* but the lifeless body does not sleep, unless inanimate matter can be said to sleep. *That ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope,*—but why should they sorrow and have no hope, if they believed that their souls would be in a state of salvation and happiness even before the resurrection, whatever might become of the body? The rest of the world, indeed, who had no hope, might with reason

despair concerning the soul as well as the body, because they did not believe in the resurrection; and therefore it is to the resurrection that Paul directs the hope of all believers. *Them which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him;* that is, to heaven from the grave. *We which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep.* But there would have been no reason to fear lest the survivors should prevent them, if they who were asleep had long since been received into heaven; in which case the latter would not come *to meet the Lord,* but would return with him. *We* however *which are alive shall be caught up together with them,* not after them, *and so shall we ever be with the Lord,* namely, after, not before the resurrection. And then at length *the wicked shall be severed from among the just,* Matt. xiii. 49. Dan. xii. 2. *many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.* In such a sleep I should suppose Lazarus to have been lying, if it were asked whither his soul betook itself during those four days of death. For I cannot believe that it would have been called back from heaven to suffer again the inconveniences of the body, but rather that it was summoned from the grave, and roused from the sleep of death. The words of Christ themselves lead to this conclusion: John xi. 11, 13. *our friend Lazarus sleepeth; but I go, that I may awake him out of sleep: howbeit Jesus spake of his death:* which death, if the miracle were true, must have been real. This is confirmed by the circumstances of Christ's raising him; v. 43. *he cried with a loud voice, Lazarus, come forth.* If the soul of Lazarus, that is, if Lazarus himself was not within the grave, why did Christ call on the lifeless body which could not hear? If it were the soul which he addressed, why did he call it from a place where it was not? Had he intended to intimate that the soul was separated from the body, he would have directed his eyes to the quarter whence the soul of Lazarus might be expected to return, namely, from heaven: for to call from the grave what is not there, is like seeking the living among the dead, which the angel reprehended as ignorance in the disciples, Luke xxiv. 5. The same is apparent in the raising of the widow's son: Luke vii. 14.

On the other hand, those who assert that the soul is exempt from death, and that when divested of the body, it wings its way, or is conducted by angels, directly to its appointed place of reward or punishment, where it remains in a separate state of existence to the end of the world, found their belief principally on the following passages of Scripture. Psal. xlix. 15. *God will redeem my soul from the power of the grave.* But this proves rather that the soul enters the grave with the body, as was shown above, from whence it needs to be redeemed, namely, at the resurrection, when *God shall receive it,* as follows in the same verse. As for the remainder, *their redemption ceaseth for ever,* v. 8. and they are *like the beasts that perish,* v. 12, 14.

The second text is Eccles. xii. 7. *the spirit shall return unto God that gave it.* But neither does this prove what is required; for the phrase, *the spirit returning to God,* must be understood with considerable latitude; since the wicked do not return to God at death, but depart far from him. The preacher had moreover said before, iii. 20. *all go unto one place;* and God is said both to have given, and to gather unto himself the spirit of every living thing, whilst the body returns to dust, Job xxxiv. 14, 15. *if he gather unto himself his spirit and his breath, all flesh shall perish together, and man shall turn again unto dust.* See also Psal. civ. 29, 30. Euripides in the *Suppliants* has, without being aware of it, given a far better interpretation of this passage than the commentators in question.[9]

[9] 'How much more rationally spake the heathen king Demophoön in a tragedy of Euripides, than these interpreters would put upon king David.' *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates.* Prose Works, II. 280. It is related on the authority of one of Milton's daughters, that, after the Holy Scriptures, his favourite volumes were Homer, Euripides, and Ovid. The present Treatise contains nine quotations from the classics, seven of which are from the authors mentioned. Aristotle, whom he calls 'one of the best interpreters of nature and morality,' (*Tenure of Kings and Magistrates,* II. 279.) is likewise often expressly quoted, or alluded to; but not a single direct reference is made to Plato, who, as Mr. Todd justly remarks on the authority of the poet himself, was one of the principal objects of his regard. *Some Account of the Life and Writings of Milton,* p. 152.

ὅθεν δ' ἕκαστον εἰς τὸ φῶς[1] ἀφίκετο,
ἐνταῦθ' ἀπελθεῖν, πνεῦμα μὲν πρὸς αἰθέρα,
τὸ σῶμα δ' εἰς γῆν—. 532. *Edit. Beck.*

Each various part
That constitutes the frame of man, returns
Whence it was taken; to th' ethereal sky
The soul, the body to its earth. Line 599. *Potter's Transl.*

that is, every constituent part returns at dissolution to its elementary principle. This is confirmed by Ezek. xxxvii. 9. *come from the four winds, O breath;* it is certain therefore that the spirit of man must have previously departed thither from whence it is now summoned to return. Hence perhaps originates the expression in Matt. xxiv. 31. *they shall gather together the elect from the four winds.* For why should not the spirits of the elect be as easily gathered together as the smallest particles of their bodies, sometimes most widely dispersed throughout different countries? In the same manner is to be understood 1 Kings xvii. 21. *let this child's soul come into him again.* This however is a form of speech applied to fainting in general: Judges xv. 19. *his spirit came again, and he revived.* See also 1 Sam. xxx. 12. For there are many passages of Scripture, some of which have been already quoted, which undoubtedly represent the dead as devoid of all vital existence; but what was advanced above respecting the death of the spirit affords a sufficient answer to the objection.

The third passage is Matt. x. 28. *fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul.* It may be answered that, properly speaking, the body cannot be killed, as being in itself a thing inanimate: the body therefore, as is common in Scripture, must be taken for the whole human compound, or for the animal and temporal life; the soul for that spiritual life with which we shall be clothed after the

[1] This is the reading proposed by Porson, *Adversaria*, p. 235. Toup (in Suid. II. p. 6.) suggested τὸ ζῆν instead of τὸ σῶμ', but the offence against metre was pointed out by Porson, *Notæ Breves ad Toupii Emendationes*, ad p. 234. In the next line the old reading was ἀπῆλθε. Gataker proposed ἀπελθεῖν, which emendation was adopted by Musgrave, and approved by Porson.

end of the world, as appears from the remainder of the verse, and from 1 Cor. xv. 44.

The fourth text is Philipp. i. 23. *having a desire to depart* (cupiens dissolvi, *having a desire for dissolution) and to be with Christ.* But, to say nothing of the uncertain and disputed sense of the word ἀναλῦσαι, which signifies anything rather than *dissolution*,[2] it may be answered, that although Paul desired to obtain immediate possession of heavenly perfection and glory, in like manner as every one is desirous of attaining as soon as possible to that, whatever it may be, which he regards as the ultimate object of his being, it by no means follows that, when the soul of each individual leaves the body, it is received immediately either into heaven or hell. For he *had a desire to be with Christ;* that is, at his appearing, which all the believers hoped and expected was then at hand. In the same manner one who is going on a voyage desires to set sail and to arrive at the destined port, (such is the order in which his wishes arrange themselves) omitting all notice of the intermediate passage. If, however, it be true that there is no time without motion, which Aristotle illustrates by the example of those who were fabled to have slept in the temple of the heroes, and who, on awaking, imagined that the moment in which they awoke had succeeded without an interval to that in which they fell asleep;[3] how much more must intervening time be annihilated to the

[2] 'Qui urgent propriam *solvendi* et *dissolvendi* notionem, hi adeant Duker. ad Florum IV. 11. extr. qui docuit, *solvi* etiam metaphorice apud Latinos pro *mori* poni.' Schleusner in voce ἀναλύω.

[3] Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἄνευ γε μεταβολῆς· ὅταν γὰρ αὐτοὶ μηθὲν μεταβάλλωμεν τὴν διάνοιαν, ἢ λάθωμεν μεταβάλλοντες, οὐ δοκεῖ ἡμῖν γεγονέναι ὁ χρόνος· καθάπερ οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Σαρδοῖ μυθολογουμένοις καθεύδειν παρὰ τοῖς ἥρωσιν, ὅταν ἐγερθῶσι. συνάπτουσι γὰρ τὸ πρότερον νῦν τῷ ὕστερον νῦν, καὶ ἓν ποιοῦσιν, ἐξαιροῦντες διὰ τὴν ἀναισθησίαν τὸ μεταξύ. *Nat. Auscult.* IV. 16. Edit. Duvall. Simplicius in his scholium on this passage explains the allusion at some length, but the most material part of his information is contained in the following note of Kuhnius. 'Paulo modestius agunt Græci cum loquuntur de heroibus in Sardinia dormientibus, quorum mentionem facit Aristoteles libro IV. &c. Ubi Simplicius—ex Herculis filiis, quos ex Thestii natis susceperat, nonnullos in Sardinia mortuos dici, illorumque corpora usque ad Aristotelis, forte et usque ad Alexandri Aphrodisiensis tempora mansisse integra et ἄσηπτα,

departed, so that to them to die and to be with Christ will seem to take place at the same moment? Christ himself, however, expressly indicates the time at which we shall be with him; John xiv. 3. *if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also.*

The fifth text evidently favours my view of the subject: 1 Pet. iii. 19. *by which also he went and preached to the spirits that are in prison,* literally, *in guard,* or, as the Syriac version renders it, *in sepulchro, in the grave,* which means the same; for the grave is the common guardian of all till the day of judgement. What therefore the apostle says more fully, iv. 5, 6. *who shall give account to him that is ready to judge the quick and the dead; for, for this cause was the gospel preached also to them that are dead,* he expresses in this place by a metaphor, *the spirits that are in guard;* it follows, therefore, that the spirits are dead.

The sixth text is Rev. vi. 9. *I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain.* I answer, that in the Scripture idiom the soul is generally often put for the whole animate body, and that in this passage it is used for the souls of those who were not yet born; unless indeed the fifth seal was already opened in the time of John: in the same manner as in the parable of Dives and Lazarus, Luke xvi. though Christ, for the sake of the lesson to be conveyed, speaks of that as present which was not to take place till after the day of judgement, and describes the dead as placed in two distinct states, he by no means intimates any separation of the soul from the body.

The seventh text is Luke xxiii. 43. *Jesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise.* This passage

ἄσηπτα, et speciem dormientium præbuisse. Apud hos captabant dormientes somnia, et συμβολικοὺς somnos protrahebant, qui ab his heroibus corporis valetudinem commodam, vel alia quædam petitum venerant. Vide Schol. Græc. in Luciani Tom. I. pag. 3.' Kuhnii *Observationes in Diogenis Laertii* Lib. I. Segm. 109.

has on various accounts occasioned so much trouble, that some have not hesitated to alter the punctuation, as if it had been written, *I say unto thee to-day;*[4] that is, although I seem to-day the most despised and miserable of all men, yet I declare to thee and assure thee, that thou shalt hereafter be with me in paradise, that is, in some pleasant place, (for properly speaking paradise is not heaven) or in the spiritual state allotted to the soul and body. The same expedient has been resorted to Matt. xxvii. 52, 53. At the time of the earthquake, on the same day (not three days after, as is generally supposed) the graves were opened, the dead arose and came out, v. 52. καὶ ἐξελθόντες, and having come out, at length after the resurrection of Christ they went into the holy city; for so, according to Erasmus, the ancient Greeks pointed the passage;[5] and with this the Syriac agrees: *et egressi sunt, et post resurrectionem ejus ingressi sunt,* &c. That spiritual state in which the souls as well as bodies of the arising saints previously abode, might not improperly be called paradise; and it was in this state, as appears to me, that the penitent thief was united to the other saints without punishment for sin. Nor is it necessary to take the word *to-day* in its strict acceptation, but rather for a short time, as in 2 Sam. xvi. 3. Heb. iii. 7. However this may be, so much clear evidence should not be rejected on account of a single passage, of which it is not easy to give a satisfactory interpretation.

The eighth text is the forty-sixth verse of the same chapter; *into thy hands I commend my spirit.* But the spirit is not therefore separated from the body, or incapable of death; for David uses the same

[4] 'Hanc vocem præcedentibus jungendam esse statuit cum aliis Hesychius, O. 49. qui citantur Schol. Codicis 34. Theophylactus. ἄλλοι δὲ ἐκβιάζονται τὸ ῥῆμα, στίζοντες εἰς τὸ σήμερον, ἵνα ᾖ τὸ λεγόμενον τοιοῦτον· ἀμὴν λέγω σοι σήμερον· εἶτα τὸ· μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ συνεπιφέροντες. Sever. *Apologet.* 22.' Wetsten. ad Luc. xxiii. 43. See the remarks of Whitby on this passage, and the reason which he gives against the punctuation proposed.

[5] 'Græci sic distinguunt, ut appareat eos statim mortuo Christo resurrexisse; verum non egressos e monumentis, nec apparuisse, priusquam resurrexisset Christus. Unde *resurrexerunt* positum est pro *revixerunt.*' Erasmus ad Matt. xxviii. 55. He proceeds to quote Jerome, Chrysostom, and Origen in support of this interpretation. Theophylact and Augustine are against it.

language Psal. xxxi. 5. although he was not then about to die: *into thine hand I commit my spirit,* while it was yet abiding in, and with, the body. So Stephen, Acts vii. 59. *Lord Jesus, receive my spirit ..... and when he had said this, he fell asleep.* It was not the bare spirit divested of the body that he commended to Christ, but *the whole spirit and soul and body,* as it is expressed 1 Thess. v. 23. Thus the spirit of Christ was to be raised again with the body on the third day, while that of Stephen was to be reserved till the appearing of the Lord. So 1 Pet. iv. 19. *let them commit the keeping of their souls to him in well doing.*

The ninth passage is 2 Cor. v. 1—20. It is sufficiently apparent, however, that the object of this passage is not to inculcate the separation of the soul from the body, but to contrast the animal and terrestrial life of the whole man with the spiritual and heavenly. Hence in the first verse *the house of this tabernacle* is opposed, not to the soul, but to *a building of God, an house not made with hands,* that is, to the final renewal of the whole man, as Beza also explains it,[6] whereby *we are clothed upon* in the heavens, *being clothed...not naked,* v. 3. This distinctly appears from the fourth verse: *not for that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life.* See also v. 5. *now he that hath wrought us for the selfsame thing is God;* not for the separation of the soul from the body, but for the perfecting of both. Wherefore the clause in the eighth verse, *to be absent from the body, and to be present with the Lord,* must be understood of the consummation of our happiness; and *the body* must be taken for this frail life, as is common in the sacred writers, and the *absence* spoken of v. 9. for our eternal departure to an heavenly world; or perhaps to be *at home in the body, and to be absent from the Lord,* v. 6.

[6] 'Arrepta occasione ex comparatione proxime præcedente, corpus istud, ut est in hac vita calamitosum, comparat cum caduco et fragili tabernaculo; cui opponit cœleste domicilium, sic vocans firmam et perennem ejusdem corporis in cœlo glorificati conditionem ..... Est autem etiam hic locus, de futura gloria, isti tractationi de ministerii dignitate insertus,' &c. Beza ad 2 Cor. v. 1.

may mean nothing more than to be entangled in worldly affairs, and to have little leisure for heavenly things; the reason of which is given v. 7. *for we walk by faith, not by sight:* whence it follows, v. 8. *we are confident and willing rather to be absent from the body, and to be present with the Lord;* that is, to renounce worldly things as much as possible, and to be occupied with things heavenly. The ninth verse proves still more clearly that the expressions *to be present* and *to be absent* both refer to this life: *wherefore we labour that whether present or absent, we may be accepted of God:* for no one supposes that the souls of men are occupied from the time of death to that of the resurrection in endeavours to render themselves acceptable to God in heaven; that is the employment of the present life, and its reward is not to be looked for till the second coming of Christ. For the apostle says, v. 10. *we must all appear before the judgement-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.* There is consequently no recompense of good or bad after death, previous to the day of judgement. Compare 1 Cor. xv. the whole of which chapter throws no small light on this passage. The same sense is to be ascribed to 2 Pet. i. 13—15; *as long as I am in this tabernacle,* &c. that is, in this life. It is however unnecessary to prolong this discussion, as there is scarcely one of the remaining passages of Scripture which has not been already explained by anticipation.

The fourth and last degree of death, is DEATH ETERNAL, THE PUNISHMENT OF THE DAMNED; which will be considered in the twenty-seventh chapter.

CHAP. XIV.

OF MAN'S RESTORATION AND OF CHRIST AS REDEEMER.

WE have hitherto considered the Providence of God in relation to the fall of man; we are now to consider it as operating in his restoration.

THE RESTORATION OF MAN is the act whereby man, being delivered from sin and death by God the Father through Jesus Christ, is raised to a far more excellent state of grace and glory than that from which he had fallen. Rom. v. 15. *but not as the offence, so also is the free gift: for if through the offence of one many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, which is by one man Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many.* v. 17. *for if by one man's offence death reigned by one; much more they which receive abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness shall reign in life by one, Jesus Christ.* See also v. 21. Eph. i. 9, 10. *according to his good pleasure which he hath purposed in himself.... that he might gather together in one all things in Christ.* 1 John iii. 8. *he that committeth sin is of the devil.....for this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil.*

In this restoration are comprised the REDEMPTION and RENOVATION OF MAN.

REDEMPTION is that act whereby CHRIST, BEING SENT IN THE FULNESS OF TIME, REDEEMED ALL BELIEVERS AT THE PRICE OF HIS OWN BLOOD, BY HIS OWN VOLUNTARY ACT, CONFORMABLY TO THE ETERNAL COUNSEL AND GRACE OF GOD THE FATHER.

CONFORMABLY TO THE ETERNAL COUNSEL OF GOD THE FATHER. 1 Pet. i. 20. *the Lamb....preordained before the foundation of the world.* See other passages to the same effect in the fourth chapter, on Predestination.

GRACE. Even before man had, properly speaking, confessed his guilt, that is, before he had avowed it ingenuously and in the spirit of repentance, God nevertheless, in pronouncing the punishment of the serpent, previously to passing sentence on man, promised that he would raise up from the seed of the woman one who should bruise the serpent's head, Gen. iii. 15. and thus anticipated the condemnation of mankind by a gratuitous redemption. John iii. 16. *God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son—.* Rom. iii. 25. *whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith.* v. 8. *God commendeth his love toward us, in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us.* Heb. ii. 9. *that he, by the grace of God, should taste death for every man.* 1 John iv. 9, 10. *in this was manifested the love of God toward us, because that God sent his only begotten Son.....not that we loved God, but that he loved us.* Hence the Father is often called *our Saviour,* inasmuch as it is by his eternal counsel and grace alone that we are saved. Luke i. 47. *my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour.* v. 68, 69. *blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath visited and redeemed his people, and hath raised up an horn of salvation for us in the house of his servant David.* 1 Tim. i. 1. *by the commandment of God our Saviour, and Lord Jesus Christ, which is our hope.* ii. 3. *for this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour.* iv. 10. *we trust in the living God, who is the Saviour of all men.* Tit. i. 3. *according to the commandment of God our Saviour.* ii. 10. *that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things.* iii. 4—6. *but after*

that the kindness and love of God our Saviour towards man appeared, ... according to his mercy he saved us by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour. Jude 25. *to the only wise God our Saviour, be glory;* where the Vetus Interpres and some of the Greek manuscripts add, *through Jesus Christ our Lord.*[7]

CHRIST BEING SENT IN THE FULNESS OF TIME. Gal. iv. 4. *but when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son.* Eph. i. 10. *in the dispensation of the fulness of times.*

AT THE PRICE OF HIS OWN BLOOD. Isai. liii. 1, &c. Acts xx. 28. *the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.* Rom. iii. 25. *a propitiation through faith in his blood.* 1 Cor. vi. 20. *ye are bought with a price.* See also vii. 23. Gal. iii. 13. *being made a curse for us.* Eph. v. 2. *he hath given himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God.* Heb. ii. 9. *that he should taste death for every man.* xiii. 20. *through the blood of the everlasting covenant.* 1 Pet. i. 19. *with the precious blood of Christ.* iii. 18. *Christ also hath once suffered for sins.* Rev. i. 5. *that washed us from our sins in his own blood.* v. 9. *thou hast redeemed us to God by thy blood.* xiii. 8. *the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.*

free will

BY HIS OWN VOLUNTARY ACT. Isai. liii. 10. *upon condition that his soul make a trespass offering,*[8] Horsley's Translation. Matt. xx. 28. *to give his life a ransom for many.* John x. 15, 18. *I lay down my life for the sheep: no man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself; I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again.* Eph. v. 2.

[7] These words are found in fifteen manuscripts, according to Wetstein, and in the Vulgate, two Syriac, Coptic, and Arabic versions. See also Mill on this verse.

[8] 'That his soul should make the trespass offering, expresses that it was with the full consent of his own mind that he made the painful atonement. See Vitringa upon the place.' Horsley's *Bibl. Crit.* in loc. *Quandoquidem semetipsum exposuit,* Tremellius. *If his soul shall make a propitiatory sacrifice.* Lowth's Translation. A different sense is given to the passage in our authorized version: *when thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin.*

he hath given himself for us. Philipp. ii. 8. *became obedient unto death* 1 Tim. ii. 6. *who gave himself a ransom for all.*

ALL BELIEVERS. Rom. iii. 25. *a propitiation through faith in his blood.*

There is no other Redeemer or Mediator besides Christ. Acts iv. 12. *neither is there salvation in any other, for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved.* 1 Tim. ii. 5. *there is one mediator ..... the man Christ Jesus.* John xiv. 6. *no man cometh unto the Father, but by me.*

There was a promise made to all mankind, and an expectation of the Redeemer, more or less distinct, even from the time of the fall. Gen. iii. 15. *I will put enmity.* xxii. 18. *in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.* See also xxvi. 4. xxviii. 14. xlix. 10. *until Shiloh,* or *the peacemaker come.* Deut. xviii. 15. *Jehovah thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken: according to all that thou desiredst of Jehovah thy God in Horeb ..... saying, Let me not hear again the voice of Jehovah my God, neither let me see this great fire any more, that I die not.* Job xix. 25, 26. *I know that my redeemer liveth.* In the Psalms and prophetical writings the advent of the Redeemer is intimated with less obscurity. Psal. lxxxix. 35, 36. *once have I sworn by my holiness, that I will not lie unto David. His seed shall endure for ever.* Isai. xi. 1, &c. *there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse.* Jer. xxx. 9. *they shall serve Jehovah their God, and David their king, whom I will raise up unto them.* xxxiii. 15. *at that time will I cause the branch of righteousness to grow up unto David.*

At the appointed time he was sent into the world. Gal. iv. 4. as above.

Two points are to be considered in relation to Christ's character as Redeemer; his NATURE and OFFICE.

His NATURE is twofold; divine and human. Matt. xvi. 16. *the Christ, the Son of the living God.* Gen. iii. 15. *the seed of the woman.* John i. 1, 14. *the Word was God ..... and the Word was made flesh.* iii. 13. *he that came down from heaven, even the Son of man that is in heaven.* v. 31. *he that cometh from above.....he that cometh from heaven.* Acts ii. 30. *of the fruit of the loins of David, according to the flesh.* See also Rom. i. 3. viii. 3. *God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh.* ix. 5. *of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God.* 1 Cor. xv. 47. *the second man is the Lord from heaven.* Gal. iv. 4. *God sent forth his Son, made of a woman.* Philipp. ii. 7, 8. *but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men, and being found in fashion as a man—.* Heb. ii. 14, 16. *he also himself took part of flesh and blood.... he took not on him the nature of angels, but he took on him the seed of Abraham.* x. 5, &c. *wherefore when he cometh into the world, he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me ..... then said I, Lo, I come.* 1 John i. 7. *the blood of Jesus Christ his Son.* iv. 2. *every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God.* Col. ii. 9. *in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily;* which passage I understand, not of the divine nature of Christ, but of the entire virtue of the Father, and the full completion of his promises, (for so I would interpret the word, rather than *fulness,*) dwelling in, not hypostatically united with, Christ's human nature; and this *bodily,* that is, not in ceremonies and the rudiments of the world, but really and substantially; according to Isai. xi. 2, &c. *the Spirit of Jehovah shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom.* John iii. 34. *God giveth not the Spirit by measure unto him.* i. 17. *grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.* 1 Tim. iii. 16. *God was manifest in the flesh,* that is, in the incarnate Son, his own image. With regard to Christ's divine nature, the reader is referred to what was proved in a former chapter concerning the Son of God; from whence it follows, that he by whom all things were made both in heaven and earth, even the angels themselves, he who in the beginning was the Word, and God with God, and although not supreme, yet the first born of every creature,

must necessarily have existed previous to his incarnation, whatever subtleties may have been invented to evade this conclusion by those who contend for the merely human nature of Christ.

This incarnation of Christ, whereby he, being God, took upon him the human nature, and was made flesh, without thereby ceasing to be numerically the same as before, is generally considered by theologians as, next to the Trinity in Unity, the greatest mystery of our religion. Of the mystery of the Trinity, however, no mention is made in Scripture; whereas the incarnation is frequently called by this name. 1 Tim. iii. 16. *without controversy great is the mystery of godliness; God was manifest in the flesh—.* Col. ii. 2, 3. *to the acknowledgement of the mystery of God, and of the Father, and of Christ; in which*[9] (namely, in this mystery) *are hid all the treasures of wisdom.* Eph. i. 9, 10. *having made known unto us the mystery of his will.....that he might gather together in one all things in Christ.* iii. 4. *in the mystery of Christ.* See also Col. iv. 3. Eph. iii. 9. *the fellowship of the mystery which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God, who created all things by Jesus Christ.* Col. i. 26, 27. *the riches of the glory of this mystery.....which is Christ.*

Since then this mystery is so great, we are admonished by that very consideration not to assert anything respecting it rashly or presumptuously, on mere grounds of philosophical reasoning; not to add to it anything of our own; not even to adduce in its behalf any passage of Scripture of which the purport may be doubtful, but to be contented with the clearest texts, however few in number. If we listen to such passages, and are willing to acquiesce in the simple truth of Scripture, unincumbered by metaphysical comments, to how many prolix and preposterous arguments shall we put an end! how much occasion of heresy shall we remove! how many ponderous dabblings in theology shall we cast out, purging the temple of God from the contamination of their rubbish! Nothing would be more plain,

[9] *In whom.* Authorised Translation.

and agreeable to reason, nothing more suitable to the understanding even of the meanest individual, than such parts of the Christian faith as are declared in Scripture to be necessary for salvation, if teachers, even of the reformed church, were as yet sufficiently impressed with the propriety of insisting on nothing but divine authority in matters relating to God, and of limiting themselves to the contents of the sacred volume. What is essential would easily appear, when freed from the perplexities of controversy; what is mysterious would be suffered to remain inviolate, and we should be fearful of overstepping the bounds of propriety in its investigation.

The opinion, however, which now prevails, or rather which has prevailed for many ages, is this; that whereas it was contended in a former stage of the controversy respecting Christ, that the three persons of the Trinity were united in one nature, it is now asserted, on the other hand, that two natures are so combined in the one person of Christ, that he has a real and perfect subsistence in the one nature, independently of that which properly belongs to the other; insomuch that two natures are comprehended in one person. This is what is called in the schools the hypostatic union. Such is the explanation of Zanchius, Vol. I. Part II. Book II. Chap. 7.[1] 'He took upon him not man, properly speaking, but the human nature. For the Logos being in the womb of the virgin assumed the human nature by forming a body of the substance of Mary, and creating at the same time a soul to animate it. Moreover, such was his intimate and exclusive assumption of this nature, that it never had any separate subsistence, independent of the Logos; but did then first subsist, and has ever since subsisted, in the Logos alone.' I say nothing of the silence of Scripture respecting the above arcana, though they are promulgated with as much confidence, as if he who thus ventures to deliver them on his own authority, had been a witness in

[1] 'Assumpsit humanam naturam, non hominem proprie loquendo. Nam λόγος in utero virginis existens, humanam naturam sibi ipse, in seipso, tum corpus ex substantia Mariæ formando, tum animam simul creando, assumpsit; atque ita illam in seipso, et sibi assumpsit, ut illa natura nunquam per se substiterit, extra λόγον; sed et tum primum, et deinceps semper in λόγῳ tantum substiterit.'

the womb of Mary to the mysteries which he describes. He argues as if it were possible to assume human nature, without at the same time assuming man; for human nature, that is, the form of man in a material mould, wherever it exists, constitutes at once the proper and entire man, deficient in no part of his essence, not even (if the words have any meaning) in subsistence and personality. In reality, however, subsistence is the same as substantial existence; and personality is nothing but a word perverted from its proper use to patch up the threadbare theories of theologians. It is certain that the Logos was made that which he assumed; if then he assumed the human nature, not man, he was made not man, but the human nature; these two things being inseparable.

But before I proceed to demonstrate the weakness of the received opinion, it is necessary to explain the meaning of the three terms so frequently recurring, *nature*, *person*, and *hypostasis*, which last word is translated in Latin, *substantia* or *subsistentia*, *substance* or *subsistence*. *Nature* in the present instance can signify nothing, but either the actual essence, or the properties of that essence. Since however these properties are inseparable from the essence, and the union of the natures is *hypostatical*, not *accidental*, we must conclude that the term *nature* can here mean only the essence itself. *Person* is a metaphorical word, transferred from the stage to the schools of theology, signifying any one individual being, as the logicians express it; any intelligent ens, numerically one, whether God, or angel, or man. The Greek word *hypostasis* can signify nothing in the present case but what is expressed in Latin by *substantia* or *subsistentia*, *substance* or *subsistence*; that is to say, a perfect essence existing *per se*; whence it is generally put in opposition to merely *accidents*.

Hence the union of two natures in Christ must be considered as the mutual hypostatic union of two essences; for where there is a perfect substantial essence, there must also be an hypostasis or subsistence, inasmuch as they are the same thing; so that one Christ, one

ens, one person, is formed of this mutual hypostatic union of two natures or essences. For it is no more to be feared that the union of two hypostases should constitute two persons, than that the same consequence should result from the union of two natures, that is to say, of two essences. If however the human nature of Christ never had any proper and independent subsistence, or if the Son did not take upon himself that subsistence, it would have been no more possible for him to have been made very man, or even to have assumed the real and perfect substance or essence of man, than for the body of Christ to be present in the sacrament without quantity or local extension, as the Papists assert.[2] This indeed they explain by his divine power, their usual resort in such cases. It is however of no use to allege a divine power, the existence of which cannot be proved on divine authority. There is then in Christ a mutual hypostatic union of two natures, that is to say, of two essences, of two substances, and consequently of two persons; nor does this union prevent the respective properties of each from remaining individually distinct. That the fact is so, is sufficiently certain; the mode of union is unknown to us; and it is best to be ignorant of what God wills should remain unknown. If indeed it were allowable to define and determine with precision in mysteries of this kind, why should not our philosophical inquisitiveness lead us to inquire respecting the external form common to the two natures? For if the divine and human nature have coalesced in one person, that is to say, as my opponents themselves admit, in a reasonable being, numerically one, it follows that these two natures must have also coalesced in one external form. The consequence would be, either that the divine form must have been annihilated or blended with the human, which would be absurd, unless they were previously the same; or, vice versa, that the human must have been annihilated or blended with the divine, unless it exactly resembled the latter; or, which is the

[2] 'Those words ..... are as much against plain equity and the mercy of religion, as those words of 'take, eat, this is my body,' elementally understood, are against nature and sense.' *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce.* Prose Works, II. 37.

only remaining alternative, Christ must be considered as having two forms. How much better is it for us to know merely that the Son of God, our Mediator, was made flesh, that he is called both God and Man, and is such in reality; which is expressed in Greek by the single and appropriate term Θεάνθρωπος. Since however God has not revealed the mode in which this union is effected, it behoves us to cease from devising subtle explanations, and to be contented with remaining wisely ignorant.

It may however be observed, that the opinion here given respecting the hypostatic union agrees with what was advanced relative to the Son of God in the fifth chapter, namely, that his essence is not the same with that of the Father; for if it were the same, it could not have coalesced in one person with man, unless the Father were also included in the same union, nay, unless man became one person with the Father as well as with the Son; which is impossible.

The reasons, therefore, which are given to prove that he who was made flesh must necessarily be the supreme God, may safely be dismissed. It is urged, first, from Heb. vii. 26, 27. that *such an high priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens.* These words, however, do not even prove that he is God, much less that it was necessary that he should be so; not to mention, that he is *holy,* not only as God, but as man conceived of the Holy Spirit by the power of the Most High; nor is he said to be higher than the heavens, but to be *made higher than the heavens.* Again, what is said of him v. 24. *he continueth ever,* is a property which he has in common both with men and angels; nor does it follow that he is God, because *he is able to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him,* v. 25. Lastly, *the word of the oath, which was since the law, maketh the Son, who is consecrated for evermore,* v. 28. so that he is not on this account necessarily God. Besides, Scripture nowhere teaches, that none but God is able to approach God, to take away sin, to fulfil the law, to endure and vanquish the anger

of God, the power of Satan, temporal as well as eternal death, in a word, to restore to us the blessings which we had lost; but it teaches that *he* has power to effect this *to whom the Father has given it;* that is to say, the beloved Son of God, in whom he has himself testified that he is well pleased.

That Christ therefore, since his assumption of human flesh, remains one Christ, is a matter of faith; whether he retains his two-fold will and understanding, is a point respecting which, as Scripture is silent, we are not concerned to inquire. For after having *emptied himself,*[3] he might *increase in wisdom,* Luke ii. 52. by means of the understanding which he previously possessed, and might *know all things,* John xxi. 17. namely, through the teaching of the Father, as he himself acknowledged.[4] Nor is his twofold will implied in the single passage Matt. xxvi. 39. *not as I will, but as thou wilt,* unless he be the same with the Father, which, as has been already shown, cannot be admitted.

That Christ was very man, is evident from his having a body, Luke xxiv. 39. *a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have;* a soul, Mark x. 45. *that he might give his life* (animam, *his soul*) *a ransom for many;* xiv. 34. *my soul is exceeding sorrowful unto death;* and a spirit,

[3] ..... he that dwelt above
High thron'd in secret bliss, for us frail dust
Emptied his glory, ev'n to nakedness. *Ode on the Circumcision,* 18.

Newton remarks that the expression is taken from Philipp. ii. 7. though not as in our translation, *he made himself of no reputation,* but as it is in the original, ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε.

[4] ..... now by some strong motion I am led
Into the wilderness, to what intent
I know not yet, perhaps I need not know;
For what concerns my knowledge God reveals. *Paradise Regained,* I. 290.

Several of the expressions in the soliloquy from which these lines are extracted are founded on the supposition, that Christ was not possessed of all the knowledge which his human nature was capable of receiving by virtue of the union of the two natures, and from the first moment of that union. See the authorities by which this opinion is supported, in the note on the above passage in Mr. Hawkins's recent edition of Milton's poetical works.

Luke xxiii. 46. *into thy hands I commend my spirit.* It is true that God attributes to himself also a soul and spirit; but there are reasons most distinctly assigned in Scripture, why Christ should be very man. 1 Cor. xv. 21. *for since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead.* Heb. ii. 14. *forasmuch then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same, that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil.* v. 17. *wherefore in all things it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest.* v. 18. *for in that he himself hath suffered, being tempted, he is able to succour them that are tempted.* iv. 15. *we have not an high priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities.* v. 2. *who can have compassion on the ignorant, and on them that are out of the way; for that he himself also is compassed with infirmity.* Finally, God would not accept any other sacrifice, inasmuch as any other would have been less worthy. Heb. x. 5. *sacrifice thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me.* viii. 3. *it is of necessity that this man have somewhat also to offer.* ix. 22. *without shedding of blood is no remission.*

Inasmuch, however, as the two natures constitute one Christ, certain particulars appear to be predicated of him absolutely, which properly apply to one of his natures. This is what is called *communicatio idiomatum* or *proprietatum*, where by the customary forms of language what is peculiar to one of two natures is attributed to both jointly. John iii. 13. *he that came down from heaven, even the Son of man, which is in heaven.* viii. 58. *before Abraham was, I am.* Accordingly, these and similar passages, wherever they occur, are to be understood κατ' ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο, as theologians express it; (for in speaking of Christ the proper expression is not ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος, but ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο, inasmuch as it refers, not to himself, but to his person, or, in other words, his office of mediator: for as to the subject of his two natures, it is too profound a mystery, in my judgement at least, to warrant any positive assertion respecting it).

It sometimes happens, on the other hand, that what properly belongs to the compound nature of Christ, is attributed to one of his natures only, 1 Tim. ii. 5. *one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.* Now he is not mediator inasmuch as he is man, but inasmuch as he is Θεάνθρωπος.

Scripture, however, more frequently distinguishes what is peculiar to his human nature. Acts ii. 30. *of the fruit of the loins of David, according to the flesh.* See also Rom. ix. 5. 1 Pet. iii. 18. *being put to death in the flesh,* that is to say, being affected chiefly and most visibly in his human nature. This text will be adverted to again in the sixteenth chapter.

The incarnation of Christ consists of two parts; his conception and his nativity. Of his conception the efficient cause was the Holy Spirit. Matt. i. 20. *that which is conceived in her, is of the Holy Ghost.* Luke i. 35. *the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee;* by which words I am inclined to understand the power and spirit of the Father himself, as has been shown above; according to Psal. xl. 6, 7. compared with Heb. x. 5, 6. *a body hast thou prepared me.*

The object of this miraculous conception was to obviate the contamination consequent upon the sin of Adam. Heb. vii. 26. *such an high priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners.*

The nativity of Christ is predicted by all the prophets, and more particularly in the following passages. Mic. v. 2. *thou Bethlehem Ephratah.....out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel.* Isai. vii. 14. *behold, a virgin shall conceive.* xi. 1. *there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse.* The history of the nativity is given Matt. i. 18—25. Luke i. 42. *blessed is the fruit of thy womb.* ii. 6, 7. *the days were accomplished that she should be delivered.* v. 22. *when the days of her purification were accomplished.*

That the Messiah is already come is proved, in contradiction to the belief of the Jews, by the following arguments. First, the cities of Bethlehem and Nazareth, (where according to prophecy Christ was to be born and educated, Mic. v. 2. Zech. vi. 12. *behold the man whose name is* (*Nezer*, or) *the Branch*, are no longer in existence. Secondly, it was predicted that his advent should take place while the second temple and the Jewish government were yet in being. Hag. ii. 7, 9. *I will fill this house with glory: the glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former.* Dan. ix. 24. *seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression.....and to anoint the most Holy.* v. 26. *after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off.....and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city.* v. 27. *he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease.* Zech. ix. 9. *rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion, shout, O daughter of Jerusalem; behold thy king cometh unto thee.* Gen. xlix 10. *the sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come,* by which name the three most ancient Jewish commentators, Onkelos, Jonathan, and Hierosolymitanus, understood the Messiah.[5] Dan. ii. 44. *in the days of those kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom.* Lastly, because the Gentiles have long since put away the worship of other gods, and embraced the faith of Christ, which event, according to the prophecies, was not to take place till after his coming. Gen. xlix. 10. *unto him shall the gathering of the people be.* Isai. ii. 2. *it shall come to pass in the last days.....that all nations shall flow unto it.* See also Mic. iv. 1. Hag. ii. 6. *yet once, it is a little while.....and I will shake all nations.* Mal. iii. 1. *the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple.*

[5] See Poole's *Synopsis* in loc. where, besides the authorities mentioned by Milton, other Jewish commentators are cited as admitting the same interpretation of the passage.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Functions of the Mediator and of his Threefold Office.

The nature of Christ the Mediator, human as well as divine, has been already defined.

The mediatorial office of Christ is that whereby, at the special appointment of God the Father, he voluntarily performed, and continues to perform, on behalf of man, whatever is requisite for obtaining reconciliation with God, and eternal salvation.[6]

At the special appointment of God the Father. Isai. xlii. 1 *behold my servant ..... mine elect in whom my soul delighteth.* lxi. 1. *Jehovah hath anointed me.* Hence he derived the name of *Messias,* of *Christ,* Psal. ii. of *the messenger of the covenant,* Mal. iii. 1. and of *the advocate,* 1 John ii. 1. *we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ.* Psal. cx. 4. *Jehovah hath sworn, and will not repent.* Rom. iii. 25. *whom God hath set forth.* Heb. v. 4—6. *so also Christ glorified not himself to be made an high priest.* x. 9, 10. *I come to do thy will, O God ..... by the which will we are sanctified.* John iii. 16, 17. *God gave his only begotten Son .... God sent not his Son into the world to condemn—.* v. 34.

[6] ..... Men hereafter may discern
From what consummate virtue I have chose
This perfect man, by merit call'd my Son,
To earn salvation for the sons of men. *Paradise Regained,* I. 164.

God giveth not the Spirit by measure unto him. vi. 27. *him hath God the Father sealed.* x. 36. *him whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world.* Gal. i. 4. *who gave himself ..... according to the will of God and our Father.*

VOLUNTARILY. John xv. 9. *as the Father hath loved me, so have I loved you.* Rom. viii. 35. *who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation,* &c. ..... *or sword?* Eph. iii. 19. *the love of Christ which passeth knowledge.*

WHATEVER IS REQUISITE FOR OBTAINING RECONCILIATION WITH GOD. Rom. v. 10. *we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son.* 2 Cor. v. 18, 19. *all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ: God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself.* 1 John ii. 2. *he is the propitiation for our sins.*

ETERNAL SALVATION. Matt. i. 21. *thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins.* 1 Tim. i. 15. *Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.* John i. 17. *grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.* 1 John iv. 9. *God sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live by him.* 1 Thess. v. 9, 10. *God hath not appointed us to wrath, but to obtain salvation through Jesus Christ our Lord.*

The name and office of mediator is in a certain sense ascribed to Moses, as a type of Christ.[7] Gal. iii. 19. *the law was ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator.* What the nature of his office was, is explained Acts vii. 38. *this is he ..... who received the lively oracles to give unto us,* compared with Deut. v. 5. *I stood between Jehovah and you at that time to show you the word of Jehovah.*

[7] ..... To God is no access
Without mediator, whose high office now
Moses in figure bears, to introduce
One greater. *Paradise Lost,* XII. 239.

In treating of the functions of the Mediator, we are to consider his threefold office, as PROPHET, PRIEST and KING, and his manner of administering the same.

HIS OFFICE AS A PROPHET IS TO INSTRUCT HIS CHURCH IN HEAVENLY TRUTH, AND TO DECLARE THE WHOLE WILL OF HIS FATHER. Deut. xviii. 15. compared with Acts iii. 22. and vii. 37. *Jehovah thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee.* Isai. lxi. 1. *Jehovah hath anointed me to preach,* compared with Luke iv. 18. Ezek. xxxiv. 23. *I will set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, even my servant David.* Zech. vi. 12, 13. *behold the man ..... he shall build the temple of Jehovah.* Matt. xxiii. 8. *one is your master, even Christ.* Luke x. 22. *no man knoweth who the Father is, but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him.* Rev. v. 7. *he took the book.* Hence he is called *counsellor,* Isai. ix. 6. and lv. 4. *a witness, a leader and commander to the people.* John i. 9. *that was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.* 1 Cor. i. 24. *the wisdom of God.* Heb. iii. 1. *the apostle of our profession.* xii. 2. *the author and finisher of our faith.* xiii. 20. *that great shepherd of the sheep.* Rev. i. 5. *the faithful witness.* Heb. i. 2. *God hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son.* John i. 16—18. *grace and truth came by Jesus Christ ..... the only begotten Son ..... he hath declared him.* iv. 25. *when Christ is come, he will tell us all things.* xviii. 37. *to this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth.* xv. 15. *all things that I have heard of my Father, I have made known unto you.*

His prophetical office consists of two parts; one external, namely, the promulgation of divine truth; the other internal, to wit, the illumination of the understanding. The former is mentioned Matt. iv. 17. *from that time Jesus began to preach and to say—;* and Mark i. 14. the latter Luke xxiv. 32, 45. *did not our heart burn within us ..... while he opened to us the Scriptures? then opened he their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures.* Acts xvi. 14. *the Lord opened the heart of Lydia, that she attended unto the things that*

were spoken of Paul. John viii. 12. *I am the light of the world; he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.*

Christ's prophetical office began with the creation of the world, and will continue till the end of all things. 1 Pet. i. 10, 11. *the spirit of Christ which was in them ..... when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ,* &c. iii. 19. *by which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison.* John i. 10. *he was in the world ..... and the world knew him not.* Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. *go ye therefore and teach all nations ..... and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.* Acts i. 3. *to whom also he showed himself alive after his passion .... speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God.* 2 Cor. xiii. 3. *since ye seek a proof of Christ speaking in me.*

CHRIST'S SACERDOTAL OFFICE is that whereby HE ONCE OFFERED HIMSELF TO GOD THE FATHER AS A SACRIFICE FOR SINNERS, AND HAS ALWAYS MADE, AND STILL CONTINUES TO MAKE INTERCESSION FOR US.

CHRIST'S SACERDOTAL OFFICE. Psal. cx. 4. *thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek.* Zech. vi. 13. *he shall be a priest upon his throne.* Heb. v. 10. *called of God an high priest after the order of Melchizedek.* See also vii. 17, 20, 21.

ONCE OFFERED; virtually, and as regarded the efficacy of his sacrifice, from the foundation of the world, as above stated; Rev. xiii. 8. actually, in the fulness of time, and that once for all, Heb. vii. 27. ix. 25, 26, 28. *Christ was once offered.* x. 10, 12, 14. *by one offering.* 1 Pet. iii. 18. *Christ hath once suffered for sins.*

HIMSELF AS A SACRIFICE. Isai. liii. 10. *when thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin.* Psal. xl. 6, 7. *burnt-offering and sin-offering hast thou not required: then said I, Lo, I come.* Eph. v. 2. *Christ hath given*

himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God. Heb. ix. 14. *who through the eternal Spirit offered himself.* Being God-man, he offered himself in that capacity; *he who thought it not robbery to be equal with God, made himself of no reputation,* &c. Philipp. ii. 6, 7. He offered himself, however, more particularly in his human nature, as many passages of Scripture expressly indicate. Matt. xx. 28. *the Son of man came.... to give his life a ransom for many.* Acts xx. 28. *the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.* Col. i. 20. *through the blood of his cross.* v. 22. *in the body of his flesh through death.* Heb. ix. 12. *by his own blood he entered in.* x. 10. *through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ.* 1 Pet. ii. 24. *who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree.* iv. 1. *forasmuch as Christ hath suffered for us in the flesh.* 1 John iv. 10. *he sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins.* Rom. iii. 25. *whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness.*

For sinners. Isai. liii. 12. *he bare the sin of many.* 2 Cor. v. 21. *he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin.* Gal. iii. 13. *Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us.* Heb. ix. 28. *Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many.* 1 Pet. ii. 24. *who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree.* iii. 18. *he hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust.* 1 John ii. 2. *he is the propitiation for our sins.*

Has always made intercession. Isai. liii. 12. *he made intercession for the transgressors.* Jer. xxx. 21. *I will cause him to draw near, and he shall approach unto me; for who is this that engaged his heart to approach unto me?* John xiv. 6, 13. *no man cometh unto the Father but by me.* xvii. 9. *I pray for them.* Rom. viii. 24. *who maketh intercession for us.* Heb. vii. 25. *he ever liveth to make intercession for them.* viii. 1, 2. *who is set on the right hand of the throne of the majesty in the heavens, a minister of the sanctuary.* He makes intercession, first, by *appearing in the presence of God for us,* Heb. ix. 24. 1 John ii. 1. *we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous.* Secondly, by ren-

dering our prayers agreeable to God. John xiv. 13. *whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do.* As to the expressions, Rom. viii. 26, 27. *the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us,* and, *he maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God,* the preceding words of the same verse show in what sense they are to be understood; *the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities;* and Gal. iv. 6. *God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father;* that is, encouraging and persuading us to address God as our Father through faith. This is easily distinguished from the intercession which Christ makes for us in his sacerdotal capacity.

THE KINGLY OFFICE of Christ is that whereby BEING MADE KING BY GOD THE FATHER, HE GOVERNS AND PRESERVES, CHIEFLY BY AN INWARD LAW AND SPIRITUAL POWER, THE CHURCH WHICH HE HAS PURCHASED FOR HIMSELF, AND CONQUERS AND SUBDUES ITS ENEMIES.

MADE KING BY GOD THE FATHER. Psal. ii. 6. *I have set my King upon my holy hill.* cx. 1. compared with Matt. xxii. 44. *the Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand.* Ezek. xxxvii. 25. *my servant David shall be their prince for ever.* Dan. ii. 44. *the God of heaven shall set up a kingdom.* vii. 14. *there was given him dominion.* Matt. xi. 27. *all things are delivered unto me of my Father.* xxviii. 18. *all power is given unto me.* Luke i. 32. *the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end.* Eph. i. 20—22. *when he set him at his own right hand....far above all principality—.* Rev. i. 5. *prince of the kings of the earth.* xix. 16. *King of kings.*

HIS CHURCH. Psal. ii. 6. *yet have I set my King upon my holy hill of Sion.* Matt. ii. 5, 6. *thus it is written by the prophet ..... out of thee shall come a governor, that shall rule my people Israel.* Luke i. 33. *he shall reign over the house of Jacob.* Eph. i. 22. *who gave him to be the head over all things, to the church.* Col. i. 18. *he is the head of the body, the church.*

CHIEFLY BY AN INWARD LAW. Jer. xxxi. 31, 32. compared with Heb. viii. 8. and x. 16. *this is the covenant that I will make with them ..... I will put my laws into their hearts.* Luke xvii. 21. *behold the kingdom of God is within you.* John iv. 23, 24. *in spirit and in truth.* xviii. 36. *my kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight.* Hence the law of the kingdom, the gift of the Spirit, was given at Jerusalem on the fiftieth day from the crucifixion, as the Mosaic law was given on the fiftieth day from the passover in Mount Sinai, Acts ii. 1. in sign that the old law was superseded by the new, the law of bondage and of the flesh by the law of the Spirit and of freedom, Rom. xiv. 17. *the kingdom of heaven is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.* Psal. lxviii. 18. compared with Eph. iv. 8. *he gave gifts unto men,* that is, spiritual gifts. Accordingly, the weapons of those who fight under Christ as their King are exclusively spiritual. 2 Cor. x. 4. 1 John v. 4. *this is the victory that overcometh the world.* Herein it is that the pre-eminent excellency of Christ's kingdom over all others, as well as the divine principles on which it is founded, are manifested; inasmuch as he governs not the bodies of men alone, as the civil magistrate, but their minds and consciences,[8] and that not by force and fleshly weapons, but by what the world esteems the weakest of all instruments.[9] Hence external force ought never to be employed in the administration of the kingdom of Christ, which is the church.

[8] ..... To guide nations in the way of truth
By saving doctrine, and from error lead
To know, and knowing worship God aright,
Is yet more kingly; this attracts the soul,
Governs the inner man, the nobler part;
That other o'er the body only reigns,
And oft by force, which to a generous mind,
So reigning, can be no sincere delight. *Paradise Regained,* II. 473.

[9] ..... by small
Accomplishing great things, by things deem'd weak
Subverting worldly strong. *Paradise Lost,* XII. 566.

GOVERNS AND PRESERVES. Isai. ix. 6, 7. *Counseller ..... the Prince of peace: of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end.* Jer. xxiii. 5, 6. *in his days Judah shall be saved.* John x. 28. *neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand.* Heb. vii. 2. *the King of righteousness ..... King of peace.*

OVERCOMES AND SUBDUES HIS ENEMIES. Psal. ii. 9. *thou shalt break them with a rod of iron,* namely, at his second coming. Psal. cx. 1, 2. compared with Matt. xxii. 44. Dan. ii. 44. *it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms.* The world; John xvi. 33. and 1 John v. 4. Death, and the law, and sin; 1 Cor. xv. 26, 54—57. *the sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law: but thanks be to God which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.* Satan; Rom. xvi. 20. Luke xix. 27. *those mine enemies which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither.* Rev. xvii. 14. *the Lamb shall overcome them.*

The kingdom of Christ is also styled the kingdom of grace, and the kingdom of glory. The kingdom of grace is the same as the kingdom of heaven, which *is at hand,* Matt. iii. 2. The kingdom of glory is that which is destined to be made more manifest at his second advent.

The kingdom of Christ, as appears from the authorities just quoted, is, like his priesthood, eternal; that is, it will endure as long as the world shall last, and as long as there shall be occasion for his mediatorial office. This is clearly taught by the apostle, 1 Cor. xv. 24, 28. *then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father ..... and shall also himself be subject unto him;* in like manner as a period is assigned to his priestly office (although that also is called eternal) as well as to his prophetical office, *that God may be all in all.* See more on this subject in the last chapter of the present book, on the kingdom of Christ in glory.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Ministry of Redemption.

HAVING treated of the mediatorial office, and its threefold functions, we are now to consider the manner in which it is discharged. This includes the state of humiliation to which our Redeemer submitted, as well as his state of exaltation.

THE HUMILIATION OF CHRIST is that state in which UNDER HIS CHARACTER OF GOD-MAN HE VOLUNTARILY SUBMITTED HIMSELF TO THE DIVINE JUSTICE, AS WELL IN LIFE AS IN DEATH, FOR THE PURPOSE OF UNDERGOING ALL THINGS REQUISITE TO ACCOMPLISH OUR REDEMPTION.

UNDER HIS CHARACTER OF GOD-MAN. Philipp. ii. 6—8. *he made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant.* Luke xxii. 43. *there appeared an angel unto him from heaven, strengthening him.* Now the presence of an angel would have been superfluous, unless the divine nature of Christ, as well as his human, had needed support. So also Matt. xxvii. 46. *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* If his divine nature had not partaken of the trial, why was it not at hand to sustain him when he demanded succour? or, if it had the ability, but not the will to help him, of what avail was it to call upon his Father, whose will was identically one with his own?

In life. Rom. viii. 3. *in the likeness of sinful flesh.* This is conspicuous even from his birth, Luke ii. 7. in his circumcision, Rom. xv. 8. by which he became *a debtor to do the whole law,* Gal. v. 3. whence an offering was made for him, Luke ii. 24; in his flight into Egypt, Matt. iii. in his subjection to his parents, Luke ii. 51; in his submitting to manual labour, Mark vi. 3; in his baptism, Matt. iii. in his temptation, Matt. iv. Heb. ii. 18. iv. 15; in his poverty, Matt. viii. 20. 2 Cor. viii. 9. *that ye through his poverty might be rich;* in the persecutions, insults and dangers which he underwent; for an account of which, together with the whole of his passion, it is better to refer to the gospels, than to cite the passages at length. To the same purport is the prediction of Isaiah, l. 6. *I gave my back to the smiters—.* Compare also xlix. 6, 7. liii. 2, 3.

In death. Psal. xxii. Philipp. ii. 8. *he became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.* This death was ignominious in the highest degree; Deut. xxi. 23. *he that is hanged, is accursed of God.* The curse also to which we were obnoxious, was transferred to him, Gal. iii. 13. accompanied with a dreadful consciousness of the pouring out of the divine wrath upon his head, which extorted from him the dying exclamation, Matt. xxvii. 46. *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* Lastly, he was detained in the grave three days after death; 1 Cor. xv. 4. And here may be found the solution of the difficulty respecting the descent into hell,[1] which has occasioned so much acrimonious controversy among divines; for if Christ's death was real, his soul must have died on the same day with his body, as was above shown. There is another question which seems less easy of solution; namely, whether he yielded to death in his divine nature likewise. For not

[1] It has not been questioned whether the soul of Christ descended into hell, (as seems to be implied in the words of Milton) which 'no Christian can deny,' says St. Augustin, 'it is so clearly delivered in this prophecy of the Psalmist (Psal. xvi. 8—10.) and application of the apostle (Acts ii. 25.)' but the controverted point has been, what that hell was into which he descended. See the various opinions stated at large, in Burnet and Beveridge *On the Third Article;* Pearson *On the Creed,* Fifth Article; see also Bp. Horsley's Sermon on 1 Pet. iii. 18—20. Vol. II. 145.

a few passages of Scripture intimate that his divine nature was subjected to death conjointly with his human; passages too clear to be explained away by the supposition of idiomatic language. Rom. x. 9. *if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.* Him whom we ought to confess with the mouth, God raised from the dead. But he whom we ought to confess with the mouth is *the Lord Jesus*, that is, the whole person of Jesus; therefore God raised from the dead the whole person of the Lord Jesus. 1 Cor. ii. 8. *had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.* Gal. i. 1. *not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father, who raised him from the dead.* Christ therefore was not raised in his human nature alone, but in the whole of his person; and Paul received his mission from him not as man, but as God-man. Philipp. ii. 6—8. *who being in the form of God ..... made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant ..... he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death.* 1 John iii. 16. *hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us.* Rev. i. 17, 18. *I am the first and the last; I am he that liveth, and was dead.* See also ii. 8. The only uncertainty, therefore, arises from the words of Christ to the thief, *this day thou shalt be with me in paradise*; a passage which has on other accounts given much trouble to the learned. As to the conciseness of expression in 1 Pet. iii. 18. I consider it as of comparatively little importance; *being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by* (or *in*) *the Spirit:* since, if the antithesis be correct, the apostle's intention is to specify, on the one hand, the part in which he died, and on the other, that in which he was quickened. Now that which was quickened, must have been previously dead. But if *the Spirit* be here put for that which causes life, it must be understood, on comparing it with less obscure texts of Scripture, to signify the Spirit of God the Father. The fact, that Christ became a sacrifice both in his divine and human nature, is denied by none; and as it was requisite that the whole of the sacrifice should be slain, Christ, who was the sacrificial lamb, must be considered as slain in the whole of his nature.

To the divine justice. Luke xxiv. 26. *ought not Christ to have suffered these things?* Isai. liii. 6. *Jehovah hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.*

The humiliation of Christ was succeeded by his exaltation.

The exaltation of Christ is that by which, having triumphed over death, and laid aside the form of a servant, he was exalted by God the Father to a state of immortality and of the highest glory, partly by his own merits,[2] partly by the gift of the Father, for the benefit of mankind; wherefore he rose again from the dead, ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God.

Having triumphed over death, and laid aside the form of a servant. Luke xxiv. 26. *ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory?* Col. ii. 14, 15. *having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in it.*

He was exalted by God the Father. John x. 18. *I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again: this commandment have I received of my Father.* Hence John ii. 19. *destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up,* namely, because he had been so commanded by the Father, as he acknowledges in the preceding quotation. Acts ii. 24. *whom God raised up, having loosed the pains of death.* v. 33. *being by the right hand of God exalted.* v. 30, 31. *the God of our fathers raised up Jesus .... him hath God exalted with his right hand to be a Prince.* See also x. 40. and xiii. 32—34. as above. Rom. i. 4. *declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead.* viii. 11. *if the Spirit*

[2] ..... All power
I give thee; reign for ever, and assume
Thy merits. *Paradise Lost,* III. 317.

of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies. 2 Cor. xiii. 4. *though he was crucified through weakness, yet he liveth by the power of God.* Eph. i. 19, 20. *according to the working of his mighty power, which he wrought in Christ, when he raised him from the dead.* Philipp. ii. 9. *wherefore God also hath highly exalted him.* Col. ii. 12. *through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead.* Heb. ii. 7. *thou crownedst him with glory and honour.*

To a state of immortality. Acts xiii. 34. *no more to return to corruption.* Rom. vi. 9. *Christ being raised from the dead, dieth no more.*

Partly by his own merits, partly by the gift of the Father. Rom. xiv. 9. *to this end Christ both died.....that he might be Lord both of the dead and living.* Philipp. ii. 9. *wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name.* Heb. ii. 9. *we see Jesus.....crowned with glory and honour, that he by the grace of God should taste death for every man.* xii. 2. *for the joy that was set before him.*

For the benefit of mankind. See below, where the object of Christ's entire ministry is considered.

This exaltation consists of three degrees; his resurrection, his ascension into heaven, and his sitting on the right hand of God; all of which are specified with sufficient clearness in the gospels and apostolical writings. For his resurrection, see Matthew and Mark, &c. and 1 Cor. xv. 4, &c. for his ascension into heaven, Mark xvi. 19. Luke xxiv. 51. John xiv. 12, &c. Acts i. 9, &c. Eph. iv. 8—10. *he ascended up far above all heavens.* His sitting on the right hand of God, a Hebraism signifying that he is exalted to a place of power and glory next to God,[3] is mentioned

[3] Regardless of the bliss wherein he sat
Second to thee. *Paradise Lost*, III. 408.

Who

Matt. xxvi. 64. *sitting on the right hand of power.* See also Mark xiv. 62. xvi. 19. Eph. i. 20. *he set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places.* Heb. i. 3. *sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high.* viii. 1. *who is set on the right hand of the throne of the Majesty.* See also xii. 2. Psal. cx. 1. Acts vii. 55.

The human nature of Christ, although exalted to a state of the highest glory, exists nevertheless in one definite place, and has not, as some contend, the attribute of ubiquity.[4] Matt. xxviii. 6. *he is not here, for he is risen.* Luke xxiv. 51. *he was parted from them and carried up into heaven.* John xiv. 28. *I go away, and come again unto you.* Acts iii. 21. *whom the heaven must receive until the times of restitution of all things.*

As Christ emptied himself in both his natures, so both participate in his exaltation;[5] his Godhead, by its restoration and manifestation; his manhood, by an accession of glory. John xvii. 5. *now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self with the glory which I had with thee before the world was.* Acts xiii. 32, 33. *he hath raised up Jesus again, as it is also written in the second Psalm, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.* Rom. i. 4. *being declared* (or *defined*) *to be the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead.*

..... Who into glory him receiv'd
Where now he sits at the right hand of bliss. *Paradise Lost,* VI. 891.

[4] This alludes to the doctrine of the Ubiquitarians, who held the omnipresence of the human body of Christ. The opinion seems to have been first maintained by Brentius, one of the earliest reformers, in 1560. Luther favored it in his controversy with Zuingle, but subsequently acknowledged its difficulties, especially as connected with the corporal presence in the Eucharist. After his death it was again advanced by Brentius, supported by Chemnitius and Andræas. Curcellæus, *Instit.* V. 15. 9—15. argues against the doctrine.

[5] Therefore thy humiliation shall exalt
With thee thy manhood also to this throne;
Here shalt thou sit incarnate, here shall reign
Both God and Man, Son both of God and Man. *Paradise Lost,* III. 313.

The effect and design of the whole ministry of mediation is, the satisfaction of divine justice on behalf of all men, and the conformation of the faithful to the image of Christ.

THE SATISFACTION OF CHRIST is THE COMPLETE REPARATION MADE BY HIM IN HIS TWOFOLD CAPACITY OF GOD AND MAN, BY THE FULFILMENT OF THE LAW, AND PAYMENT OF THE REQUIRED PRICE FOR ALL MANKIND.[6]

BY THE FULFILMENT OF THE LAW. Matt. v. 17. *I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil.* Psal. xl. 8, 9. compared with Heb. x. 7, 9. *I come to do thy will, O God.* Gal. iv. 5. *to redeem them that were under the law.* Col. ii. 14. *blotting out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross.* Rom. viii. 3, 4. *that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled.* Christ fulfilled the law by perfect love to God and his neighbour, until the time when he laid down his life for his brethren, being made obedient unto his Father in all things.[7]

BY PAYMENT OF THE REQUIRED PRICE FOR, that is to say, INSTEAD OF ALL MANKIND. Matt. xx. 28. λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν, *a ransom for many.* 1 Cor. vi. 20. *ye are bought with a price.* 1 Tim. ii. 6. ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων, *a ransom for all.* The Greek words clearly denote the substitution of one person in the place of another. 1 Pet. i. 18. ἐλυτρώθητε, *ye were redeemed...with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb.* Rom. v. 10. *we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son.* iv. 25. *for our offences.* 1 Cor. xv. 3. *for our sins.* 2 Cor. v. 21. *for us.*

[6] Die he or justice must; unless for him
Some other able, and as willing, pay
The rigid satisfaction, death for death. *Paradise Lost,* III. 209.
..... So Man, as is most just,
Shall satisfy for man. *Ibid.* 294. Compare also XII. 415—419.

[7] The law of God exact he shall fulfil
Both by obedience and by love, though love
Alone fulfil the law. XII. 402.

Tit. ii. 14. *for us, that he might redeem us.* See also Gal. i. 4. Heb. vii. 22. *a surety.* x. 12. *one sacrifice for sins.* v. 29. *who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing.* It is in vain that the evidence of these texts is endeavoured to be evaded by those who maintain that Christ died, not in our stead, and for our redemption, but merely for our advantage in the abstract, and as an example to mankind.[8] At the same time I confess myself unable to perceive how those who consider the Son as of the same essence with the Father, can explain either his incarnation, or his satisfaction.

For all mankind. Rom. v. 18. *the free gift came upon all men.* 2 Cor. v. 14. *if one died for all, then were all dead.* If this deduction be true, then the converse is also true, namely, that if all were dead, because Christ died for all, Christ died for all who were dead; that is, for all mankind. Eph. i. 10. *that he might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth;* all things therefore on earth without a single exception, any more than in heaven. Col. i. 20. *by him to reconcile all things.* 1 Tim. ii. 4. *who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth.* Compare also v. 6. Heb. ii. 9. *for every man.* See also 2 Pet. iii. 9. Further, Christ is said in many places to have been given for the whole world. John iii. 16, 17. *God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.* vi. 51. *the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.* See 1 John iv. 14. They how-

[8] Giving to death, and dying to redeem. *Paradise Lost,* III. 299.

Which line is thus explained by Warburton. 'Milton's system of divinity taught, not only that man was redeemed, but likewise that a real price was paid for his redemption; *dying to redeem* therefore signifying only redemption in a vague uncertain sense, but imperfectly represents his system; so imperfectly, that it may as well be called the Socinian; the price paid (which implies a proper redemption) is wanting. But to pay a price implying a voluntary act, the poet therefore well expresses it by *giving to death,* that is, giving himself to death; so that the sense of the line fully expresses Milton's notion; heavenly love gave a price for the redemption of mankind, and by virtue of that price really redeemed them.'

ever who maintain that Christ made satisfaction for the elect alone, reply, that these passages are to be understood only of the elect who are in the world; and that this is confirmed by its being said elsewhere that Christ made satisfaction *for us*, that is, as they interpret it, for the elect. Rom. viii. 34. 2 Cor. v. 21. Tit. ii. 14. That the elect, however, cannot be alone intended, will be obvious to any one who examines these texts with attention, if in the first passage from St. John (for instance) the term *elect* be subjoined by way of explanation to that of *the world*. *So God loved the world* (that is, the elect) *that whosoever* (of the elect) *believeth in him should not perish.* This would be absurd; for which of the elect does not believe? It is obvious therefore that God here divides the world into believers and unbelievers; and that in declaring, on the one hand, that *whosoever believeth in him shall not perish*, he implies on the other, as a necessary consequence, that whosoever believeth not, shall perish. Besides, where *the world* is not used to signify all mankind, it is most commonly put for the worst characters in it. John xiv. 17. *even the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive;* xv. 19. *the world hateth you;* and so in many other places. Again, where Christ is said to be given *for us*, it is expressly declared that the rest of the world is not excluded. 1 John ii. 2. *not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world;* words the most comprehensive that could possibly have been used. The same explanation applies to the texts in which Christ is said to lay down his life *for his sheep*, John x. 16. or *for the church*, Acts xx. 28. Eph. v. 23, 25. Besides, if, as has been proved above, a sufficiency of grace be imparted to all, it necessarily follows that a full and efficacious satisfaction must have been made for all by Christ, so far at least as depended on the counsel and will of God; inasmuch as without such satisfaction not the least portion of grace could possibly have been vouchsafed. The passages in which Christ is said to have *given a ransom for many*, as Matt. xx. 28. and Heb. ix. 28. to *bear the sins of many*, &c. afford no argument against the belief that he has given a ransom *for all;* for *all* are emphatically *many*. If however it should be argued, that because Christ gave his life *for many*, therefore he did not give

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY CALIFORNIA.

it *for all*, many other texts expressly negative this interpretation, and especially Rom. v. 19. *as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous;* for no one will deny that *many* here signifies *all.* Or even if the expression *for all* should be explained to mean *for some*, or, in their own words, for classes of individuals, not for individuals in every class, nothing is gained by this interpretation; not to mention the departure from the usual signification of the word for the sake of a peculiar hypothesis. For the testimony of the sacred writings is not less strong to Christ's having made satisfaction for each individual in every class (as appears from the frequent assertions that he died *for all*, and *for the whole world*, and that he is *not willing that any should perish*, 2 Pet. iii. 9.) than the single text Rev. v. 9. is to his having died for classes of individuals: *thou hast redeemed us to God by thy blood out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation.* It will be proved, however, that Christ has made satisfaction not for the elect alone, but also for the reprobate, as they are called. Matt. xviii. 11. *the Son of Man is come to save that which was lost.* Now all were lost; he therefore came to save all, the reprobate as well as those who are called elect. John iii. 17. *God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world* (which doctrine, nevertheless, must be maintained by those who assert that Christ was sent for the elect only, to the heavier condemnation of the reprobate) *but that the world through him might be saved;* that is, the reprobate; for it would be superfluous to make such a declaration with regard to the elect. See also John xii. 47. vi. 32. *my Father giveth you the true bread from heaven; you*, that is, even though ye *believe not*, v. 36. *he giveth*, that is, he offers in good faith: *for the bread of God ..... giveth life unto the world*, that is, to all men, inasmuch as he gives it even to you who believe not, provided that you on your part do not reject it. Acts xvii. 30, 31. *now he commandeth all men every where to repent; because he hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the world in righteousness.* Those whom he will judge, he undoubtedly calls to repentance: but he will judge all the world

individually; therefore he calls all the world individually to repentance. But this gracious call could have been vouchsafed to none, had not Christ interfered to make such a satisfaction as should be not merely sufficient in itself, but effectual, so far as the divine will was concerned, for the salvation of all mankind; unless we are to suppose that the call is not made in earnest. Now the call to repentance and the gift of grace are from the Deity; their acceptance is the result of faith: if therefore the efficacy of Christ's satisfaction be lost through want of faith, this does not prove that an effectual satisfaction has not been made, but that the offer has not been accepted. Heb. x. 29. *who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the spirit of grace.* 2 Pet. ii. 1. *even denying the Lord that bought them, and bringing upon themselves swift destruction.* Forasmuch then as all mankind are divided into elect and reprobate, in behalf of both of whom Christ has made satisfaction, he has made satisfaction for all. So far indeed is this satisfaction from regarding the elect alone, as is commonly believed, to the exclusion of sinners in general, that the very contrary is the case; it regards all sinners whatever, and it regards them expressly as sinners; whereas it only regards the elect in so far as they were previously sinners. Rom. iii. 25. *to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God.* 1 Tim. i. 15. *this is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief.* But it is objected, Christ *does not pray for the world,* John xvii. 9. This is true of that particular prayer, which was dedicated chiefly to the benefit of his disciples; but on the cross he prayed even for his murderers, Luke xxiii. 34. *Father, forgive them.* He exhorts us likewise by the mouth of the apostle, 1 Tim. ii. 1, &c. *that supplications be made for all men;* and for this especial reason: *for this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour, who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth.* They also object Tit. ii. 14. *who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify*

unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works: a peculiar people, not therefore the whole of mankind. I reply, that redemption is not purification; Christ has redeemed all transgressors, but he purifies only such as are zealous of good works, that is, believers; for no works are good, unless done in faith. All are redeemed, even those who know not of it, or who are yet *enemies* and *sinners,* Rom. v. 6—8, 10. but none are purified, except their wills be consenting, and they have faith; as Scripture everywhere testifies. Ezek. xii. 2. *they have ears to hear, and hear not, for they are a rebellious house.* Matt. xxiii. 37. *how often would I have gathered thy children together...and ye would not.* Luke vii. 30. *the Pharisees rejected the counsel of God against themselves.* John v. 34, 40. *these things I say, that ye might be saved.... and ye will not come to me that ye might have life.* Acts vii. 51. *ye do always resist the Holy Ghost.* 2 Thess. ii. 10. *because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved.* Acts x. 43. *through his name whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins.* xv. 9. *purifying their hearts by faith.* Rom. iii. 22. *by faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all them that believe; for there is no difference; for all have sinned—: through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus; whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood.* Gal. iii. 22. *the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe.*

The complete reparation made by Christ. Heb. x. 14. *by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified.* 1 John i. 7. *the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin.* Tit. ii. 14. *that he might redeem us from all iniquity.* Heb. i. 3. *when he had by himself purged our sins.* vii. 22. *by so much was Jesus made a surety of a better testament.* ix. 14. *how much more shall the blood of Christ..... purge your conscience.* He made full satisfaction, because such was the will of his Father, who said, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased;* implying that he had himself sanctified and sealed him to his office.

That the satisfaction made by Christ was the effect and end proposed by the whole of his ministry, appears from the following passages.

First, of his humiliation. Isai. liii. 4—11. *by his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many; for he shall bear their iniquities.* Rom. iii. 25. *to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness.* v. 9. *being now justified by his blood.* 2 Cor. v. 21. *he hath made him to be sin for us who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.* Eph. v. 2. *Christ hath given himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour.* 1 Pet. ii. 24. *who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we being dead to sins, should live unto righteousness.*

Secondly, of his exaltation. Rom. v. 10. *much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life.* viii. 34. *who is he that condemneth? it is Christ that died, yea rather that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who maketh intercession for us.* 1 Cor. xv. 17. *if Christ be not raised.... ye are yet in your sins.* Heb. ix. 24. *Christ is entered.... into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us.* 1 Pet. iii. 21. *the answer of a good conscience towards God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.* 1 John ii. 1. *we have an advocate with the Father.*

The effect of Christ's satisfaction is sufficient to produce the reconciliation of God the Father with man. John vi. 37, 39. *all that the Father giveth me shall come to me.* Rom. v. 10, 11. *when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son.* 2 Cor. ii. 16. *to the other the savour of life unto life.* v. 19. *God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them.* Eph. i. 6. *to the praise of the glory of his grace, wherein he hath made us accepted in the beloved.*

The second object of the ministry of the Mediator is, THAT WE MAY BE CONFORMED TO THE IMAGE OF CHRIST, AS WELL IN HIS STATE OF HUMILIATION AS OF EXALTATION. Rom. viii. 29. *to be conformed to the image of his Son.*

In his state of humiliation. Rom. vi. 4. *therefore we are buried with him.* v. 5. *for if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death—.* v. 8. *if we be dead with Christ—.* v. 11. *reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God—.* viii. 17. *if so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified together.* Gal. ii. 20. *I am crucified with Christ ..... but Christ liveth in me.* 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12. *if we be dead with him, we shall also live with him.* Philipp. iii. 10. *that I may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death.* Col. i. 24. *who now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for his body's sake, which is the church.* 1 Pet. iv. 13. *rejoice, inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings, that when his glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also.*

In his state of exaltation. Matt. xxvii. 52, 53. *the graves were opened.* John xii. 32. *I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me.* xiv. 2—4. *I go to prepare a place for you ..... and I will receive you unto myself.* xvi. 7. *it is expedient for you that I go away—.* xvii. 22. *the glory which thou gavest me, I have given them.* Rom. iv. 25. *who was raised again for our justification.* vi. 4, 5. *like as Christ was raised up from the dead—.* 1 Cor. xv. 13. *if there be no resurrection from the dead, then is Christ not risen.* v. 20. *the first-fruits of them that slept.* Eph. ii. 5, 6. *God hath quickened us together with Christ ..... and hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus.* Philipp. iii. 21. *who shall change our vile body—.* Col. i. 18. *the first-born from the dead.* iii. 1, 2, &c. *if ye then be risen with Christ—.* 1 Thess. iv. 14. *even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him.* Heb. x. 19, 20. *having boldness to enter into the holiest—.* 1 Pet. i. 3, 4. *which hath begotten us again by a lively hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead.*

So far, therefore, as regards the satisfaction of Christ, and our conformity to his humiliation, the restoration of man is of merit; in which sense those texts are to be understood which convey a notion

of recompense and reward. Matt. v. 12. *rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven.* Rom. ii. 6, 7. *who will render to every man according to his deeds; to them who by patient continuance in well doing seek for glory and honour and immortality, eternal life.* 2 Cor. iv. 17. *for our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.* Philipp. iii. 14. *I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.* 2 Thess. i. 5—7. *which is a manifest token of the righteous judgement of God, that ye may be counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which ye also suffer; seeing it is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you, and to you who are troubled, rest with us—.* 2 Tim. iv. 8. *there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day, and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing.* Heb. vi. 10. *for God is not unrighteous to forget your work and labour of love.* 1 John i. 9. *if we confess our sins, he is faithful and just.* Rev. iii. 4. *they shall walk with me in white; for they are worthy.* Nor need we fear, lest in thus believing we should lend any support to the doctrine of human merits. For our conformity to the image of Christ is as far from adding anything to the full and perfect satisfaction made by him, as our works are from adding to faith: it is faith that justifies, but a faith not destitute of works: and in like manner, if we deserve anything, if there be any worthiness in us on any ground whatever, it is God that hath made us worthy in Christ. Col. i. 12. *giving thanks unto the Father, which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance.* 2 Thess. i. 11. *we pray always for you that our God would count you worthy of this calling.* See more on this subject in Chap. xxii. on Justification.

On the other hand, so far as regards the election of Christ to the office of Mediator by God the Father, and our own election to life by the same Father, the restoration of man is purely of grace; whence the Father is so often said in the gospel to have given those that are the Son's to the Son, and the Son to those that are the Son's.

The fable of a purgatory, in which, as the Papists feign, the sins of men are cleansed and purged away by fire, is refuted by many considerations, but above all by that of the full satisfaction of Christ. For (besides that there is no mention of any such place in Scripture) if it be true that the blood of Christ has made complete expiation for us, and purified us thoroughly from all stains, it follows that there is nothing left for the fire to purge. To those who understand the *fire* mentioned in 1 Cor. iii. 13, 15. of a real fire, I reply, that the apostle is not here speaking of the flames of purgatory, but of a metaphorical fire, appointed to try, not mankind in general, but the false teachers, whose doctrine *the day*, that is, the light of truth, *shall declare*, whether it was on the one hand disguised and impaired by false ornaments, or whether on the other hand it remained neglected and without cultivation. Like the *fiery trial* mentioned 1 Pet. iv. 12. it proves us in this world, not purges us in the next. Besides, all retribution, all endurance of good or evil subsequent to this life, is deferred till the day when Christ shall sit in judgement, 2 Cor. v. 10. *that every man may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.* And if it be true, as shown in a preceding chapter, that the soul as well as the body sleeps till the day of resurrection, no stronger argument can be urged against the existence of a purgatory. Lastly, it is certain that to those who are to be saved there is nothing intervening, except death, between *the earthly house* of this life, and *the house eternal in the heavens*, 2 Cor. v. 1. 2 Tim. iv. 8. *there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day.*

CHAP. XVII.

Of

Man's Renovation,

including his Calling.

Having concluded the subject of man's redemption, his renovation is next to be considered.

The renovation of man is that change whereby he who was before under the curse, and obnoxious to the divine wrath, is brought into a state of grace. Eph. ii. 3, 5, &c. *we were by nature the children of wrath ..... by grace ye are saved.* i. 3, 5. *who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ.* Col. iii. 10. *and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him.* Eph. iv. 23, 24. *that ye be renewed in the spirit of your mind, and that ye put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness.* 2 Cor. iv. 16. *the inward man is renewed day by day.* Tit. iii. 5. *by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost.* Rom. xii. 2. *by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God.* Heb. vi. 4, 6. *for it is impossible for those who were once enlightened ..... if they shall fall away, to renew them again to repentance.*

In renovation two things are to be considered; the mode by which man is renewed, and the manifestation of that mode.

The mode by which man is renewed, is either NATURAL or SUPERNATURAL.

By the natural mode, I mean that which influences the natural affections alone. This includes the calling of the natural man, and the consequent change in his character.

THE CALLING OF MAN is that natural mode of renovation whereby GOD THE FATHER, ACCORDING TO HIS PURPOSE IN CHRIST, INVITES FALLEN MAN TO A KNOWLEDGE OF THE WAY IN WHICH HE IS TO BE PROPITIATED AND SERVED; INSOMUCH THAT BELIEVERS, THROUGH HIS GRATUITOUS KINDNESS, ARE CALLED TO SALVATION, AND SUCH AS REFUSE TO BELIEVE ARE LEFT WITHOUT EXCUSE.

WHEREBY GOD THE FATHER. Acts ii. 39. *to as many as the Lord our God shall call.* 1 Cor. i. 9. *by whom ye were called unto the fellowship of his Son.* 2 Cor. v. 20. *as though God did beseech you by us.* John vi. 37. *all that the Father giveth me.* v. 44. *except the Father which hath sent me draw him.* 2 Thess. ii. 13, 14. *the Spirit ..... whereunto he called you.* 1 Pet. v. 10. *the God of all grace, who hath called us.* 2 Pet. i. 3. *through the knowledge of him that hath called us.*

ACCORDING TO HIS PURPOSE. Rom. viii. 28—30. *the called according to his purpose.* 2 Tim. i. 9. *who hath called us with an holy calling ..... according to his own purpose and grace.*

IN CHRIST. Gen. iii. 15. *it shall bruise thy head.* xxii. 18. *in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.* 1 Cor. i. 9. *unto the fellowship of his Son.* Gal. i. 6. *into the grace of Christ.* 1 Pet. v. 10. *who hath called us by Christ Jesus.*

TO A KNOWLEDGE OF THE WAY IN WHICH HE IS TO BE PROPITIATED AND SERVED. Gen. xvii. 1. *walk before me and be thou perfect.*

THROUGH HIS GRATUITOUS KINDNESS. Isai. lv. 1, &c. *come buy wine and milk without money and without price.* lxv. 1. *I am sought of them that asked not for me; I am found of them that sought me not; I said, Behold me, behold me, unto a nation that was not called by my name.*

BELIEVERS ARE CALLED TO SALVATION. 1 Tim. vi. 12. *lay hold on eternal life.* 1 Thess. ii. 12. *who hath called you to his kingdom and glory.* See also 2 Thess. ii. 14. 1 Pet. ii. 9. *out of darkness into his marvellous light.* v. 10. *who hath called us unto his eternal glory.*

SUCH AS REFUSE TO BELIEVE ARE LEFT WITHOUT EXCUSE. Prov. i. 24. *because I have called, and ye refused ..... I also will laugh at your calamity.* John xv. 22. *if I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin; but now they have no cloke for their sin.* Rom. i. 18—20. *who hold the truth in unrighteousness: because that which may be known of God is manifest in them .....for the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen ..... so that they are without excuse.* Those therefore who have not been called, are not without excuse. x. 14. *how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard?*

This calling is either general or special. The general calling is that whereby God invites the whole of mankind, in various ways, but all of them sufficient for the purpose, to the knowledge of the true Deity. John i. 9. *that was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.* Acts xiv. 17. *he left not himself without witness.* Rom. i. 19. *because that which may be known of God is manifest in them.* ii. 15. *which shew the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another.*

It may be objected, that all have not known Christ. I answer, that this proves nothing against the doctrine, that all are called in Christ alone; inasmuch as, had he not been given to the world, God would have

called no one: and as the ransom he has paid is in itself sufficient for the redemption of all mankind, all are called to partake of its benefits, though all may not be aware of the source from which they flow. For if Job believed that his sacrifice could avail for his sons, who were not present at its offering, and were perhaps thinking of nothing less, i. 5. if the returned Jews believed that their sacrifices could be available for the ten tribes, who were then far distant, and ignorant of what was passing at Jerusalem; [how much more ought we to believe that the perfect sacrifice of Christ may be abundantly sufficient even for those who have never heard of the name of Christ, and who believe only in God? This will be treated more at large under the head of faith.]

God's special calling is that whereby he, at the time which he thinks proper, invites particular individuals, elect as well as reprobate, more frequently, and with a more marked call than others.

Particular individuals in preference to others. Thus he called Abraham from his father's house, who probably expected no such call, Gen. xii. 1, &c. and who was even an idolater at the time.[9] Josh. xxiv. 2, 3. *they served other gods, and I took your father Abraham from the other side of the flood.* So also he called the people of Israel, for his name's sake and for the sake of the promises made to their fathers. Psal. cxlvii. 19, 20. *he sheweth his word unto Jacob.....he hath not dealt so with any nation, and as for his judgements, they have not known them.* Another reason is given Matt. ix. 13. *I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners.* xv. 26. *it is not meet to take the children's bread, and to cast it to dogs.* Acts xvi. 6, 7. *they were forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia ..... they assayed to go into Bithynia, but the Spirit suffered them not.* v. 9. *a vision appeared to Paul in the night.*

[9] Him on this side Euphrates yet residing,
Bred up in idol-worship. *Paradise Lost,* XII. 114.
Yet he at length, time to himself best known,
Rememb'ring Abraham, by some wond'rous call
May bring them back. *Paradise Regained,* III. 433.

Elect. Rom. viii. 28—30. *to them that love God, to them who are the called, according to his purpose.* 1 Cor. i. 26. *ye see your calling, brethren ..... God hath chosen the foolish things of the world.* 2 Tim. i. 9. *with an holy calling, according to his own purpose and grace.* Rev. xix. 9. *blessed are they which are called unto the marriage supper of the Lamb.*

As well as reprobate. Isai. xxviii. 13. *the word of Jehovah was unto them precept upon precept.* Ezek. ii. 4, 5. *they are impudent children and stiff-hearted; I do send thee unto them.* See also v. 7. iii. 7, 11, 27. Matt. x. 18. *for a testimony against them and the Gentiles.* xi. 21. *woe unto thee, Chorazin!* xxii. 8, 9. *they which were bidden were not worthy ... as many as ye shall find, bid to the marriage.* v. 10. *both bad and good.* xxiii. 37. *how often would I have gathered your children together ..... and ye would not.* Luke vii. 30. *the Pharisees and lawyers rejected the counsel of God against themselves.* Acts vii. 51. *ye do always resist the Holy Ghost.* xiii. 46. *seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life.*

At the time which he thinks proper. Matt. xx. 1, 3, &c. *he went out about the third hour.* Acts xiv. 16. *who in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways.* xvii. 27, 30. *the times of this ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men every where to repent.* Eph. iii. 5. *which in other ages was not made known.* Rom. xvi. 25. *which was kept secret since the world began.* On the promulgation of the gospel, a new command was given: Matt. xxviii. 19. *go ye therefore and teach all nations.* Mark xvi. 15. *preach the gospel to every creature.* Rom. x. 18. *have they not heard? yes verily, their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world.* Col. i. 26. *the mystery which hath been hid for ages ..... but now is made manifest.*

The change which takes place in man by reason of his calling, is that whereby the natural mind and will of man being partially

renewed by a divine impulse, are led to seek the knowledge of God, and for the time, at least, undergo an alteration for the better.

Inasmuch as this change is from God, those in whom it takes place are said to be enlightened, and to be endued with power to will what is good. This is ascribed sometimes to the Father: Eph. i. 17, 18. *that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ..... may give unto you the spirit of knowledge..... the eyes of your understanding being enlightened.* 2 Cor. iv. 6. *God hath shined in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge—.* James i. 17. *every good gift cometh down from the Father of lights.* Luke xi. 13. *how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit.* Sometimes to the Son: John i. 9. *that was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.* Sometimes to the Holy Spirit: Heb. vi. 4. &c. *those who were once enlightened..... and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost.*

As this change is of the nature of an effect produced on man, and an answer, as it were, to the call of God, it is sometimes spoken of under the metaphor of hearing or hearkening, (this faculty itself, however, being usually described as a gift from God) sometimes under that of tasting. Hearing: Matt. xi. 15. *he that hath ears to hear, let him hear.* Thus Herod is said *to have heard* John the Baptist *gladly,* Mark vi. 20. So also Acts xxvi. 28. Agrippa was willing to hear Paul. xvi. 14. *whose heart the Lord opened, that she attended unto the things spoken of Paul.* Rom. vi. 17. *God be thanked that..... ye have obeyed from the heart,* &c. (ex corde auscultâstis). Heb. iii. 7. *to-day if ye will hear his voice.* Tasting: Heb. vi. 4. *it is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift.....if they shall fall away—.* Even the weakest of man's efforts is ascribed to the same source. Luke xi. 13. *how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him.* Philipp. ii. 12, 13. *work out your own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God that worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure.* This can only imply that he works in us the power of acting freely, of which, since our fall, we were incapable,

except by means of a calling and renewal. For the power of volition cannot be wrought in us, without the power of free agency being at the same time imparted; since it is in this power that the will itself consists.

The parts of this change, considered as an effect, are two; repentance, and a corresponding faith. Both the one and the other of these feelings may be either the genuine beginnings of conversion, or the mere effect of nature, or, lastly, they may be altogether fictitious; and repentance of this kind, or a transient sorrow for past sin, bears the same relation to solid and lasting repentance, which the faith corresponding to it bears to a saving faith.[1] I distinguish between the two species of repentance for the sake of clearness, although I do not deny that the same word is indiscriminately employed to denote the temporary and the permanent affection; in like manner as the various kinds of faith are all expressed in Scripture by the same term.

This secondary species of repentance (in Greek μεταμέλεια) is that whereby a man abstains from sin through fear of punishment, and obeys the call of God merely for the sake of his own salvation.

Through fear of punishment. Jer. vi. 8. *be thou instructed, O Jerusalem, lest my soul depart from thee, lest I make thee desolate.* Rom. ii. 15. *their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing one another.* 2 Cor. vii. 10. *the sorrow of the world worketh death.* Matt. xix. 22. *he went away sorrowful.* Gen. iv. 13. *my punishment is greater than I can bear.* Numb. xxiii. 10. *let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his.*

[1] Ut *pœnitentia* ad *resipiscentiam,* ita fides hujusmodi se habet ad fidem salvificam. This is probably an allusion to the distinction made by Lactantius between these two words. 'Is enim quem facti sui pœnitet, errorem suum pristinum intelligit: ideoque Græci melius et significantius μετάνοιαν dicunt; quam nos possimus resipiscentiam dicere; resipiscit enim, ac mentem suam quasi ab insania recipit, quem errati piget, castigatque seipsum dementiæ, et confirmat animum suum ad rectius vivendum; tum illud maxime cavet, ne rursus in eosdem laqueos inducatur.' Lib. 6. *De Vero Cultu,* c. 24. Tertullian however in his treatise on Repentance, and the Fathers in general, use the two words indiscriminately.

For the sake of his own salvation. Matt. xix. 16. *what good thing shall I do, that I may have eternal life?* Ezek. xviii. 21, 28. *if the wicked will turn ... he shall surely live, he shall not die.* See also xxxiii. 14—16. Hos. vii. 14. *they have not cried unto me with their heart, when they howled upon their beds: they assemble themselves for corn and wine, and they rebel against me.* Joel i. 5. *because of the new wine, for it is cut off from thy mouth.*

This kind of repentance is common to the regenerate and to the unregenerate. Examples among the unregenerate are Cain, Esau, Pharaoh, Saul, Ahab, Judas, and many others, in whom contrition, and confession of sins, and other marks of repentance, are perceptible. Exod. ix. 27. *I have sinned this time; Jehovah is righteous, and I and my people are wicked.* 1 Sam. xv. 24. *I have sinned, for I have transgressed the commandment of Jehovah.*

Repentance is not to be deferred. 2 Cor. vi. 2. *for he saith, I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of salvation have I succoured thee: behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation.* Heb. iii. 7, 8. *to-day, if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts.*

Among the most striking exhortations to repentance in Scripture are Deut. xxx. 1, &c. Job xi. 13, &c. 2 Chron. xxx. 6. Isai. i. 16, &c. lvii. 19, &c. Jer. iv. 1, &c. xviii. 8. Hos. xiv. 1, &c. All exhortation, however, would be addressed in vain to such as were not in some measure renewed, at least in the natural mode here described; that is to say, who were not endued with some portion of mental judgement and liberty of will.

The faith corresponding to this species of repentance is an assent, likewise natural, yielded to the call of God, and accompanied by a trust which is in like manner natural, and often vain. I have described this assent as yielded to the call of God, inasmuch as faith, of whatever kind,

can only be founded on divine testimony in matters relating to God. Rom. x. 17. *faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.*

This faith is commonly distinguished into the several degrees of historical faith, temporary faith, and faith in miracles. Any faith, however, may be temporary; so may repentance itself: as will be hereafter shown.

Historical faith consists in an assent to the truth of the scripture history, and to sound doctrine. This faith is necessary to salvation, but is not in itself a saving faith. 1 Tim. i. 19. *holding faith and a good conscience, which some having put away concerning faith have made shipwreck.* iv. 1. *some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to.....doctrines of devils.* Heb. xi. 6. *he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him.* James ii. 19. *the devils also believe and tremble.*

Temporary faith is that which assents to hearing, and exercises a certain degree of trust in God, but generally of that kind only which is termed natural. I say generally, because there is no reason why a regenerate faith should not itself sometimes prove merely temporary, owing to the remains of human frailty still inherent in us; this however seldom happens, as will be argued hereafter under the head of final perseverance. Matt. xiii. 20, 21. *he that heareth the word, and anon with joy receiveth it: yet hath he not root in himself, but dureth for a while.* Luke viii. 13. *which for a time believe, and in time of temptation fall away.* John vi. 66. *from that time many of his disciples went back.* Acts viii. 13. *then Simon himself believed also, and was baptized.* v. 18. *when Simon saw that through laying on of the apostles' hands,* &c. v. 21. *thy heart is not right in the sight of God.* 1 Tim. v. 12. *having damnation, because they have cast off their first faith.*

Faith in miracles is that whereby any one is endued with the power of working miracles in the name of God, or whereby he believes that

another is endued with this power. Matt. vii. 22. *have we not prophesied in thy name, and in thy name done many wonderful works?* See also x. 8. xvii. 19. *why could not we cast him out?* Mark xvi. 17. *these signs shall follow them that believe.* 1 Cor. xii. 9. *to another faith by the same Spirit.* xiii. 2. *though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing.*

Even without this species of faith, however, miracles have been sometimes wrought for unbelievers. Numb. xx. 10, 11. *hear now, ye rebels, must we fetch you water out of this rock?* In this instance both he who worked the miracle, and those for whom it was worked, seem to have been in a state of unbelief at the time of its performance. 2 Kings v. 12. *are not Abana and Pharphar better than all the waters of Israel?*

The call of God, and the consequent change in the natural man, do not of themselves ensure his salvation, unless he be also regenerate; inasmuch as they are are only parts of the natural mode of renovation. Matt. xxii. 14. *many are called, but few are chosen.* 2 Cor. vii. 10. *the sorrow of the world worketh death.* Heb. iv. 2. *unto us was the gospel preached, as well as unto them, but the word preached did not profit them, not being mixed with faith in them that heard it.* 2 Pet. ii. 20. *if after they have escaped the pollutions of the world, through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, they are again entangled therein—.*

CHAP. XVIII.

Of Regeneration.

The intent of SUPERNATURAL RENOVATION is not only to restore man still more completely than before to the use of his natural faculties, as regards his power to form right judgement, and to exercise free will; but to create afresh, as it were, the inward man, and infuse from above new and supernatural faculties into the minds of the renovated. This is called REGENERATION, and the regenerate are said to be PLANTED IN CHRIST.

| REGENERATION IS THAT CHANGE OPERATED BY THE WORD AND THE SPIRIT, WHEREBY THE OLD MAN BEING DESTROYED, THE INWARD MAN IS REGENERATED BY GOD AFTER HIS OWN IMAGE, IN ALL THE FACULTIES OF HIS MIND, INSOMUCH THAT HE BECOMES AS IT WERE A NEW CREATURE, AND THE WHOLE MAN IS SANCTIFIED BOTH IN BODY AND SOUL, FOR THE SERVICE OF GOD, AND THE PERFORMANCE OF GOOD WORKS| John iii. 3, 5. *except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God...except a man be born of water and the Spirit.* 1 Pet. i. 23. *being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible.*

IS REGENERATED BY GOD; namely, the Father; for no one generates, except the Father. Psal. li. 10. *create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me.* Ezek. xi. 19. *I will put a new spirit within you.* John i. 12, 13. *to them gave he power to become the sons of God ... which were born, not of blood ... but of God.* iii. 5, 6.

except a man be born of water and the Spirit—; where by *the Spirit* appears to be meant the divine power of the Father; for the Father is a Spirit; and, as was said before, no one generates except the Father. xvii. 17. *sanctify them through thy truth.* Rom. viii. 11, 16. *but if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead—: the Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God.* Gal. iv. 6. *because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father.* Eph. ii. 4, 5. *God who is rich in mercy ... hath quickened us together with Christ.* 1 Thess. v. 23. *the very God of peace sanctify you wholly.* Tit. iii. 5. *according to his mercy he saved us by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost.* Heb. xiii. 20. *the God of peace ..... make you perfect in every good work.* 1 Pet. i. 3. *blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which according to his abundant mercy hath begotten us again—.* James i. 17, 18. *of his own will begat he us.*

By the Word and the Spirit. John xvii. 17. *sanctify them through thy truth; thy word is truth.* James i. 18. *of his own will begat he us with the word of truth.* Eph. v. 26. *that he might cleanse it with the washing of water by the Word.* 1 Cor. xii. 13. *by one Spirit we are all baptized into one body.* Tit. iii. 5. *by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost.*

The inward man. John iii. 5, 6. *that which is born of the Spirit is spirit.* Rom. vii. 22. *after the inward man.*

The old man being destroyed. Rom. vi. 6. *knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed.* v. 11. *likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord.* 2 Cor. v. 17. *old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new.* Col. iii. 9—11. *that ye have put off the old man with his deeds, and have put on the new man.*

IN ALL THE FACULTIES OF HIS MIND; that is to say, in understanding and will. Psal. li. 10. *create in me a clean heart, O God.* Ezek. xi. 19. *I will put a new spirit within you..... and I will give them an heart of flesh.* xxxvi. 26. *a new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you.* Rom. xii. 2. *be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good ... will of God.* Eph. iv. 23. *be renewed in the spirit of your mind.* Philipp. ii. 13. *it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure.* This renewal of the will can mean nothing, but a restoration to its former liberty.

AFTER HIS OWN IMAGE. Eph. iv. 24. *put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness.* Col. iii. 9—11. *which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him.* 2 Pet. i. 4. *that by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust.* If the choice were given us, we could ask nothing more of God, than that, being delivered from the slavery of sin, and restored to the divine image, we might have it in our power to obtain salvation if willing. Willing we shall undoubtedly be, if truly free; and he who is not willing, has no one to accuse but himself. But if the will of the regenerate be not made free, then we are not renewed, but compelled to embrace salvation in an unregenerate state.

A NEW CREATURE. 2 Cor. 5. 17. *if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature.* Gal. vi. 15. *a new creature.* Eph. iv. 24. *the new man.* See also Col. iii. 10, 11. Hence some, less properly, divide regeneration into two parts, *the mortification of the flesh,* and *the quickening of the spirit;* whereas mortification cannot be a constituent part of regeneration, inasmuch as it partly precedes it, (that is to say, as corruption precedes generation) and partly follows it; in which latter capacity it belongs rather to repentance. On the other hand, *the quickening of the spirit* is as often used to signify resurrection as regeneration. John v. 21. *as the Father raiseth up the dead and quickeneth them, even so*

the Son quickeneth whom he will. v. 25. *the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live.*

THE WHOLE MAN. 1 Cor. vi. 15, 19. *know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you?* 1 Thess. v. 23. *the very God of peace sanctify you wholly, and I pray God your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

FOR THE PERFORMANCE OF GOOD WORKS. 1 John ii. 29. *if ye know that he is righteous, ye know that every one that doeth righteousness is born of him.* Eph. ii. 10. *we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works.*

IS SANCTIFIED. 1 John iii. 9. *whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him; and he cannot sin, because he is born of God.* v. 18. *whosoever is born of God, sinneth not, but he that is begotten of God keepeth himself, and that wicked one toucheth him not.* Hence regeneration is sometimes termed sanctification, being the literal mode of expressing that, for which regeneration is merely a figurative phrase. 1 Cor. vi. 11. *such were some of you; but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified.* 1 Thess. iv. 7. *God hath not called us unto uncleanness, but unto holiness.* 2 Thess. ii. 13. *because God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit.* 1 Pet. i. 2. *according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit.* Deut. xxx. 6. *Jehovah thy God will circumcise thine heart, and the heart of thy seed, to love Jehovah thy God.* Sanctification is also attributed to the Son. Eph. v. 25, 26. *Christ loved the church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word.* Tit. ii. 14. *that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself* (unto himself as our Redeemer and King) *a peculiar people.*

[Sanctification is sometimes used in a more extended sense, for any kind of election or separation, either of a whole nation to some particular

form of worship, or of an individual to some office. Exod. xix. 10. *sanctify them to-day and to-morrow.* xxxi. 13. *that ye may know that I am Jehovah that doth sanctify you.* See also Ezek. xx. 12. Numb. xi. 18. *sanctify yourselves against to-morrow.* Jer. i. 5. *before thou camest forth out of the womb I sanctified thee, and I ordained thee a prophet unto the nations.* Luke i. 15. *he shall be filled with the Holy Ghost, even from his mother's womb.*

The external cause of regeneration or sanctification is the death and resurrection of Christ. Eph. ii. 4, 5. *when we were dead in sins, God hath quickened us together with Christ.* v. 25, 26. *Christ gave himself for the church, that he might sanctify and cleanse it.* Heb. ix. 14. *how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God.* x. 10. *by the which will we are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ.* 1 Pet. i. 2, 3. *through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ .... which hath begotten us again by a lively hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead.* 1 John i. 7. *the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin.*

Sanctification is attributed also to faith. Acts xv. 9. *purifying their hearts by faith;* not that faith is anterior to sanctification, but because faith is an instrumental and assisting cause in its gradual progress.

CHAP. XIX.

OF

REPENTANCE.

THE effects of regeneration are REPENTANCE and FAITH.

REPENTANCE, or rather that higher species of it called in Greek *μετάνοια*, IS THE GIFT OF GOD, WHEREBY THE REGENERATE MAN PERCEIVING WITH SORROW THAT HE HAS OFFENDED GOD BY SIN, DETESTS AND AVOIDS IT, HUMBLY TURNING TO GOD THROUGH A SENSE OF THE DIVINE MERCY, AND HEARTILY STRIVING TO FOLLOW RIGHTEOUSNESS.

THE GIFT OF GOD; namely, of the Father through the Son. Acts v. 31. *him hath God exalted with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel.* Jer. xxxi. 18. *I have surely heard Ephraim bemoaning himself thus.....turn thou me and I shall be turned, for thou art Jehovah my God.* Acts xi. 18. *then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life.* Rom. ii. 4, 5. *thinkest thou this.....not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance? but after thy hardness and impenitent heart treasurest up,* &c. 2 Tim. ii. 25. *if God peradventure will give them repentance.*

PERCEIVING WITH SORROW. Psal. xxxviii. 4. *mine iniquities are gone over mine head: as an heavy burden they are too heavy for me.* 2 Kings xxii. 19. *because thine heart was tender, and thou hast humbled thyself before Jehovah, when thou heardest what I spake against this place.....and hast rent thy clothes and wept before me.* Psal. li. 3, 4. *I acknowledge my transgressions, and my sin is ever before me: against thee, thee only have I sinned.* Jer. iii. 13. *only acknowledge thine ini-*

quity, that thou hast transgressed against Jehovah thy God. Ezek. xxxvi. 31. *then shall ye remember your own evil ways, and your doings that were not good, and shall loathe yourselves in your own sight for your iniquities.* v. 32. *be ashamed and confounded for your own ways.* xliii. 10. *that they may be ashamed of their iniquities.* Rom. vi. 21. *those things whereof ye are now ashamed.* 2 Cor. vii. 10. *godly sorrow worketh repentance to salvation not to be repented of.* v. 11. *for behold this self-same thing, that ye sorrowed after a godly sort, what carefulness it wrought in you, yea, what clearing of yourselves, yea, what indignation, yea, what fear, yea, what vehement desire, yea, what zeal, yea, what revenge.*

THROUGH A SENSE OF THE DIVINE MERCY. Deut. iv. 29—31. *but if from thence thou shalt seek Jehovah thy God..... with all thy heart.* 2 Chron. xxx. 9. *for Jehovah your God is gracious and merciful, and will not turn away his face from you, if ye return unto him.* Psal. li. 17. *the sacrifices of God are a broken spirit; a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.* cxxx. 4. *there is forgiveness with thee, that thou mayest be feared.* Isai. xix. 22. *they shall return even to Jehovah, and he shall be intreated of them, and shall heal them.* lv. 7. *let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts, and let him return unto Jehovah, and he will have mercy upon him.* lxvi. 2. *to this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word.* Jer. iii. 12. *return.....for I am merciful.* Dan. ix. 4, 5. *I made my confession, and said, O Lord, the great and dreadful God—.* Hos. xi. 8. *how shall I give thee up, O Ephraim?.....mine heart is turned within me, my repentings are kindled together.* Jonah iv. 10, 11. *thou hast had pity for the gourd, for the which thou hast not laboured.....and should not I spare Nineveh?* James iv. 9. *be afflicted, and mourn, and weep, let your laughter be turned to mourning, and your joy to heaviness; humble yourselves in the sight of the Lord, and he shall lift you up.* Prov. xxviii. 13. *he that covereth his sins shall not prosper; but whoso confesseth and forsaketh them shall have mercy.*

HUMBLY TURNING TO GOD. 1 Kings viii. 48. *and so return unto thee with all their heart and with all their soul.* Jer. iv. 4. *circumcise yourselves to Jehovah, and take away the foreskins of your heart.* Hos. v. 15. *I will go and return to my place, till they acknowledge their offence, and seek my face.* Acts iii. 19. *repent ye therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out.*

DETESTS AND AVOIDS SIN, STRIVING TO FOLLOW RIGHTEOUSNESS. Psal. xxxiv. 14. *depart from evil, and do good.* Isai. i. 16, 17. *wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil, learn to do good.* Amos v. 14, 15. *hate the evil, and love the good.* Matt. iii. 8. *bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance.* Acts xxvi. 18. *to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.* v. 20. *that they should repent, and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance.*

By a comparison of these and similar texts, we may distinguish certain progressive steps in repentance; namely, conviction of sin, contrition, confession, departure from evil, conversion to good: all which, however, belong likewise in their respective degrees to the repentance of the unregenerate.

Confession of sin is made sometimes to God: 2 Sam. xxiv. 10. *David said unto Jehovah, I have sinned greatly in that I have done.* Psal. xxxii. 5. *I acknowledged my sin unto thee,* &c. 2 Chron. xxx. 22. *making confession to Jehovah, God of their fathers.* Isai. lxiv. 6. *we are all as an unclean thing, and all our righteousnesses are as filthy rags.* Dan. ix. 4. *I made my confession, and said—.* Sometimes to men: and that either privately, as James v. 16. *confess your faults one to another;* or publicly, Neh. ix. 2. *the seed of Israel stood and confessed their sins.* Matt. iii. 6. *they were baptized of him in Jordan, confessing their sins.* Acts xix. 18. *many that believed came and confessed, showing their deeds.* Sometimes both to God and men: Josh. vii. 19. *give, I pray thee, glory to Jehovah God of Israel, and make confession unto him, and tell me now what thou hast done, hide it not from*

me. Confession of faith, which is another kind, does not belong to the present subject.

Repentance is either general, which is also called conversion, when a man is converted from a state of sin to a state of grace; or particular, when one who is already converted repents of some individual sin. General repentance is either primary or continued; from which latter even the regenerate are not exempt, through their sense of in-dwelling sin. Particular repentance is exemplified in the cases of David and Peter.

Repentance, in regenerate man, is prior to faith. Mark i. 15. *repent ye, and believe the gospel.* Acts xix. 4. *John verily baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people, that they should believe.* xx. 21. *testifying repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ.* Therefore that sense of the divine mercy, which leads to repentance, ought not to be confounded with faith, as it is by the greater number of divines.

Chastisement is often the instrumental cause of repentance. Job v. 17, &c. *behold, happy is the man whom God correcteth; therefore despise not thou the chastening of the Almighty.* Psal. xciv. 12. *blessed is the man whom thou chastenest, O Jah.* cxix. 71. *it is good for me that I have been afflicted, that I might learn thy statutes.* Prov. i. 23. *turn you at my reproof.* iii. 11, 12. *my son, despise not the chastening of Jehovah, neither be weary of his correction; for whom Jehovah loveth he correcteth, even as a father the son in whom he delighteth.* Isai. i. 25. *I will turn my hand upon thee, and purely purge away thy dross, and take away all thy tin.* xlviii. 10. *behold, I have refined thee, but not with silver; I have chosen thee in the furnace of affliction.* Jer. x. 24. *O Jehovah, correct me, but with judgement; not in thine anger, lest thou bring me to nothing.* Lam. iii. 27, 28. *it is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth.* Dan. xi. 35. *some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white.* Hos. v. 15.

in their affliction they will seek me early. 1 Cor. xi. 32. *when we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord, that we should not be condemned with the world.* Heb. xii. 7, 8. *if ye endure chastening, God dealeth with you as with sons; for what son is he whom the father chasteneth not? but if ye be without chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards, and not sons.* Psal. xc. 3. *thou turnest man to destruction; and sayest, Return, ye children of men.* God however assigns a limit to chastisement, lest we should be overwhelmed, and supplies strength for our support even under those inflictions which (as is sometimes the case) appear to us too heavy to be borne. Psal. cxxv. 3. *the rod of the wicked shall not rest upon the lot of the righteous, lest the righteous put forth their hands unto iniquity.* Isai. lvii. 16. *I will not contend for ever, neither will I be always wroth, for the spirit should fail before me,* &c. 2 Cor. i. 8—10. *we would not have you ignorant.....that we were pressed out of measure, above strength,* &c.....*that we should not trust in ourselves, but in God which raiseth the dead: who delivered us from so great a death—.* He even seems to repent of what he had done, and through his abounding mercy, as though he had in his wrath inflicted double punishment for our transgressions, compensates for our affliction with a double measure of consolation. Isai. xl. 2. *speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her, that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned; for she hath received of the hand of Jehovah double for all her sins.* lxi. 7. *for your shame ye shall have double, and for confusion they shall rejoice in their portion; therefore in their land they shall possess the double; everlasting joy shall be unto them.* This compensation is more than an hundred-fold, Matt. xix. 29. even an infinite weight of glory. 2 Cor. iv. 17. *for our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.* Rom. viii. 18. *I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us.* Psal. xxxiv. 18, 19. *Jehovah is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart, and saveth such as be of a contrite spirit: many are the afflictions of the righteous, but Jehovah delivereth him out of them all.* lxxi. 20. *thou which hast showed me great and sore troubles, shalt quicken me again.* cxxvi. 5.

they that sow in tears shall reap in joy. Acts xiv. 22. *we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God.*

We ought not therefore to form rash judgements respecting the afflictions of others. This was the error of Eliphaz, Job iv. and ix. 22, 23. and of the most despicable of men, chap. xxx. Psal. iii. 2. *many there be which say of my soul, There is no help for him in God.* xli. 8. *an evil disease, say they, cleaveth fast unto him.* John ix. 3. *neither hath this man sinned.*

On the contrary, it is said of those who are not chastened, Psal. xvii. 14. *they have their portion in this life.* Hos. iv. 17. *Ephraim is joined to idols; let him alone.*

Hence arises consolation to the afflicted. 2 Cor. i. 4. *who comforteth us in all our tribulation, that we may be able to comfort them that are in any trouble by the comfort wherewith we ourselves are comforted of God.* 1 Thess. iii. 3. *that no man should be moved by these afflictions; for yourselves know that we are appointed thereunto.* 2 Tim. ii. 3. *thou therefore endure hardness, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.* Rev. ii. 9. *I know thy works and tribulation.*

CHAP. XX.

Of

Saving Faith.

The other effect of regeneration is SAVING FAITH.

SAVING FAITH is A FULL PERSUASION OPERATED IN US THROUGH THE GIFT OF GOD, WHEREBY WE BELIEVE, ON THE SOLE AUTHORITY OF THE PROMISE ITSELF, THAT ALL THINGS ARE OURS WHATSOEVER HE HAS PROMISED US IN CHRIST, AND ESPECIALLY THE GRACE OF ETERNAL LIFE.

THROUGH THE GIFT OF GOD. Eph. ii. 8. *by grace are ye saved through faith, and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God.* Philipp. i. 29. *unto you it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake;* given, that is, by the Father, through the Son and the Spirit. Matt. xi. 25. *at that time Jesus answered and said, I thank thee, O Father.....because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes.* xvi. 16, 17. *thou art Christ.....flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven.* Luke xxii. 32. *I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not.* John vi. 44, 45. *no man can come to me, except the Father which hath sent me draw him..... every man therefore that hath heard, and hath learned of the Father, cometh unto me.* 2 Thess. i. 11. *that our God would count you worthy of this calling, and fulfil all the good pleasure of his goodness, and the work of faith with power.* Heb. xii. 2. *looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith.* 1 Cor. xii. 3. *no man can say that*

Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost. 2 Cor. iv. 13. *we having the same spirit of faith.* Gal. v. 22. *the fruit of the Spirit is faith.*

A FULL PERSUASION. Jer. xxxi. 34. *they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith Jehovah: for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more.* John xvii. 3. *this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent.* Rom. iv. 18—21. *who against hope believed in hope.....and being fully persuaded, that what he had promised, he was able also to perform.* viii. 38. *I am persuaded that neither death—.* 1 Thess. i. 5. *our gospel came not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance.* 2 Tim. i. 12. *I know in whom I have believed, and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him.* Heb. x. 22. *let us draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith.* James i. 6. *let him ask in faith, nothing wavering.* Heb. xi. 1. *faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen;* where by *substance* is understood as certain a persuasion of things hoped for, as if they were not only existing, but actually present. John viii. 56. *your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it.* Hence implicit faith, which sees not the objects of hope, but yields belief with a blind assent, cannot possibly be genuine faith, except in the case of novices or first converts, whose faith must necessarily be for a time implicit, inasmuch as they believe even before they have entered upon a course of instruction. Such was that of the Samaritans, John iv. 41. of the nobleman and his family, v. 53. of Rahab, Heb. xi. 31. and of the disciples, who believed in Christ long before they were accurately acquainted with many of the articles of faith. Those also belong to this class, who are slow of understanding and inapt to learn, but who nevertheless, believing according to the measure of their knowledge, and striving to live by faith, are acceptable to God. Isai. xlii. 3. *a bruised reed shall he not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench.* Mark ix. 24. *Lord, I believe, help thou mine unbelief.* Faith is also called πεποίθεσις, or *trust*, with the same meaning. 2 Cor. iii. 4.

such trust have we through Christ to God-ward. Eph. iii. 11, 12. *in Christ Jesus our Lord, in whom we have boldness and access with confidence by the faith of him;* where however *trust* or *confidence* seems rather to be a particular effect or degree of faith, or a firm hope, than faith itself, inasmuch as it is said to come *by faith:* or perhaps by *faith* in this passage we are to understand the doctrine on which this confidence is founded. John xvi. 33. *be of good cheer* (confidite), *I have overcome the world.* Hence *to trust* and *to believe* are indiscriminately used in the same sense, both in the Old and New Testament. Psal. lxxviii. 22. *because they believed not in God, and trusted not in his salvation.* Isai. x. 20. *it shall stay upon Jehovah, the Holy One of Israel, in truth* (fide). Psal. xxxvii. 5. *commit thy way unto Jehovah, trust also in him.* Jer. xvii. 7. *blessed is the man that trusteth in Jehovah, and whose hope Jehovah is.* Matt. ix. 2. *Son, be of good cheer* (confide); *thy sins be forgiven thee.* As to the three divisions into which faith is commonly distinguished by divines, knowledge of the word, assent, and persuasion or trust, the two former equally belong to temporary, and even to historical faith, and both are comprehended in, or, more properly, precede a full persuasion.

On the sole authority of his promise. John xx. 29. *blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.* Rom. iv. 18. *who against hope believed in hope.* v. 21. *being fully persuaded, that what he had promised, he was able also to perform.* 1 Cor. ii. 4, 5. *my speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power; that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God.* 2 Cor. iv. 18. *while we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen.* v. 7. *we walk by faith, not by sight.* 1 Thess. ii. 13. *when ye received the word of God which ye heard of us, ye received it not as the word of men, but as it is in truth, the word of God.* Heb. xi. 7. *by faith Noah, being warned of God of things not seen as yet.* v. 19. *accounting that God was able to raise him up.* 1 Pet. i. 8. *whom having not seen, ye love; in whom though now ye see him not, yet believing, ye*

rejoice. Tit. i. 2. *which God, that cannot lie, promised.* Herein is manifested the excellence of faith, inasmuch as it gives to God the highest glory of righteousness and truth. John iii. 33. *he that hath received his testimony, hath set to his seal that God is true.* Rom. iv. 20. *he was strong in faith, giving glory to God.* Eph. i. 12. *that we should be to the praise of his glory, who first trusted in Christ.* 2 Thess. i. 10. *when he shall come to be admired in all them that believe.* Heb. xi. 6. *without faith it is impossible to please him; for he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him.* v. 11. *because she judged him faithful who had promised.* 2 Pet. i. 1. *to them that have obtained like precious faith with us, through the righteousness of God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ.* Hence the title of *faithful* is frequently applied to God by believers. 1 Cor. i. 9. x. 13. 2 Tim. ii. 13. *he abideth faithful.* 1 John i. 9. *he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins.*

Whatsoever he has promised. Acts xxiv. 14. *believing all things which are written in the law and in the prophets.* Rom. iv. 3. *Abraham believed God.* v. 16. *therefore it is of faith ..... to the end the promise might be sure.* 1 John v. 14. *this is the confidence that we have in him, that if we ask anything according to his will, he heareth us.*

Ours; that is, ours who believe. John i. 12. *as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe in his name.* xvii. 20. *neither pray I for these alone, but for them also that shall believe on me through their word.* 1 Cor. iii. 22, 23. *all are your's, and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's.* Gal. ii. 20. *the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me.*

In Christ. John vi. 29. *this is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent.* xiv. 1. *ye believe in God; believe also in me.* 1 John iii. 23. *this is his commandment, that we should believe on the name of his Son Jesus Christ.* Rom. x. 9. *if thou shalt confess with thy*

mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved. 2 Cor. iii. 4. *such trust have we through Christ to God-ward.* Gal. iii. 22. *that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe.* v. 26. *by faith in Jesus Christ.* 1 Pet. i. 21. *who by him do believe in God..... that your faith and hope might be in God.* Heb. vii. 25. *wherefore he is able to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him.* John xii. 44. *he that believeth on me, believeth not on me, but on him that sent me.* Hence, as was shown in the fifth chapter, the ultimate object of faith is not Christ the Mediator, but God the Father; a truth, which the weight of scripture evidence has compelled divines to acknowledge. For the same reason it ought not to appear wonderful if many, both Jews and others, who lived before Christ, and many also who have lived since his time, but to whom he has never been revealed, should be saved by faith in God alone; still however through the sole merits of Christ, inasmuch as he was given and slain from the beginning of the world, even for those to whom he was not known, provided they believed in God the Father. Hence honourable testimony is borne to the faith of the illustrious patriarchs who lived under the law, Abel, Enoch, Noah, &c. though it is expressly stated that they believed only in God, Heb. xi.

Especially the grace of eternal life. Mark i. 15. *repent ye, and believe the gospel.* John iii. 15. *that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life.* v. 18. *he that believeth on him is not condemned, but he that believeth not is condemned already.* These passages are to be understood of those to whom Christ has been revealed; for to believe in one of whom we have never heard, is evidently impossible. Rom. x. 14. So also John vi. 47. *he that believeth on me hath everlasting life.* 2 Thess. ii. 13, *because God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation through sanctification of the spirit and belief of the truth.* Heb. x. 39. *of them that believe to the saving of the soul.* 1 Pet. i. 9. *receiving the end of your faith, even the sal-*

vation of your souls. 1 John v. 13. *these things have I written unto you that believe on the name of the Son of God, that ye may know that ye have eternal life.*

Seeing, however, that faith necessarily includes a receiving of God, and coming to him, John i. 12. *as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name;* vi. 35. *he that cometh to me shall never hunger, and he that believeth in me shall never thirst;* Eph. ii. 18. *through him we both have access by one Spirit unto the Father:* iii. 12. *in whom we have boldness and access with confidence by the faith of him;* Heb. vii. 25. *he is able to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him;* x. 22. *let us draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith;* seeing also that we must have a right knowledge of God before we can receive him or come to him, for *he that cometh to God, must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him,* xi. 6. it follows, that the source from which faith originally springs, and whence it proceeds onward in its progress to good, is a genuine, though possibly in the first instance imperfect, knowledge of God; so that, properly speaking, the seat of faith is not in the understanding, but in the will.

From faith arises hope, that is, a most assured expectation through faith of those future things which are already ours in Christ. Rom. iv. 18, 19. *who against hope believed in hope,* &c. viii. 24, 25. *we are saved by hope; but hope that is seen is not hope, for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for? but if we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it.* xv. 13. *now the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that ye may abound in hope, through the power of the Holy Ghost.* Gal. v. 5. *for we through the Spirit wait for the hope of righteousness by faith.* Heb. x. 23. *let us hold fast the possession of our faith without wavering.* 1 Pet. i. 3. *who hath begotten us again unto a lively hope by the resurrection.* v. 13. *hope to the end for the grace that is to be brought unto you at the*

revelation of Jesus Christ. v. 21. *that your faith and hope might be in God.* Heb. vi. 11. *we desire that every one of you do show the same diligence to the full assurance of hope unto the end.* Hope differs from faith, as the effect from the cause; it differs from it likewise in its object: for the object of faith is the promise; that of hope, the thing promised.

CHAP. XXI.

OF BEING PLANTED IN CHRIST, AND ITS EFFECTS.

REGENERATION AND ITS EFFECTS, repentance and faith, have been considered. Next follows PLANTING IN CHRIST.

Believers are said TO BE PLANTED IN CHRIST, when they are graffed in Christ by God the Father, that is, are made partakers of Christ, and meet for becoming one with him. Matt. xv. 13. *every plant, which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up.* John xv. 1, 2. *I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman: every branch in me that beareth not fruit, he taketh away.* 1 Cor. i. 30. *of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption.* iii. 22, 23. *all are your's, and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's.* Eph. i. 3. *who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ.* Heb. iii. 14. *we are made partakers of Christ.*

Of this implanting, combined with regeneration, the effects are NEWNESS OF LIFE and INCREASE. For the new spiritual life and its increase bear the same relation to the restoration of man, which spiritual death and its progress (as described above, on the punishment of sin) bear to his fall.

NEWNESS OF LIFE is that by which we are said to live unto God. 2 Cor. iv. 10. *that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our body.* Rom. vi. 11. *likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord.* v. 4. *even so we also should walk in newness of life.* viii. 13. *if ye through the Spirit*

do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live. Gal. ii. 19. *that I might live unto God.* v. 20. *Christ liveth in me.* Col. iii. 3. *your life is hid with Christ in God.* 1 Pet. iv. 6. *that they might live according to God,* that is, *in the Spirit.*

This is also called self-denial. Luke ix. 23. *if any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me.*

The primary functions of the new life are comprehension of spiritual things, and love or holiness. And as the power of exercising these functions was weakened and in a manner destroyed by the spiritual death, so is the understanding restored in great part to its primitive clearness, and the will to its primitive liberty, by the new spiritual life in Christ.

THE COMPREHENSION OF SPIRITUAL THINGS IS A HABIT OR CONDITION OF MIND PRODUCED BY GOD, WHEREBY THE NATURAL IGNORANCE OF THOSE WHO BELIEVE AND ARE PLANTED IN CHRIST IS REMOVED, AND THEIR UNDERSTANDINGS ENLIGHTENED FOR THE PERCEPTION OF HEAVENLY THINGS, SO THAT, BY THE TEACHING OF GOD, THEY KNOW ALL THAT IS NECESSARY FOR ETERNAL SALVATION AND THE TRUE HAPPINESS OF LIFE.

BY THE TEACHING OF GOD. Jer. xxxi. 33, 34. *I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts; and will be their God, and they shall be my people: and they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know Jehovah: for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith Jehovah: for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more.* Isai. liv. 13. *all thy children shall be taught of God,* namely, of God the Father, for so Christ explains it, John vi. 45. *it is written in the prophets, And they shall be all taught of God: every man therefore that hath heard, and hath learned of the Father, cometh unto me.* Matt. xvi. 17. *flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father*

which is in heaven. 1 Thess. iv. 9. *as touching brotherly love ye need not that I write unto you; for ye yourselves are taught of God to love one another.*

By the Son. Matt. xi. 27. *all things are delivered unto me of my Father; and no man knoweth the Son but the Father, neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him.* Col. iii. 16. *let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom.*

And by the Holy Spirit. John xvi. 13. *when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth, for he shall not speak of himself.* 1 Cor. ii. 10, &c. *God hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit.... the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned: but he that is spiritual judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man.* 1 John ii. 20, 27. *ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things.... the anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you; but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie, and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him.*

Necessary to salvation. 1 Cor. ii. 12. *that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God.* Tit. i. 1, 2. *the acknowledging of the truth which is after godliness, in hope of eternal life.*

In the present life, however, we can only attain to an imperfect comprehension of spiritual things. 1 Cor. xiii. 9. *we know in part.*

The other effect is LOVE OR CHARITY, ARISING FROM A SENSE OF THE DIVINE LOVE SHED ABROAD IN THE HEARTS OF THE REGENERATE BY THE SPIRIT, WHEREBY THOSE WHO ARE PLANTED IN CHRIST BEING INFLUENCED, BECOME DEAD TO SIN, AND ALIVE AGAIN UNTO GOD, AND BRING FORTH GOOD WORKS SPONTANEOUSLY AND

FREELY. This is also called HOLINESS. Eph. i. 4. *that we should be holy and without blame before him in love.*

The love here intended is not brotherly love, which belongs to another place; nor even the ordinary affection which we bear to God, but one resulting from a consciousness and lively sense of the love wherewith he has loved us, and which in theology is reckoned the third after faith and hope. 1 Cor. xiii. 13. *now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity.* This is the offspring, as it were, of faith, and the parent of good works. Gal. v. 6. *faith which worketh by love.* It is described 1 Cor. xiii. and 1 John iv. 16. *we have known and believed the love that God hath to us: God is love, and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him.*

SHED BY THE SPIRIT. Ezek. xxxvi. 27. *I will put my Spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes.* Rom. v. 5. *hope maketh not ashamed, because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us.* Gal. v. 22. *the fruit of the Spirit is love.*

WHO ARE PLANTED IN CHRIST. John xv. 4, 5. *abide in me, and I in you: as the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine, no more can ye, except ye abide in me: I am the vine, ye are the branches; he that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit: for without me ye can do nothing.* Eph. iii. 17, &c. *that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith, that ye being rooted and grounded in love,* &c.

DEAD UNTO SIN. Rom. vi. 22. *but now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto holiness.* 1 Pet. ii. 24. *that we, being dead to sins, should live unto righteousness.*

ALIVE AGAIN UNTO GOD. Rom. vi. 12, 13. *yield yourselves unto God, as those that are alive from the dead.*

SPONTANEOUSLY AND FREELY; for our own cooperation is uniformly required. Ezek. xviii. 31. *make you a new heart, and a new spirit; for why will ye die, O house of Israel?* Rom. vi. 12, 13. *let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof, neither yield ye your members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin.* xii. 2. *be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God.* 2 Cor. vii. 1. *having therefore these promises, dearly beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God.* Gal. v. 16. *walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh.* Eph. iv. 20—24. *if so be that ye have heard him, and have been taught by him, as the truth is in Jesus: that ye put off concerning the former conversation the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts, and be renewed in the spirit of your mind; and that ye put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness.* 2 Cor. vi. 1. *receive not the grace of God in vain.* Col. iii. 5, 9, 10. *mortify therefore your members which are upon the earth; fornication,* &c.—*lie not one to another, seeing that ye have put off the old man with his deeds, and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him.* 2 Tim. ii. 21. *if a man therefore purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honour, sanctified and meet for the master's use, and prepared unto every good work.* 1 John ii. 3. *hereby we do know that we know him, if we keep his commandments.* iii. 3. *every man that hath this hope in him, purifieth himself, even as he is pure.*

In consequence of this love or sanctity all believers are called SAINTS. Philipp. iv. 21, 22. *salute every saint in Christ Jesus;* and to the same effect in other passages.

The holiness of the saints is nevertheless imperfect in this life. Psal. cxliii. 2. *enter not into judgement with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified.* cxxx. 3. *if thou, Jah, shouldest mark iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand?* Prov. xx. 9. *who can say, I have made my*

heart clean, I am pure from my sin? xxiv. 16. *a just man falleth seven times, and riseth up again.* Rom. vii. 18, &c. *I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing; for to will is present with me; but how to perform that which is good, I know not.* Gal. v. 17. *the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh; and these are contrary the one to the other: so that ye cannot do the things that ye would.* James iii. 2. *in many things we offend all: if any man offend not in word, the same is a perfect man.* 1 John i. 8. *if we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.*

Thus far of newness of life and its effects. It remains to speak of THE INCREASE operated in the regenerate. This increase is either absolute, which is internal, or relative, which is external.

Absolute increase is an increase DERIVED FROM GOD THE FATHER of those gifts which we have received by regeneration and implantation in Christ. 2 Cor. x. 15. *when your faith is increased.*

DERIVED FROM GOD THE FATHER. John xv. 2. *every branch that beareth fruit, he purgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit.* Philipp. i. 3, 6. *I thank my God ..... that he which hath begun a good work in you, will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ.* 2 Thess. i. 3. *we are bound to thank God always for you, brethren, as it is meet, because that your faith groweth exceedingly, and the charity of every one of you all toward each other aboundeth.* Heb. xiii. 20, 21. *the God of peace.....make you perfect in every good work, to do his will.*

Through the Son. Heb. xiii. 21. *working in you that which is well-pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ.* xii. 2. *looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith.* So also Luke xvii. 5. *the apostles said unto the Lord, Increase our faith.*

Spiritual increase, unlike physical growth, appears to be to a certain degree in the power of the regenerate themselves. 2 Cor. iv. 16.

for which cause we faint not; but though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed day by day. Eph. iv. 15. *speaking the truth in love, may grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ.* Philipp. iii. 12. *not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect; but I follow after, if that I may apprehend that for which also I am apprehended of Christ Jesus.* Heb. v. 13, 14. *every one that useth milk is unskilful in the word of righteousness; for he is a babe: but strong meat belongeth to them that are of full age, even those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil.* 1 Pet. ii. 2. *as new born babes, desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby.* 2 Pet. iii. 18. *grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.*

Thus much of increase. With regard to perfection, although this latter is not to be expected in the present life, it is our duty to strive after it with earnestness, as the ultimate object of our existence. Matt. v. 48. *be ye therefore perfect, as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.* See also 2 Cor. xiii. 11. Col. i. 28. *that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus.* iv. 12. *that ye may stand perfect and complete in all the will of God.* James i. 4. *that ye may be perfect and entire, wanting nothing.*

Hence the struggle between the flesh and the Spirit in the regenerate. Gal. v. 16. *walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh.* 1 Tim. vi. 12. *fight the good fight of faith.* 2 Tim. iv. 7. *I have fought a good fight.* A similar struggle is maintained against the world and Satan. John vii. 7. *the world hateth me, because I testify of it, that the works thereof are evil.* xv. 18, 19. *if the world hate you, ye know that it hated me before it hated you.* See also xvii. 14. Rom. xii. 2. *be not conformed to this world.* Gal. vi. 14. *by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world.* James iv. 4. *ye adulterers and adulteresses, know ye not that the friendship of the world is enmity with God? whosoever therefore will be a friend of the world is the enemy of God.* 1 John iii. 13. *marvel not, my brethren, if the world hate you.*

There is also a victory to be gained. Rev. ii. 7. *to him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life.* v. 26. *he that overcometh ..... to him will I give power over the nations.* iii. 5. *he that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment.* v. 12. *him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God.* v. 21. *to him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame and am set down with my Father in his throne.* xxi. 7. *he that overcometh shall inherit all things, and I will be his God, and he shall be my son.* Over the world; 1 John ii. 15. and v. 4. *whatsoever is born of God overcometh the world, and this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith.* Over death; Prov. xii. 28. *in the way of righteousness is life, and in the pathway thereof there is no death.* xiv. 32. *the righteous hath hope in his death.* John viii. 51. *if a man keep my saying, he shall never see death.* Rev. ii. 11. *he that overcometh shall not be hurt of the second death.* xiv. 13. *blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth.* Over Satan; Eph. vi. 10, &c. *be strong in the Lord..... that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil:* being clothed with *the whole armour of God* to oppose him. James iv. 7. *resist the devil, and he will flee from you.* 1 John ii. 14. *ye have overcome the wicked one.* Rev. xii. 11. *they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony.*

Hence such as are strenuous in this conflict, and earnestly and unceasingly labour to attain perfection in Christ, though they be really imperfect, are yet, by imputation and through the divine mercy, frequently called in Scripture *perfect*, and *blameless*, and *without sin;* inasmuch as sin, though still dwelling in them, does not reign over them. Gen. vi. 9. *Noah was a just man and perfect in his generations.* xvii. 1. *walk before me, and be thou perfect.* 1 Kings xv. 14. *the high places were not removed; nevertheless Asa's heart was perfect with Jehovah all his days.* See also 2 Chron. xv. 17. Philipp. iii. 15. *let us therefore as many as be perfect, be thus minded.* Heb. x. 14. *by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified.* 1 John iii. 6. *whosoever abideth in him sinneth not.* See also v. 18. Coloss. ii. 2. *that their hearts*

might be comforted, being knit together in love, and unto all riches of the full assurance of understanding, to the acknowledgement of the mystery of God and of the Father, and of Christ. Eph. iii. 18, 19. *that ye being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth and length and depth and height, and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fulness of God.*

CHAP. XXII.

Of Justification.

Having considered the absolute or internal increase of the regenerate, I proceed to speak of that which is relative or external.

This increase has reference either to the Father exclusively, or to the Father and Son conjointly.

That which has reference to the Father exclusively is termed justification and adoption. Rom. viii. 30. *whom he did predestinate, them he also called, and whom he called, them he also justified—.*

Justification is the gratuitous purpose of God, whereby those who are regenerate and planted in Christ are absolved from sin and death through his most perfect satisfaction, and accounted just in the sight of God, not by the works of the law, but through faith.

The gratuitous purpose. Rom. iii. 24. *being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus.* v. 16, 17. *not as it was by one that sinned, so is the gift: for the judgement was by one to condemnation, but the free gift is of many offences unto justification: for if by one man's offence death reigned by one, much more they which receive abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness shall reign in life by one, Jesus Christ.* Tit. iii. 7. *being justified by his grace.*

Of God, that is, the Father. Rom. iii. 25, 26. *whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his*

righteousness for the remission of sins that are passed, through the forbearance of God; to declare, I say, at this time his righteousness, that he might be just, and the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus. viii. 33. *it is God that justifieth.* In the Son through the Spirit. 1 Cor. vi. 11. *but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.*

THROUGH THE SATISFACTION OF CHRIST. Isai. liii. 11. *by his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many; for he shall bear their iniquities.* Rom. v. 9. *much more then being now justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him.* v. 19. *by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous.* x. 4. *Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth.*

As therefore our sins are imputed to Christ, so the merits or righteousness of Christ are imputed to us through faith.[2] 1 Cor. i. 30. *of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption.* 2 Cor. v. 21. *he hath made him to be sin for us who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.* Rom. iv. 6. *even as David also describeth the blessedness of the man unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works.* v. 19. *for as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous.* It is evident therefore that the justification, in so far as we are concerned, is gratuitous; in so far as Christ is concerned, not gratuitous: inasmuch as Christ paid the ransom of our sins, which he took upon himself by imputation, and thus of his own accord, and at his own cost, effected their expiation; whereas man, paying nothing on his part, but merely believing, receives as a gift the imputed righteousness of Christ. Finally, the Father, appeased by this propitiation, pronounces the justification of all believers. A simpler mode of satisfaction could not have been devised, nor one more agreeable to equity.

[2] ..... His obedience
Imputed becomes theirs by faith. *Paradise Lost,* XII. 408.

Hence we are said to be *clothed* with the righteousness of Christ. Rev. xix. 8. *to her was granted that she should be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white; for the fine linen is the justification of the saints.* For the same reason we are also called the *friends* of God. James ii. 23. *Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness, and he was called the friend of God.*

ARE ABSOLVED FROM SIN AND DEATH. Acts x. 43. *to him give all the prophets witness, that through his name whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins.* xxvi. 18. *that they may receive forgiveness of sins and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith which is in me.* Rom. v. 18. *by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life.* viii. 1. *there is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.* v. 34. *who is he that condemneth? it is Christ that died—.* Coloss. ii. 14. *blotting out the hand-writing of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross.* Even from the greatest sins. 1. Cor. vi. 9—11. *neither fornicators, nor idolaters, ...* &c. *and such were some of you; but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified.* Jer. l. 20. *in that time, saith Jehovah, the iniquity of Israel shall be sought for, and there shall be none; and the sins of Judah, and they shall not be found; for I will pardon them whom I reserve.* Isai. i. 18. *though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow.*

ACCOUNTED JUST IN THE SIGHT OF GOD. Eph. v. 27. *that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish.* On the same principle the faithful both before and under the law were accounted just; Abel, Gen. iv. 4. Enoch, v. 24. Noah, vi. 8. and vii. 1. and many others enumerated Heb. xi. Nor is it in any other sense that we are said *not to sin*, except as our sins are not imputed unto us through Christ.

NOT BY WORKS OF THE LAW, BUT THROUGH FAITH. Gen. xv. 6. *Abraham believed in Jehovah, and he counted it to him for righteousness.* Habak. ii. 4. *the just shall live by his faith.* John vi. 29. *this is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent.* Acts xiii. 39. *by him all that believe are justified from all things from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses.* Rom. iii. 20—23. *therefore by the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in his sight: for by the law is the knowledge of sin; but now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets; even the righteousness of God which is by faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all them that believe: for there is no difference: for all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God.* v. 27, 28. *where is boasting then? it is excluded: by what law? of works? nay, but by the law of faith: therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law.* v. 30. *seeing it is one God which shall justify the circumcision by faith, and uncircumcision through faith.* iv. 2—8. *for if Abraham were justified by works, he hath whereof to glory, but not before God: for what saith the Scripture? Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness: now to him that worketh, is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt: but to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness: even as David also describeth the blessedness of the man, unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works, saying, Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered: blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin.* ix. 30—33. *what shall we say then? that .... Israel, which followed after the law of righteousness, hath not attained to the law of righteousness: wherefore? because they sought it not by faith, but as it were by the works of the law: for they stumbled at that stumbling-stone.* Gal. ii. 16. *knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, even we have believed in Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law, for by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified.* v. 21. *I do not frustrate the grace of God; for if righteousness come by the law, then Christ is dead in vain.* iii. 8—12.

the Scripture foreseeing that God would justify the heathen through faith, preached before the gospel unto Abraham, saying, In thee shall all nations be blessed: so then they which be of faith, are blessed with faithful Abraham: for as many as are of the works of the law are under the curse; for it is written, Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them: but that no man is justified by the law in the sight of God, it is evident; for, The just shall live by faith: and the law is not of faith, but, The man that doeth them shall live in them. Philipp. iii. 9. *that I may be found in him, not having mine own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith.* Heb. xi. 4, &c. *by faith Abel offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain.* Eph. ii. 8, 9. *that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast.* Throughout the whole of this multitude of passages we are said to be justified by faith, and through faith, and of faith; whether through faith as an instrument, according to the common doctrine, or in any other sense, is not said. Undoubtedly, if to believe be to act, faith is an action, or rather a frame of mind acquired and confirmed by a succession of actions, although in the first instance infused from above; and by this faith we are justified, as declared in the numerous texts above quoted. An action, however, is generally considered in the light of an effect, not of an instrument; or perhaps it may be more properly designated as the less principal cause. On the other hand, if faith be not in any degree acquired, but wholly infused from above, there will be the less hesitation in admitting it as the cause of our justification.

An important question here arises, which is discussed with much vehemence by the advocates on both sides; namely, whether faith alone justifies? Our divines answer in the affirmative; adding, that works are the effects of faith, not the cause of justification, Rom. iii. 24, 27, 28. Gal. ii. 16. as above. Others contend that justification is not by faith alone, on the authority of James ii. 24. *by works a man is justified, and not by faith only.* As however the two opinions appear at first sight

inconsistent with each other, and incapable of being maintained together, the advocates of the former, to obviate the difficulty arising from the passage of James, allege that the apostle is speaking of justification in the sight of men, not in the sight of God. But whoever reads attentively from the fourteenth verse to the end of the chapter, will see that the apostle is expressly treating of justification in the sight of God. For the question there at issue relates to the faith which profits, and which is a living and saving faith; consequently it cannot relate to that which justifies only in the sight of men, inasmuch as this latter may be hypocritical. When therefore the apostle says that we are justified by works, and not by faith only, he is speaking of the faith which profits, and which is a true, living, and saving faith. Considering then that the apostles, who treat this point of our religion with particular attention, nowhere, in summing up their doctrine, use words implying that a man is justified by faith alone, but generally conclude as follows, that *a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law,* Rom. iii. 28. I am at a loss to conjecture why our divines should have narrowed the terms of the apostolical conclusion. Had they not so done, the declaration in the one text, that *by faith a man is justified without the deeds of the law,* would have appeared perfectly consistent with that in the other, *by works a man is justified, and not by faith only.* For Paul does not say simply that a man is justified without works, but *without the works of the law;* nor yet by faith alone, but *by faith which worketh by love,* Gal. v. 6. Faith has its own works, which may be different from the works of the law. We are justified therefore by faith, but by a living, not a dead faith; and that faith alone which acts is accounted living; James ii. 17, 20, 26. Hence we are justified by faith without the works of the law, but not without the works of faith; inasmuch as a living and true faith cannot consist without works, though these latter may differ from the works of the written law. Such were those of Abraham and Rahab, the two examples cited by James in illustration of the works of faith, when the former was prepared to offer up his son, and the latter sheltered the spies of the Israelites. To these may be added the instance of Phinehas, whose action *was counted unto him for righteousness,* Psal.

cvi. 31. the very same words being used as in the case of Abraham, whose *faith was reckoned to him for righteousness,* Gen. xv. 6. Rom. iv. 9. Nor will it be denied that Phinehas was justified in the sight of God rather than of men, and that his work recorded Numb. xxv. 11, 12. was a work of faith, not of the law. Phinehas therefore was justified not by faith alone, but also by the works of faith. The principle of this doctrine will be developed more fully hereafter, when the subjects of the gospel and of Christian liberty are considered.

This interpretation, however, affords no countenance to the doctrine of human merit, inasmuch as both faith itself and its works are the works of the Spirit, not our own. Eph. ii. 8—10. *by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God; not of works, lest any man should boast: for we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them.* In this passage the works of which a man may boast are distinguished from those which do not admit of boasting, namely, the works of faith. So Rom. iii. 27, 28. *where is boasting then? it is excluded: by what law? of works? nay, but by the law of faith.* Now what is the law of faith, but the works of faith? Hence, wherever after *works* the words *of the law* are omitted, as in Rom. iv. 2. we must supply either *the works of the law,* or, as in the present passage, *of the flesh,* with reference to xi. 1. (not *of the law,* since the apostle is speaking of Abraham, who lived before the law). Otherwise Paul would contradict himself as well as James; he would contradict himself, in saying that Abraham had whereof to glory through any works whatever, whereas he had declared in the preceding chapter, v. 27, 28. that *by the law of faith,* that is, *by the works of faith, boasting was excluded;* he would expressly contradict James, who affirms, as above, that *by works a man is justified, and not by faith only;* unless the expression be understood to mean the works of faith, not the works of the law. Compare Rom. iv. 13. *not through the law, but through the righteousness of faith.* In the same sense is to be understood Matt. v. 20. *except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees,*

ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven; whereas their righteousness was of the exactest kind according to the law. James i. 25. *being not a forgetful hearer, but a doer of the work, this man shall be blessed.* Heb. xii. 14. *follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord.* Hence perhaps Rev. ii. 26. *he that keepeth my words to the end, to him will I give power—.* 1 John iii. 7. *little children, let no man deceive you; he that doeth righteousness, is righteous.*

Nor does this doctrine derogate in any degree from Christ's satisfaction; inasmuch as, our faith being imperfect, the works which proceed from it cannot be pleasing to God, except in so far as they rest upon his mercy and the righteousness of Christ, and are sustained by that foundation alone. Philipp. iii. 9. *that I may be found of him, not having mine own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith.* Tit. iii. 5—7. *not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour; that being justified by his grace, we should be made heirs—.* 1 John ii. 29. *ye know that every one that doeth righteousness is born of him.*

The Papists argue, that it is no less absurd to say that a man is justified by the righteousness of another, than that a man is learned by the learning of another. But there is no analogy between the two cases, inasmuch as mankind are not one with each other in the same intimate manner as the believer is one with Christ his head. In the mean time they do not perceive the real and extreme absurdity of which they are themselves guilty, in supposing that the righteousness of the dead, or of monks, can be imputed to others.

They likewise contend, on the authority of a few passages of Scripture, that man is justified by his own works. Psal. xviii. 20, 24.

Jehovah rewarded me according to my righteousness. Rom. ii. 6. *who will render to every man according to his deeds.* But to render to every man *according to his deeds* is one thing, to render to him *on account of his deeds* is another; nor does it follow from hence that works have any inherent justifying power, or deserve anything as of their own merit; seeing that, if we do anything right, or if God assign any recompense to our right actions, it is altogether owing to his grace. Hence the expression in the preceding verse of the same Psalm, *he delivered me, because he delighted in me;* and Psal. lxii. 12. *unto thee, O Lord, belongeth mercy, for thou renderest to every man according to his work.* Finally, the same Psalmist who attributes to himself righteousness, attributes to himself iniquity in the same sentence; xviii. 23. *I was also upright before him, and I kept myself from mine iniquity.*

As to the expression in Matt. xxv. 34, 35. *inherit the kingdom ...for I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat,* &c. our answer is, that the sentence which Christ shall pass on that day will not have respect to faith, which is the internal cause of justification, but to the effects and signs of that faith, namely, the works done in faith, that he may thereby make the equity of his judgement manifest to all mankind.

When a man is said to be perfect and just in the sight of God, as Luke i. 6. of Zacharias and his wife, *they were both righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord, blameless,* this is to be understood according to the measure of human righteousness, and as compared with the progress of others; or it may mean that they were endued with a sincere and upright heart, without dissimulation, (as Deut. xviii. 13. *thou shalt be perfect with Jehovah thy God*) which interpretation seems to be favoured by the expression *in the sight of God.* Gen. xvii. 1. *walk before me, and be thou perfect.* Psal. xix. 13. *keep back thy servant also from presumptuous sins, let them not have dominion over me; then shall I be upright, and I shall be innocent from the great transgression.* Eph. i. 4. *he hath chosen us...that we should be holy and without blame before him in love.*

Or, lastly, it may mean that they were declared righteous by God through grace and faith. Thus Noah *found grace in the eyes of Jehovah,* Gen. vi. 8. compared with v. 9. *Noah was a just man and perfect in his generations, and Noah walked with God,* and Heb. xi. 7. *he became heir of the righteousness which is by faith.*

With regard to Luke vii. 47. *her sins, which are many, are forgiven, for she loved much,* it is to be observed that this love was not the cause, but the token or effect of forgiveness, as is evident from the parable itself, v. 40. for the debtors were not forgiven because they had loved much, but they loved much because much had been forgiven. The same appears from what follows; *to whom little is forgiven, the same loveth little;* and still more plainly from v. 50. *thy faith hath saved thee.* That which saved, the same also justified; namely, not love, but faith, which was itself the cause of the love in question. Compare Book II. Chap. i. on the subject of merit.

From a consciousness of justification proceed peace and real tranquillity of mind. Rom. v. 1, &c. *being justified by faith, we have peace with God.* 1 Cor. vii. 15. *God hath called us to peace.* Philipp. iv. 7. *the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, shall keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus.* Coloss. iii. 15. *let the peace of God rule in your hearts, to the which also ye are called in one body.* This is that peace for which the apostles pray in their salutations addressed to the church.

CHAP. XXIII.

OF

ADOPTION.

WE have considered JUSTIFICATION, the first of those particulars connected with the increase of the regenerate which bear reference to the Father; that which remains to be treated of is ADOPTION.

ADOPTION is that act whereby GOD ADOPTS AS HIS CHILDREN THOSE WHO ARE JUSTIFIED THROUGH FAITH.

In one sense we are by nature sons of God, as well as the angels, inasmuch as he is the author of our being; Luke iii. 38. *which was the son of Adam, which was the son of God.* But the sense here intended is that of adopted children, such as those probably were, though in profession only, who are mentioned Gen. vi. 2. *the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair.*[3] 1 Chron. xxviii. 6. *I have chosen him to be my son, and I will be his father.* Isai. lvi. 5. *I will give them a name better than of sons and of daughters; I will give them an everlasting name, that shall not be cut off.*

[3] This interpretation of the passage, which is now generally received, is adopted in the eleventh Book of Paradise Lost:

> To these that sober race of men, whose lives
> Religious titled them the sons of God,
> Shall yield up all their virtue. 621.

But elsewhere Milton understands it of the fallen angels becoming enamoured of the daughters of men:

> Before the flood thou with thy lusty crew,
> False titled sons of God, roaming the earth,
> Cast wanton eyes on the daughters of men. *Paradise Regained,* II. 179.

Compare also *Paradise Lost,* III. 463. V. 447.

THROUGH FAITH. John i. 12. *as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name.* Gal. iii. 26. *ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus.* Eph. i. 5. *having predestinated us into the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to himself, according to the good pleasure of his will.* Heb. ii. 10. *for it became him for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings.* Gal. iv. 4—6. *God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons; and because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father.*

HIS CHILDREN. Rom. viii. 15, 16. *ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear, but ye have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father: the Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God.* v. 23. *waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body.* Philipp. ii. 15. *that ye may be blameless and harmless, the sons of God.* 1 John iii. 1, 2. *behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God.* We are also said to be *like God,* v. 2. and chap. iv. 17. *herein is our love made perfect, that we may have boldness in the day of judgement; because as he is, so are we in this world.*

From adoption is derived, first, liberty;[4] a privilege which, in virtue of their title as children of God, was not unknown to the posterity of Abraham, Deut. xiv. 1. even under the law of bondage. In the spirit of this liberty, they did not scruple even to infringe the ceremonies of religion, when their observance would have been inconsistent with the law of love. Thus they did not circumcise *all the people that were born in the wilderness by the way,* Josh. v. 5. and David *when he was an*

[4] 'I will now show the wrong it doth, by violating the fundamental privilege of the gospel, the new birthright of every true believer, christian liberty.' *Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes.* Prose Works, IV. 337. .... 'that they meddle not rashly with christian liberty, the birthright and outward testimony of our adoption.' *Ibid.* 341.

hungred, did eat that which was not lawful for him to eat, Matt. xii. 4. compared with 1 Sam. xxi. 6.[5] Psal. cxix. 45. *I will walk at liberty, for I seek thy precepts.* But the clearer and more perfect light in which liberty, like adoption itself, has been unfolded by the gospel, renders it necessary to reserve the fuller exposition of this privilege to that part of our work in which the subject of the Gospel is considered.

By adoption we are also made heirs through Christ. Gal. iii. 29. *if ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise.* iv. 7. *wherefore thou art no more a servant, but a son; and if a son, then an heir of God through Christ.* Rom. viii. 17. *if children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ.* Tit. iii. 7. *that being justified by his grace, we should be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life.* 1 Pet. iii. 9. *knowing that ye are thereunto called, that ye should inherit a blessing.* This also confers the title of *first-born.* Heb. xii. 22, 23. *ye are come.....to the general assembly and church of the first-born.* And of *brethren of Christ.* Heb. ii. 11, 12. *for which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren, saying, I will declare thy name unto my brethren.* Hence we are said to be *of the household of God.* Eph. ii. 19. *now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow citizens with the saints, and of the household of God.* Hence even the angels minister unto us. Heb. i. 14. *are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them that shall be heirs of salvation?*

Lastly, we become sons of God by a new generation; by the assumption, as it were, of a new nature, and by a conformity to his glory: Luke xx. 36. *they are equal unto the angels, and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection.*

[5] 'The Scripture also affords us David in the shewbread, Hezekiah in the passover, sound and safe transgressors of the literal command, which also dispensed not seldom with itself, and taught us on what just occasions to do so; until our Saviour, for whom that great and godlike work was reserved, redeemed us to a state above prescriptions, by dissolving the whole law into charity.' *Tetrachordon.* Prose Works, II. 121. 'Justice and religion are from the same God, and works of justice ofttimes more acceptable.' *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates,* II. 291.

CHAP. XXIV.

OF UNION AND FELLOWSHIP WITH CHRIST AND HIS MEMBERS,

WHEREIN IS CONSIDERED THE MYSTICAL OR INVISIBLE CHURCH.

HITHERTO the increase of the regenerate has been considered in its relation to the Father alone. We are now to consider that increase which has reference to the Father and Son conjointly.

This consists in our UNION and FELLOWSHIP with the Father through Christ the Son, and our glorification after the image of Christ.

Of this union and fellowship mention is made John xiv. 20. *at that day ye shall know that I am in my Father, and ye in me, and I in you.* v. 23. *if a man love me, he will keep my words, and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him.* xvii. 21—23. *that they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us.....and the glory which thou gavest me I have given them, that they may be one, even as we are one; I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one.* 1 Cor. vi. 17. *he that is joined to the Lord, is one spirit.* 1 John ii. 23. *whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father; but he that acknowledgeth the Son, hath the Father also.* iii. 24. *he that keep-*

eth his commandments dwelleth in him, and he in him: and hereby we know that he abideth in us, by the Spirit which he hath given us. i. 3, 6, 7. *truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ: if we say that we have fellowship with him, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth; but if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another.* iv. 13, 15, 16. *hereby know we that we dwell in him, and he in us, because he hath given us of his Spirit: whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God: and we have known and believed the love that God hath to us: God is love, and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him.*

THE FELLOWSHIP arising from this union consists in a participation, through the Spirit, of the various gifts and merits of Christ. John vi. 56. *he that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.* Rom. viii. 9. *if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.* v. 32. *how shall he not with him also freely give us all things?* 1 Cor. i. 9. *God is faithful, by whom ye were called unto the fellowship of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord.* Eph. iii. 17. *that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith.* Rev. iii. 20. *if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and sup with him, and he with me.* 2 Cor. xiii. 14. *the communion of the Holy Ghost.*

From this our fellowship with Christ arises the mutual fellowship of the members of Christ's body among themselves, called in the Apostles' Creed THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS. Rom. xii. 4, 5. *for as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office; so we, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another.* 1 Cor. xii. 12, 13. *as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body, so also is Christ: for by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one Spirit.* v. 27. *ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular.*

Lastly, from this union and fellowship of the regenerate with the Father and Christ, and of the members of Christ's body among themselves, results the mystical body called THE INVISIBLE CHURCH, whereof Christ is the head. 1 Thess. i. 1. *unto the church of the Thessalonians which is in God the Father, and in the Lord Jesus Christ.* See also 2 Thess. i. 1. John xi. 52. *not for that nation only, but that also he should gather together in one the children of God that were scattered abroad.* 2 Cor. vi. 16. *ye are the temple of the living God.* Gal. iv. 26. *Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all.* Eph. i. 22, 23. *he gave him to be the head over all things to the church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all.* iv. 13, 15, 16. *till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ; that we may grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ; from whom the whole body fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love.* v. 23. *Christ is the head of the church, and he is the Saviour of the body.* Col. i. 18, 19. *he is the head of the body, the church.* ii. 19. *not holding the head, from which all the body by joints and bands having nourishment ministered, and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God.* i. 24. *for his body's sake, which is the church.* Heb. iii. 6. *Christ as a son over his own house, whose house are we.* xii. 22, 23. *ye are come unto Mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of the first-born, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect.*

Seeing then that the body of Christ is mystically one, it follows that the fellowship of his members must also be mystical, and not confined to place or time, inasmuch as it is composed of individuals of widely separated countries, and of all ages from the foundation of the world. Rom. ii. 29. *he is a Jew which is one inwardly, and circumcision is that*

of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God. Eph. ii. 19—22. *now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow citizens with the saints, and of the household of God; and are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone; in whom all the building fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord: in whom ye also are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit.* Col. ii. 5. *though I be absent in the flesh, yet am I with you in the spirit, joying and beholding your order, and the stedfastness of your faith in Christ.*

The love of Christ towards his invisible and spotless Church is described by the appropriate figure of conjugal love.[6] Rev. xix. 7. *the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready.*

Christ is also called *the Shepherd,* by reason of his protecting and teaching the church. John x. 14. *I am the good shepherd.* v. 16. *there shall be one fold, and one shepherd.* Heb. xiii. 20. *now the God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant—.* 1 Pet. v. 4. *when the chief shepherd shall appear—.*

[6] 'Marriage, which is the nearest resemblance of our union with Christ—.' *Tetrachordon.* Prose Works, II. 138. 'Marriage, which is the dearest league of love, and the dearest resemblance of that love which in Christ is dearest to his Church.' *Reply to an Answer against the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce.* Ibid. 255.

CHAP. XXV.

Of

Imperfect Glorification,

wherein are considered

the Doctrines

of

Assurance and Final Perseverance.

Of that increase which has reference to the Father and Son conjointly, the remaining part is Glorification.

Glorification is either IMPERFECT or PERFECT.

IMPERFECT GLORIFICATION is that state wherein, being JUSTIFIED AND ADOPTED BY GOD THE FATHER, WE ARE FILLED WITH A CONSCIOUSNESS OF PRESENT GRACE AND EXCELLENCY, AS WELL AS WITH AN EXPECTATION OF FUTURE GLORY, INSOMUCH THAT OUR BLESSEDNESS IS IN A MANNER ALREADY BEGUN. John xvii. 22. *the glory which thou gavest me, I have given them.*

St. Paul traces this glorification by progressive steps, from its original source in the prescience of God himself: Rom. viii. 29, 30. *whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son.....moreover, whom he did predestinate, them he also called; and whom he called, them he also justified; and whom he justified, them he also glorified.* xv. 7. *receive ye one another, as Christ also received us*

to the glory of God. Eph. i. 3. *blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ.* iii. 17—19. *that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height, and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fulness of God.* 1 Thess. ii. 12. *that ye would walk worthy of God, who hath called you unto his kingdom and glory.* 2 Thess. ii. 14. *whereunto he called you by our gospel, to the obtaining of the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ.* 1 Pet. v. 10. *who hath called us unto his eternal glory by Christ Jesus.* 2 Pet. i. 3. *that hath called us to glory and virtue.*

OUR BLESSEDNESS IS IN A MANNER ALREADY BEGUN. Matt. v. 3, &c. *blessed are the poor in spirit, for their's is the kingdom of heaven.*

Both regeneration and increase are accompanied by confirmation, or preservation in the faith, which is also the work of God. 1 Cor. i. 8. *who shall also confirm you unto the end, that ye may be blameless in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ.* 2 Cor. i. 21, 22. *now he which stablisheth us with you in Christ, and hath anointed us, is God; who hath also sealed us, and given us the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts.* Eph. iii. 16. *that he would grant you according to the riches of his glory to be strengthened with might by his Spirit in the inner man.* 1 Pet. v. 10. *the God of all grace, who hath called us ..... make you perfect, stablish, strengthen, settle you.* Jude 24. *unto him that is able to keep you from falling, and to present you faultless before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy.*

These three, *regeneration, increase,* and *preservation in the faith,* considered as proximate causes on the part of God, and their effects, as *faith, love,* &c. considered as proximate causes on the part of man, or as acting in man, produce ASSURANCE OF SALVATION, and THE FINAL PERSEVERANCE OF THE SAINTS.

On the part of God, however, the primary or more remote cause is his predestination or election of believers. Rom. viii. 30. *whom he did predestinate,* &c. as quoted above. xi. 29. *the gifts and calling of God are without repentance.* Heb. vi. 17, 18. *wherein God, willing more abundantly to show unto the heirs of promise the immutability of his counsel, confirmed it by an oath; that by two immutable things, in which it was impossible for God to lie, we might have a strong consolation,* &c. 2 Pet. i. 4. *whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises; that by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature.*

Hence ASSURANCE OF SALVATION IS A CERTAIN DEGREE OR GRADATION OF FAITH, WHEREBY A MAN HAS A FIRM PERSUASION AND CONVICTION, FOUNDED ON THE TESTIMONY OF THE SPIRIT, THAT IF HE BELIEVE AND CONTINUE IN FAITH AND LOVE, HAVING BEEN JUSTIFIED AND ADOPTED, AND PARTLY GLORIFIED BY UNION AND FELLOWSHIP WITH CHRIST AND THE FATHER, HE WILL AT LENGTH MOST CERTAINLY ATTAIN TO EVERLASTING LIFE AND THE CONSUMMATION OF GLORY.

HAS A FIRM PERSUASION; or, to speak more properly, ought, and is entitled to have a firm persuasion. 2 Pet. i. 10. *wherefore the rather, brethren, give diligence to make your calling and election sure,* that is, the fruit of your calling and election, eternal life; for the calling itself cannot be made more sure, inasmuch as it is already past; but this is of no avail, unless we give diligence to make both sure. It follows, that, as far as this depends upon ourselves, it must be in our own power to make it sure.

IF HE BELIEVE. John iii. 16. *that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.* See also vi. 47. Rom. v. 2. *by whom also we have access by faith into this grace wherein we stand, and rejoice in hope of the glory of God.* 2 Cor. xiii. 5. *examine yourselves whether ye be in the faith; prove your own selves: know ye not your own*

selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates? But *Christ dwells in our hearts by faith,* Eph. iii. 17. Hence we are enjoined to prove our faith, lest we should be reprobates; not our election, which cannot be sure without faith.

CONTINUE IN FAITH AND LOVE. Heb. vi. 18—20. *that we might have a strong consolation who have fled for refuge to lay hold upon the hope set before us; which hope we have as an anchor of the soul both sure and stedfast, and which entereth into that within the veil.* x. 22, 23. *let us draw near with a true heart, in full assurance of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water: let us hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering.* 2 Pet. i. 9—11. *he that lacketh these things, is blind, and cannot see afar off, and hath forgotten that he was purged from his old sins: wherefore the rather, brethren,* &c. .....*for so an entrance shall be ministered unto you abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.* 1 John iii. 14. *we know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren.* iv. 18. *there is no fear in love, but perfect love casteth out fear.* Rev. ii. 17. *to him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it.* Here each is represented as receiving the stone, or pledge of election, after he has individually obtained the victory.

HAVING BEEN JUSTIFIED. Rom. v. 9, 10. *much more then, being now justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him: for if when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life.* We are only justified, however, through faith.

ADOPTED. Rom. viii. 15, 16. *ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear, but ye have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father.*

On the testimony of the Spirit. Rom. viii. 16. *the Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God.* Eph. i. 13, 14. *in whom ye also trusted after that ye heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation; in whom also, after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance until the redemption of the purchased possession, unto the praise of his glory.* iv. 30. *grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption.* 1 Thess. v. 19. *quench not the Spirit.* Certainly, if we grieve the Holy Spirit, if we quench that by which we were sealed, we must at the same time quench the assurance of our salvation.

This assurance of salvation produces a joy unspeakable. John xv. 10, 11. *ye shall abide in my love..... these things have I spoken unto you, that my joy might remain in you, and that your joy might be full.* Rom. xiv. 17. *the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.* 1 Pet. i. 8, 9. *in whom, though now ye see him not, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory; receiving the end of your faith, even the salvation of your souls.*

The final perseverance of the saints is the gift of God who preserves them, whereby they who are foreknown, elect and born again, and sealed by the Holy Spirit, persevere to the end in the faith and grace of God, and never entirely fall away through any power or malice of the devil or the world, so long as nothing is wanting on their own parts, and they continue to the utmost in the maintenance of faith and love.

The gift of God's preserving power. Psal. xxvi. 1. *I have trusted in Jehovah, therefore I shall not slide.* Luke xxii. 32. *I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not.* John vi. 37. *all that the Father giveth me shall come to me; and him that cometh to me I will in nowise*

cast out. Rom. v. 5. *hope maketh not ashamed, because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us.* Jude 1. *preserved in Jesus Christ.*

FOREKNOWN. 2 Tim. ii. 19. *the foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are his; and, Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity.*

BORN AGAIN. John viii. 35. *the servant abideth not in the house for ever; but the Son abideth ever.*

THROUGH ANY POWER OR MALICE OF THE DEVIL OR THE WORLD. Matt. xxiv. 24. *insomuch that if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect.* John x. 28, 29. *neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand: my Father which gave them me is greater than all, and no man is able to pluck them out of my Father's hand.* xvii. 15. *that thou shouldest keep them from the evil.* Rom. viii. 35, 38, 39. *who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? for I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.*

SO LONG AS NOTHING IS WANTING ON THEIR OWN PARTS. In adding this limitation, I was influenced by what I had observed to be the uniform tenor of Scripture. Psal. cxxv. 1, 2. *they that trust in Jehovah shall be as mount Sion, which cannot be removed, but abideth for ever.* 2 Chron. xv. 2. *Jehovah is with you, while ye be with him; and if ye seek him, he will be found of you; but if ye forsake him, he will forsake you.* Jer. xxxii. 40. *I will make an everlasting covenant with them, that I will not turn away from them to do them good; but I will put my fear in their hearts, that they shall not depart from me.* In promising to *put his fear in their hearts, that they shall not depart from him,* God merely engages to perform what is requisite on his part,

namely, to bestow such a supply of grace as should be sufficient, if properly employed, to retain them in his way. At the same time he enters into a covenant with them. Now a covenant implies certain conditions to be performed, not by one, but by both the parties. *They shall not depart from me;* that is, from my external worship, as the whole of the context shows, from the thirty-seventh verse to the end of the chapter, compared with the twentieth and twenty-first verses of the following; *if ye can break my covenant of the day....then may also my covenant be broken with David my servant...and with the Levites.* Lastly, it appears that these very persons, in whose hearts he promised to put his fear that they should not depart from him, did actually so depart; for the same promise is made to their children, chap. xxxii. 39. The event therefore proved, that although God had according to compact put his fear into their hearts to the very end that they should not depart, they nevertheless departed through their own fault and depravity. Moreover, the words are addressed to, and include, the whole nation; but the whole nation was not elect; it follows therefore that the passage cannot refer to the elect exclusively, as is contended. Ezek. xi. 19—21. *I will give them one heart, and I will put a new spirit within you; and I will take the stony heart out of their flesh....that they may walk in my statutes;....but as for them whose heart walketh after the heart of their detestable things and their abominations, I will recompense their way upon their own heads.* Matt. vii. 24, 25. *whosoever heareth these sayings of mine and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man that built his house upon the rock.* John iv. 14. *whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him....it shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life.* vi. 51. *if any man eat of this bread he shall live for ever.* 1 Cor. x. 12. *let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.* Philipp. ii. 12. *work out your own salvation with fear and trembling.* 1 John ii. 17. *he that doeth the will of God, abideth for ever.* v. 28. *abide in him, that when he shall appear, we may have confidence, and not be ashamed before him at his coming.*

CONTINUE TO THE UTMOST IN THE MAINTENANCE OF FAITH AND LOVE. This clause is subjoined for the same reason as the former. John

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY CALIFORNIA.

xv. 2. *every branch in me that beareth not fruit he taketh away.* v. 6. *if a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered, and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned.* v. 10. *if ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love, even as I have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in his love.* Rom. xi. 20. *because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith.* v. 22. *behold therefore the goodness and severity of God; on them which fell, severity; but toward thee, goodness, if thou continue in his goodness; otherwise thou also shalt be cut off.* Thus the gifts of God are said to be *without repentance,* v. 29. inasmuch as he did not repent of his promise to Abraham and his seed, although the greater part of them had revolted; but it does not follow that he did not change his purpose towards those, who had first changed theirs towards him. 2 Cor. i. 24. *by faith ye stand.* Eph. iii. 17. *being rooted and grounded in love.* 1 Pet. i. 5. *who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation.* 2 Pet. i. 5—10. *beside this, giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue.....for if these things be in you, and abound, they make you that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful.....for if ye do these things, ye shall never fall.* That a real believer, however, may fall irrecoverably, the same apostle shows, chap. ii. 18. *they allure through the lusts of the flesh, through much wantonness, those that were clean escaped from them who live in error;* if indeed this be the right reading, and not, as others contend, *escaped a little:*[7] not to mention, that it appears doubtful whether *the knowledge of the Lord* should be understood here of a saving faith, and not of an historical only; and whether their escape *from the pollutions of the world* implies a truly regenerate and Christian purity of life, and not a mere outward and philosophical morality: so that from this passage nothing certain can be inferred. The text in Ezekiel, xviii. 26. is clearer; *when a righteous man*

[7] The Alexandrian MS. here reads ὀλίγως, *a little,* instead of ὄντως. Other MSS. read ὀλίγον, and the Vulgate *paululum.* Wetstein's note upon the passage gives a full view of the various readings, and the authorities on which they rest. ʻὀλίγως A. B. 8, 9, 19. in ora 25. Editio *Colinæi.* Versio *Vulg. Syr.* utraque. *Copt. Æthiop. Ephrem.* prob. *S. Castalione, T. A. Bengelio.* ὀλίγον 32, 42. Editio *Complut. Plant. Genev.* ὄντας 40. ὀλίγου *D. Heinsius.* οὕτως *Erasmi.* οἰνοφλυγοῦντας *R. Bentleius.*'

turneth away from his righteousness ... he shall die. The righteousness here intended must necessarily be true righteousness, being that from which whosoever turns shall die. But, it is replied, the event is conditional, *if he turneth away;* which, on our hypothesis, will never happen. I answer, first, that the Hebrew does not express any condition, and, secondly, that if it were so, an absurd and impracticable condition is inconsistent with the character of God. Two suppositions, both of them equally possible, are here made; v. 21. *if the wicked will turn from all his sins;* v. 26. *when a righteous man turneth away from his righteousness;* hence v. 25. *is not the way of the Lord equal?* The same mode of reasoning occurs again xxxiii. 12, 13, &c. Paul was a true believer, and yet he says, 1 Cor. ix. 27. *I keep under my body and bring it into subjection, lest that by any means when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway.* The apostle to the Hebrews, vi. 4—6. seems also to speak of the possible final apostasy of the real believer, if the concluding clause of the passage be attentively considered: *if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance;* for the state described in the fourth and fifth verses, and from which they are represented as having fallen, can scarcely have been other than a regenerate state. Christ therefore prayed to the Father that the faith of Peter might not fail, Luke xxii. 32. For it was possible for his faith to fail through his own fault, without any failure in the ordinary gifts of God's grace; wherefore Christ prayed, not that the grace of God, but that the faith of Peter, might not fail; which was to be dreaded at that time, unless he were strengthened by an extraordinary effusion of the grace of God at the request of Christ, 1 Tim. i. 19. *holding faith and a good conscience, which some having put away, concerning faith have made shipwreck.* It cannot be doubted that the faith and good conscience which some had put away, as well as the faith concerning which some had made shipwreck, was genuine.

Accordingly, not the elect, but those who continue to the end, are said to obtain salvation. Matt. xxiv. 12, 13. *the love of many shall wax cold; but he that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved.* See also x. 22. Heb. iii. 6. *whose house are we, if we hold fast the confidence*

and the rejoicing of the hope even to the end. v. 14. *we are made partakers of Christ, if we hold the beginning of our confidence steadfast unto the end.* 1 John ii. 24. *if that which ye have heard from the beginning shall remain in you, ye also shall continue in the Son.* Rev. ii. 10. *be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.* iii. 11. *hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown.* John viii. 31. *if ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed.* From this last passage, however, our opponents draw the inverse inference, *if ye be my disciples indeed, ye will continue;* in other words, your continuance will be a proof of your being really my disciples; in support of which they quote 1 John ii. 19. *if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us; but they went out, that it might be made manifest that they were not all of his.* I reply, that these texts do not contradict each other, inasmuch as the apostle is not here laying down a rule applicable to believers in general, formally deduced from necessary causes; but merely giving his judgement concerning certain antichrists, which judgement, according to a common practice, he had formed from the event. He does not say, therefore, *if they had been of us, it was impossible but that they should have continued with us,* nor does he mention the causes of this impossibility; but he merely says, *they would have continued.* His argument is as follows; since it is very rare that a true disciple does not continue in the faith, it is natural to suppose that they would have continued in it, if they had been true disciples. But *they went out from us.* Why? Not to show that true believers could never depart from the faith, but that all who walked with the apostles were not true believers, inasmuch as true believers very rarely acted as they had done. In the same way it might be said of an individual, 'if he had been a real friend, he would never have been unfaithful;' not because it is impossible that a real friend should ever be unfaithful, but because the case very seldom happens.[8] That the apostle could not have intended to lay down a rule of universal application,

[8] 'Sed inquies, vulgo dicitur de amico, eum nunquam fuisse verum amicum, qui tandem desiit esse. Respondeo, id non esse usquequaque et semper verum. Potest forsan id de aliquibus dici, sed non de omnibus,' &c. Curcellæi *Instit.* VII. 10, 12.

will be shown by inverting the hypothesis; *if they had continued, they would no doubt have been of us;* whereas many hypocrites continue in outward communion with the church even till their death, and never go out from it. As therefore those who continue are not known to be real believers simply from their continuing, so neither are those who do not continue proved thereby never to have been real believers; this only is certain, that when they went out from the church, they were not then real believers. For neither does Christ, with whom John undoubtedly agreed, argue thus, *ye are my disciples indeed, if ye continue in my word,* but thus; *if ye continue indeed* (for this latter word must be taken with both members of the sentence) *then will ye be indeed my disciples;* therefore, *if ye do not continue, ye will not be my disciples.*

It is said, however, in the same epistle, chap. iii. 9. *whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin, because he is born of God;* from which they argue as follows; if he cannot sin, much less can he depart from the faith. We are not at liberty, however, thus to separate a particular verse from its context, without carefully comparing its meaning with other verses of the same chapter and epistle, as well as with texts bearing on the same subject in other parts of Scripture; lest the apostle should be made to contradict either himself, or the other sacred writers. He is declaring, in the verse above quoted, the strength of that internal aid with which God has provided us against sin; having previously explained what is required on our own part, v. 3. *every man that hath this hope in him, purifieth himself, even as he is pure.* He recurs again to the same point v. 10. *in this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil: whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God, neither he that loveth not his brother.* iv. 16. *God is love, and he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him.* v. 18. *whosoever is born of God, sinneth not, but he that is begotten of God keepeth himself—.* Whosoever, therefore, is born of God, cannot sin, and therefore cannot depart from the faith, provided that he at the same time purify himself

to the utmost of his power, that he do righteousness, that he love his brother, that he remain himself in love, in order that God and his seed may also remain in him; that finally he keep himself. Further, in what sense is it said, *he cannot sin*, when the apostle has already declared chap. i. 8. *if we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us?* Doubtless we ought to understand by this phrase that he does not easily fall into sin, not voluntarily and intentionally, not wilfully and presumptuously, but with reluctance and remorse; and that he does not persist in the habit of sinning; for which reasons, and above all for Christ's sake, sin is not imputed to him. If then so much caution be necessary in explaining the word *sin*, we ought to proceed with no less care in the interpretation of the remaining part of the verse; and not to take advantage of the simplicity of style peculiar to this apostle, for the purpose of establishing a doctrine in itself absurd. For *not to be able*, as the Remonstrant divines have rightly observed,[9] does not always signify absolute impossibility, either in common language or in Scripture. Thus we often say that a particular thing cannot be done, meaning that it cannot be done with convenience, honour, or facility, or with a safe conscience, or consistently with modesty, or credit, or dignity, or good faith.[1] In this sense it is said, Luke xi. 7. *I cannot rise and give thee,* although the speaker shortly afterwards rises. So also Acts iv. 20. *we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard.* Matt. xii. 34. *how can ye, being evil, speak good things?*

[9] See Acta et Scripta Synodalia Dordracena, *in Defensione sententiæ Remonstrantium circa Articulum* V. *de Perseverantia.* 'In communi vita nihil familiarius est, quam illud impossibile dicere, quod alicujus ingenio et naturæ repugnat; ut temperantem hominem non posse inebriari; doctum hominem non posse ferre contemptum; probum hominem non posse calumniari, &c. In scripturis, 2 Cor. xiii. 8. *non possumus quidquam adversus veritatem.* Sic Act. iv. 20. Quibus phrasibus non omnimodo impossibilitas earum rerum quæ fieri non posse dicuntur, indicatur, sed tantum moralis sive ethica, &c.' p. 320—324.

[1] 'Apostoli mens est, illum qui ex Deo natus est, quatenus ex principio regenerationis suæ operatur, non posse peccato servire; sicut dicimus eum qui liberalis est, non posse sordide se gerere; qui temperans, non posse gulæ aut libidini indulgere; non quod absolute non possint in talia peccata labi, sed quia cum lapsi sunt, non se ut liberales aut temperantes solent et convenit, gesserunt.' Curcellæi *Instit.* VII. 3. 9.

whereas it is easy even for hypocrites to *speak good things.* In like manner, when it is said in the present passage *he cannot sin,* the meaning is, that he cannot easily fall into sin, and therefore cannot easily depart from the faith. The same divines have displayed equal sagacity and research in their explanation of the reason assigned by the apostle, *for his seed remaineth in him;* where they show that *to remain in him* means the same as *to be in him.* So John xiv. 7. *he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you.* Thus also in the fourteenth verse of the very chapter under consideration; *he that loveth not his brother abideth in death;* that is, so long as he does not love his brother; for in any other sense it would be impossible for a man to escape death who had ever been guilty of not loving his brother. *Whosoever* therefore *is born of God cannot sin, because his seed remaineth* or *is in him;* it is in him as long as he does not himself quench it, for even the Spirit can be quenched; it remains in him, moreover, as long as he himself remains in love.

Those, however, who do not persevere in the faith, are in ordinary cases to be accounted unregenerate and devoid of genuine belief; seeing that God who *keeps us* is faithful, and that he has given believers so many pledges of salvation, namely, election, regeneration, justification, adoption, union and fellowship with him conjointly with Christ and the Spirit, who is the earnest and seal of the covenant; seeing also that the work of glorification is in them already begun. Prov. xxiv. 16. *a just man falleth seven times, and riseth up again, but the wicked shall fall into mischief.* Matt. xxv. 3. *they that were foolish took their lamps, and took no oil with them.* Luke viii. 13. *these have no root.* 2 Pet. ii. 22. *the dog is turned to his own vomit again, and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire.* 1 John ii. 19. *they went out from us.*

Or perhaps they are to be considered as apostates from the faith, in that sense of faith in which it is the object, not the cause of belief. 1 Tim. iv. 1. *the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils.* Gal. v. 4. *Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of*

you are justified by the law; ye are fallen from grace. However this may be, it is our duty to intreat God with constant prayer, in the words of the apostle, 2 Thess. i. 11. *that our God would count us worthy of this calling, and fulfil all the good pleasure of his goodness, and the work of faith with power.*

Thus far of the beginnings of glorification. As its perfection is not attainable in the present life, this part of the subject will be reserved for the concluding chapter of the present book.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of

The Manifestation of the Covenant of Grace;

including

The Law of God.

The nature and process of renovation, so far as it is developed in this life, have been considered. We are now to trace its manifestation and exhibition in the covenant of grace.

The covenant of grace itself, on the part of God, is first declared Gen. iii. 15. *I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel;* compared with Rom. xvi. 20. *the God of peace shall bruise Satan under your feet shortly.* 1 John iii. 8. *for this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil.* On the part of man its existence may be considered as implied from the earliest period at which it is recorded that mankind worshipped God.

The manifestation of the covenant of grace consists in its exhibition and its ratification. Both existed under the law, and both continue under the gospel.

Even under the law the existence of a Redeemer and the necessity of redemption are perceptible, though obscurely and indistinctly. Heb. ix. 8, &c. *the way into the holiest of all was not yet made manifest, while as the first tabernacle was yet standing; which was a figure for the*

time then present, in which were offered both gifts and sacrifices, that could not make him that did the service perfect, as pertaining to the conscience; which stood only in meats and drinks, and divers washings, and carnal ordinances (or *righteousness of the flesh*), *imposed on them until the time of reformation.* Under the gospel both the Redeemer and the truth of his redemption are more explicitly understood. John i. 17. *the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.*

THE LAW OF GOD is either written or unwritten.

The unwritten law is no other than that law of nature given originally to Adam,[2] and of which a certain remnant, or imperfect illumination, still dwells in the hearts of all mankind; which, in the regenerate, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, is daily tending towards a renewal of its primitive brightness. Rom. i. 19. *God hath showed it unto them.* v. 32. *who knowing the judgement of God, that they which commit such things are worthy of death, not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them.* ii. 14, 15. *the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these having not the law, are a law unto themselves; which show the work of the law written in their hearts.*

Hence *the law* is often used for heavenly doctrine in the abstract, or the will of God, as declared under both covenants. Jer. xxxi. 33. *I will put my law in their inward parts.* John x. 34. *is it not written in your law, I said, Ye are gods?* though the passage alluded to is found in the Psalms, not in the law properly so called.

The manifestation of this gratuitous covenant under the law was partly anterior to, and partly coincident with, Moses.

Even before Moses the law was already in part delivered, although not in a written form. Gen. iv. 3, 4. *Cain brought of the fruit of the*

[2] See page 260, note 5.

ground an offering unto Jehovah. v. 26. *then began men to call upon the name of Jehovah.* vii. 1, 2. *thee have I seen righteous before me in this generation: of every clean beast,* &c. viii. 20, 21, &c. *Noah builded an altar unto Jehovah.* 2 Pet. ii. 5. *Noah, a preacher of righteousness.* The same is said of the other patriarchs before Moses. Gen. xii. 4, 5. xiii. 18. xxv. 22. xxviii. 18. Ceremonial purification is likewise mentioned, xxxv. 2. *be clean and change your garments.* Compare v. 14. Exod. xvii. 5.

A certain manifestation or shadowing forth of the covenant was exhibited under Moses, first, in the redemption from bondage by the liberation from Egypt under the guidance of Moses; secondly, in the brazen serpent, John iii. 14—16.

The symbols of expiation and redemption, both before and under Moses, were the sacrifices and the priests, Melchizedec and Aaron with his posterity.[3] Heb. viii. 5. *who serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things.*

THE MOSAIC LAW WAS A WRITTEN CODE CONSISTING OF MANY PRECEPTS, INTENDED FOR THE ISRAELITES ALONE, WITH A PROMISE OF LIFE TO SUCH AS SHOULD KEEP THEM, AND A CURSE ON SUCH AS SHOULD BE DISOBEDIENT; TO THE END THAT THEY, BEING LED THEREBY TO AN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE DEPRAVITY OF MANKIND, AND CONSEQUENTLY OF THEIR OWN, MIGHT HAVE RECOURSE TO THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF THE PROMISED SAVIOUR; AND THAT THEY, AND IN PROCESS OF TIME ALL OTHER NATIONS, MIGHT BE LED UNDER THE GOSPEL FROM THE WEAK AND SERVILE RUDIMENTS OF THIS ELEMENTARY INSTITUTION[4] TO THE FULL STRENGTH

[3] 'Melchisedec ... incited to do so, first, by the secret providence of God, intending him for a type of Christ and his priesthood.' *The likeliest means to remove Hirelings out of the Church.* Prose Works, III. 357.

[4] 'It cannot be unknown by what expressions the holy apostle St. Paul spares not to explain to us the nature and condition of the law, calling those ordinances, which were the chief and essential office of the priests, the elements and rudiments of the world, both weak and beggarly.' *Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty.* Prose Works, I. 91. 'St. Paul comprehends

OF THE NEW CREATURE, AND A MANLY LIBERTY WORTHY THE SONS OF GOD. Heb. ix. 8, &c. as above.

INTENDED FOR THE ISRAELITES ALONE. Exod. xix. 5, 6. *if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people; for all the earth is mine: and ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation.* Deut. iv. 45. *these are the testimonies, and the statutes, and the judgements, which Moses spake unto the children of Israel, after they came forth out of Egypt.* 1 Kings viii. 21. *I have set there a place for the ark, wherein is the covenant of Jehovah, which he made with our fathers when he brought them out of the land of Egypt.* Psal. cxlvii. 19, 20. *he showeth his word unto Jacob, his statutes and his judgements unto Israel: he hath not dealt so with any nation, and as for his judgements, they have not known them.* This wall of partition between the Gentiles and Israelites was at length broken down by the death of Christ, Eph. ii. 14. until which time the Gentiles were aliens from the whole of the covenant, v. 12. *being aliens from the commonwealth of Israel.* Acts xiv. 16, 17. *who in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways: nevertheless he left not himself without witness,* &c. xvii. 27, 28, 30. *that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he be not far from every one of us ..... the times of this ignorance God winked at.*

WITH A PROMISE OF LIFE; namely, temporal life, as is obvious from the whole of the twenty-sixth chapter of Leviticus. Lev. xviii. 5. *ye shall keep my statutes, which if a man do, he shall live in them.* Deut. vi. 25. *it shall be our righteousness, if we observe to do all these commandments before Jehovah our God, as he hath commanded us.* Gal. iii. 12. *the law is not of faith; but the man that doeth them shall live in them.* Though the law, however, does not promise eternal life,

prehends both kinds alike, that is to say, both ceremony and circumstance, under one and the same contemptuous name of 'weak and beggarly rudiments.' *Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes,* IV. 338.

this latter seems to be implied in the language of the prophets. Zech. iii. 7. *I will give thee places to walk among these that stand by.* Luke x. 25—28. See also below, on the resurrection.

A CURSE ON SUCH AS SHOULD BE DISOBEDIENT. Deut. xxvii. 26. *cursed be he that confirmeth not all the words of this law to do them.* Gal. iii. 10. *as many as are of the works of the law are under the curse; for it is written, Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the law to do them.*

ACKNOWLEDGING THE DEPRAVITY. Rom. iii. 20. *by the law is the knowledge of sin.* iv. 15. *the law worketh wrath.* v. 20. *moreover the law entered, that the offence might abound; but where sin abounded, grace did much more abound.* vii. 5. *when we were in the flesh, the motions of sin which were by the law did work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death.* v. 7—9. *I had not known sin, but by the law—: but sin taking occasion by the commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiscence.* v. 12, 13. *wherefore the law is holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good: was then that which is good made death unto me? God forbid: but sin, that it might appear sin, working death in me by that which is good; that sin by the commandment might become exceeding sinful.* Gal. iii. 19. *wherefore then serveth the law? it was added because of transgressions, till the seed should come to whom the promise was made.* Hence to those who are not yet regenerate, the law of nature has the same obligatory force, and is intended to serve the same purposes, as the law of Moses to the Israelites. Rom. iii. 19. *we know that whatsoever things the law saith, it saith to them that were under the law, that every mouth may be stopped, and all the world may become guilty before God,* compared with i. 19. *that which may be known of God is manifest in them, for God hath showed it them.*

THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF THE PROMISED SAVIOUR. Hence Christ's invitation, Matt. xi. 28. *come unto me, all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest;* that is, from the curse of the law.

Hence also the conflict in the mind of Paul while under the curse of the law, and the thanks which he renders to God for the atonement of Christ; Rom. vii. 24, 25. *O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?* x. 4. *Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth.* Gal. iii. 11. *that no man is justified by the law in the sight of God, it is evident, for the just shall live by faith.* v. 13. *Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law.* v. 21. *if there had been a law given which could have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the law.* v. 22. *but the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe; concluded,* that is, declared all guilty of sin. v. 24. *wherefore the law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith.* 2 Cor. iii. 6. *the letter killeth,* that is, the letter of the law (elsewhere called *the elements*) *killeth,* in other words, does not promise eternal life. Col. ii. 14. *blotting out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us.* Thus the imperfection of the law was manifested in the person of Moses himself; for Moses, who was a type of the law, could not bring the children of Israel into the land of Canaan, that is, into eternal rest; but an entrance was given to them under Joshua, or Jesus.[5] Hence Peter testifies that eternal salvation was through Christ alone under the law, equally as under the gospel, although he was not then revealed: Acts xv. 10, 11. *why tempt ye God, to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear? but we believe that through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ we shall be saved, even as they.* Heb. xiii. 8. *Jesus Christ the same yesterday, and*

[5] ... Therefore shall not Moses, though of God
Highly belov'd, being but the minister
Of law, his people into Canaan lead;
But Joshua, whom the Gentiles Jesus call,
His name and office bearing, who shall quell
The adversary serpent, and bring back
Through the world's wilderness long-wander'd man
Safe to eternal Paradise of rest. *Paradise Lost,* XII. 307.

to-day, and for ever. For although, under the law, as many as were able to keep all the commandments were justified, the promise extended only to happiness in this life: Deut. vi. 24, 25. *Jehovah commanded us to do all these statutes, to fear Jehovah our God, for our good always, that he might preserve us alive,* &c. ... *and it shall be our righteousness if we observe to do all these commandments.* But what neither the law itself nor the observers of the law could attain, faith in God through Christ has attained, and that even to eternal life.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of
The Gospel
and
Christian Liberty.

THE GOSPEL IS THE NEW DISPENSATION OF THE COVENANT OF GRACE, FAR MORE EXCELLENT AND PERFECT THAN THE LAW, ANNOUNCED FIRST OBSCURELY BY MOSES AND THE PROPHETS, AFTERWARDS IN THE CLEAREST TERMS BY CHRIST HIMSELF, AND HIS APOSTLES AND EVANGELISTS,[6] WRITTEN SINCE BY THE HOLY SPIRIT IN THE HEARTS OF BELIEVERS,[7] AND ORDAINED TO CONTINUE EVEN TO THE END OF THE WORLD, CONTAINING A PROMISE OF ETERNAL LIFE TO ALL IN ALL NATIONS WHO SHALL BELIEVE IN CHRIST WHEN REVEALED TO THEM, AND A THREAT OF ETERNAL DEATH TO SUCH AS SHALL NOT BELIEVE.

THE NEW DISPENSATION. Jer. xxxi. 31—33, compared with Heb. viii. 8, 9. *I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah, not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers.* It is called *the new testament,* Matt. xxvi. 28. Mark xiv. 24.

[6] .....Thy great Deliverer, who shall bruise
The Serpent's head; whereof to thee anon
Plainlier shall be reveal'd. *Paradise Lost,* XII. 149.
The Woman's seed, obscurely then foretold,
Now amplier known thy Saviour and thy Lord. *Ibid.* 543.

[7] He to his own a Comforter shall send,
The promise of the Father, who shall dwell
His Spirit within them, and the law of faith
Working through love, upon their hearts shall write. *Ibid.* 486.

Luke xxii. 20. 1 Cor. xi. 25. 2 Cor. iii. 6. But the word διαθήκη, in the Hebrew בְּרִית, is generally used by the inspired writers for συνθήκη, *covenant*, and is rendered in Latin by the word *pactum*, 2 Cor. iii. 14. Gal. iv. 24. *veteris pacti*.[8] The Gospel is only once called *testament* in a proper sense, for a particular reason which is there subjoined. Heb. ix. 15, 16, &c. *for this cause he is the mediator of the new testament, that by means of death for the redemption of the transgressions that were under the first testament, they which are called might receive the promise of eternal inheritance; for where a testament is, there must also of necessity be the death of the testator.*

More excellent and perfect than the law. Matt. xiii. 17. *many prophets and righteous men have desired to see those things which ye see, and have not seen them, and to hear those things which ye hear, and have not heard them.* 2 Cor. iii. 11, &c. *if that which was done away was glorious, much more that which remaineth is glorious. Seeing then that we have such hope, we use great plainness of speech; and not as Moses—.* Heb. vii. 18—20, 22. *the law made nothing perfect, but the bringing in of a better hope did, by the which we draw nigh unto God: and inasmuch as not without an oath he was made priest; for those priests were made without an oath, but this with an oath..... by so much was Jesus made a surety of a better covenant.* viii. 6, &c. *by how much more also he is the mediator of a better covenant, which was established upon better promises, &c.....I will put my laws into their mind.* James i. 25. *whoso looketh into the perfect law of liberty, and continueth therein, he being not a forgetful hearer, but a doer of the work, this man shall be blessed in his deed.* 1 Pet. i. 10, &c. *of which salvation the prophets have inquired and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace that should come unto you.....with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven; which things the angels desire to look into.* The Gospel is also called *the ministry* and *word of reconciliation*, 2 Cor. v. 18, 19. whereas on the contrary *the law worketh wrath*, Rom. iv. 15.

[8] Beza's Translation. *Testamentum vetus.* Tremellius. *Veteris testamenti.* Vulgate.

By Moses and the prophets. John v. 39. *they are they which testify of me.* v. 46. *had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me, for he wrote of me;* namely Gen. iii. 15. xxii. 18. xlix. 10. Deut. xviii. 15. Luke xxiv. 27. *beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself.* Acts xvii. 11. *searching the scriptures daily, whether those things were so.* xxvi. 22, 23. *saying none other things than those which the prophets and Moses did say should come.* Rom. iii. 21. *being witnessed by the law and the prophets.* 1 Pet. i. 10. *who prophesied of the grace which should come unto you.*

Written in the hearts of believers. Isai. lix. 21. *as for me, this is my covenant with them, saith Jehovah; My Spirit which is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith Jehovah, from henceforth and for ever.* Jer. xxxi. 31—33. *behold the days come.....but this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel; After those days, saith Jehovah,* (a declaration particularly worthy of attention, as it specifies in what respect the new covenant is more excellent than the old) *I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts—,* compared with Heb. viii. 10, &c. *this is the covenant.....I will put my laws into their mind.....and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people.* Joel ii. 28. *it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh.....and also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out my Spirit.* To these may be added, from the chapter of Jeremiah quoted above, v. 34. *they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them.* Joel ii. 28. *your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions.* Compare Acts ii. 16—18. For although all real believers have not the gift of prophecy, the Holy Spirit is to them an equivalent and substitute for prophecy, dreams, and visions. 2 Cor. iii. 3. *ye are manifestly declared to be the epistle of Christ ministered by us, written not with ink, but with the*

Spirit of the living God, not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart. v. 6. *ministers of the new testament, not of the letter, but of the spirit; for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.* James i. 21. *receive with meekness the engrafted word, which is able to save your souls.*

BY THE HOLY SPIRIT, the gift of God, and peculiar to the gospel. John vii. 39. *the Holy Ghost was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified.* xiv. 26. *the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things.* See also Luke xii. 12. Acts i. 8. *ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you.* See also ii. 1, &c. v. 38. *repent,* &c. .....*and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.* Rom. v. 5. *by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us.* 1 Cor. ii. 13. *in words which the Holy Ghost teacheth.* 2 Cor. xiii. 14. *the communion of the Holy Ghost.* 1 Thess. iv. 8. *who hath also given unto us his Holy Spirit.* See also Rom. viii. 9. 1 Cor. xii. 3. 1 Pet. i. 12. 1 John iv. 13.

ORDAINED TO CONTINUE EVEN TO THE END OF THE WORLD. 2 Cor. iii. 11. *much more that which remaineth is glorious.* Eph. iv. 13. *till we all come.....unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.*

A PROMISE OF ETERNAL LIFE. Mark xvi. 15, 16. *go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel.....he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved.* Rom. i. 16. *the power of God unto salvation.*

TO ALL WHO SHALL BELIEVE. John iii. 15, 16. *whosoever believeth in him,* &c. Rom. i. 16, 17. *to every one that believeth.* 1 John ii. 25. *this is the promise that he hath promised us, even eternal life.* See other passages to the same effect above, in the chapter on faith and its objects. Under the name of believers the penitent are comprehended, inasmuch as in the original annunciation of the gospel repentance and faith are jointly proposed as conditions of salvation.

Matt. iii. 1, &c. iv. 17. Mark i. 15. Luke xxiv. 47. Acts ii. 39—41. x. 35. *he that feareth him and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him.* xix. 3, 4. xx. 21. and elsewhere.

A THREAT OF ETERNAL DEATH TO SUCH AS SHALL NOT BELIEVE. Matt. x. 14, 15. *whosoever shall not receive you nor hear your words, when ye depart out of that city, shake off the dust of your feet: verily I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom—.* xxi. 37, &c. *he sent unto them his son.....but when the husbandmen saw the son, they said.....let us kill him.....they say unto him, He will miserably destroy those wicked men.* Mark xvi. 16. *he that believeth not shall be damned.* John iii. 19. *this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light.* Acts iii. 23. *every soul which will not hear that prophet, shall be destroyed from among the people.* 2 Thess. i. 8, 9. *taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel.* Heb. x. 26, &c. *if we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful looking for of judgement.* By unbelievers, however, those only can be meant to whom Christ has been announced in the gospel; for *how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard?* Rom. x. 14.

IN ALL NATIONS. Matt. xxiv. 14. *this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come.* Mark xvi. 15. *to every creature.* John x. 16. *other sheep I have, which are not of this fold.* Acts x. 34, 35. *of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him.* Rom. x. 18. *their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world.* This was predicted, Isai. ii. 2, &c. *it shall come to pass in the last days,* &c. See also Mic. iv. 1. Isai. xix. 18, &c. *in that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan,* &c. xxv. 6, &c. *unto all people.* xlii. 4, &c. *the isles shall wait for his law.* xlv. 22, 23. *look unto me, and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth.* lv. 4, 5. *a witness*

to the people, &c. lvi. 3, &c. *neither let the son of the stranger.....speak, saying, Jehovah hath utterly separated me from his people.* lxvi. 21. *I will also take of them for priests and Levites, saith Jehovah.* Jer. iii. 17. *all the nations shall be gathered unto it.* xxv. 8, &c. *because ye have not heard my words, behold, I will send and take all the families of the north—.* Hagg. ii. 7. *the desire of all nations shall come.* Zech. viii. 20. *there shall come people, and the inhabitants of many cities.*

On the introduction of the gospel, or new covenant through faith in Christ, the whole of the preceding covenant, in other words the entire Mosaic law, was abolished. Jer. xxxi. 31—33. as above. Luke xvi. 16. *the law and the prophets were until John.* Acts xv. 10. *now therefore why tempt ye God, to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear?* Rom. iii. 21. *now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested.* vi. 14. *ye are not under the law, but under grace.* vii. 4. *ye also are become dead to the law by the body of Christ, that ye should be married to another, even to him that is raised from the dead, that we should bring forth fruit unto God.* v. 6. *now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held, that we should serve in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter.* In the beginning of the same chapter the apostle illustrates our emancipation from the law by the instance of a wife who is loosed from her husband that is dead. v. 7. *I had not known sin but by the law* (that is, the whole law, for the expression is unlimited) *for I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet.* It is in the decalogue that the injunction here specified is contained; we are therefore absolved from subjection to the decalogue as fully as to the rest of the law.[9] viii. 15. *ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear.* xiv. 20. *all things*

[9] This opinion, that it was inconsistent with the liberty of the gospel to consider the decalogue as a law binding on Christians, is probably the reason why Milton forbears to mention it, where Michael describes to Adam the civil and ritual commandments delivered to the Jews. The omission is too remarkable not to have been designed, considering the noble opportunity which would have been afforded for enlarging on its moral precepts. See *Paradise Lost,* XII. 230—248.

indeed are pure, compared with Tit. i. 15. *unto the pure all things are pure; but unto them that are defiled and unbelieving is nothing pure, but even their mind and conscience is defiled.* 1 Cor. vi. 12. *all things are lawful to me, but all things are not expedient; all things are lawful for me, but I will not be brought under the power of any.* x. 23. *all things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient; all things are lawful for me, but all things edify not.* 2 Cor. iii. 3. *not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart.* v. 6—8. *ministers of the new testament, not of the letter, but of the spirit; for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life: but if the ministration of death, written and engraven in stones, was glorious.....how shall not the ministration of the spirit be rather glorious?* v. 11. *if that which was done away was glorious, much more that which remaineth is glorious.* v. 15. *the children of Israel could not stedfastly look to the end of that which is abolished.* v. 17. *if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new.* Gal. iii. 19. *wherefore then serveth the law? it was added because of transgressions, till the seed should come, to whom the promise was made.* v. 25. *after that faith is come, we are no longer under a schoolmaster.* iv. 1, &c. *the heir, as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a servant.....until the time appointed of the father: even so we, when we were children, were in bondage under the elements of the world; but when the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons.* Compare also v. 21, addressed to those who desired to be under the law; and v. 24, of Hagar and Sarah, *these are the two covenants; the one from the mount Sinai, which gendereth to bondage, which is Agar.....but Jerusalem which is above,* v. 26. *is free:* hence v. 30. *cast out the bondwoman and her son; for the son of the bondwoman shall not be heir with the son of the free-woman.* v. 18. *if ye be led of the Spirit, ye are not under the law.* Eph. ii. 14, 15. *who hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us, having abolished in his flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments contained in ordinances.* Now not only the ceremonial code, but the whole positive law of Moses, was a law of commandments, and con-

tained in ordinances; nor was it the ceremonial law which formed the sole ground of distinction between the Jews and Gentiles, as Zanchius on this passage contends, but the whole law; seeing that the Gentiles, v. 12. *were aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenant of promise,* which promise was made to the works of the whole law, not to those of the ceremonial alone; nor was it to these latter only that the enmity between God and us was owing, v. 16. So Coloss. ii. 14—17. *blotting out the hand-writing of ordinances that was against us ..... he took it out of the way,* &c. Heb. vii. 12, 15, 16. *the priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also in the law ..... there ariseth another priest, who is made not after the law of a carnal commandment.* v. 18. *there is verily a disannulling of the commandment going before,* (that is, of the commandment of works) *for the weakness and unprofitableness thereof.* viii. 13. *in that he saith, a new covenant, he hath made the first old; now that which decayeth and waxeth old, is ready to vanish away.* xii. 18, &c. *ye are not come unto the mount that might be touched, and that burned with fire, nor unto blackness, and darkness, and tempest, and the sound of a trumpet, and the voice of words; which voice they that heard entreated that the word should not be spoken to them any more ..... but ye are come unto mount Sion ..... and to Jesus the mediator of the new covenant.*

It is generally replied, that all these passages are to be understood only of the abolition of the ceremonial law. This is refuted, first, by the definition of the law itself, as given in the preceding chapter, in which are specified all the various reasons for its enactment: if therefore, of the causes which led to the enactment of the law considered as a whole, every one is revoked or obsolete, it follows that the whole law itself must be annulled also. The principal reasons then which are given for the enactment of the law are as follows; that it might call forth and develope our natural depravity;[1] that by this means it might work

[1] .....Therefore was law giv'n them to evince
Their natural pravity, by stirring up
Sin against law to fight. *Paradise Lost,* XII. 287.

wrath; that it might impress us with a slavish fear through consciousness of divine enmity, and of the hand-writing of accusation that was against us; that it might be a schoolmaster to bring us to the righteousness of Christ; and others of a similar description. Now the texts quoted above prove clearly, both that all these causes are now abrogated, and that they have not the least connection with the ceremonial law.

First then, the law is abolished principally on the ground of its being a law of works; that it might give place to the law of grace. Rom. iii. 27. *by what law? of works? nay, but by the law of faith.* xi. 6. *if by grace, then is it no more of works; otherwise grace is no more grace.* Now the law of works was not solely the ceremonial law, but the whole law.

Secondly, iv. 15. *the law worketh wrath; for where no law is, there is no transgression.* It is not however a part, but the whole of the law that worketh wrath; inasmuch as the transgression is of the whole, and not of a part only. Seeing then that the law worketh wrath, but the gospel grace, and that wrath is incompatible with grace, it is obvious that the law cannot co-exist with the gospel.

Thirdly, the law of which it was written, *the man that doeth them shall live in them,* Gal. iii. 12. Lev. xviii. 5. and, *cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them,* Deut. xxvii. 26. Gal. iii. 10. was the whole law. From *the curse of* this *law Christ hath redeemed us,* v. 13. inasmuch as we were unable to fulfil it ourselves. Now to fulfil the ceremonial law could not have been a matter of difficulty; it must therefore have been the entire Mosaic law from which Christ delivered us. Again, as it was against those who did not fulfil the whole law that the curse was denounced, it follows that Christ could not have redeemed us from that curse, unless he had abrogated the whole law; if therefore he abrogated the whole, no part of it can be now binding upon us.

Fourthly, we are taught, 2 Cor. iii. 7. that the law *written and engraven in stones* was *the ministration of death*, and therefore *was done away*. Now the law engraven in stones was not the ceremonial law, but the decalogue.

Fifthly, that which was, as just stated, a law of sin and death, (of sin, because it is a provocative to sin; of death, because it produces death, and is in opposition to the law of the spirit of life,) is certainly not the ceremonial law alone, but the whole law. But the law to which the above description applies, is abolished; Rom. viii. 2. *the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death.*

Sixthly, it was undoubtedly not by the ceremonial law alone that *the motions of sin which were by the law, wrought in our members to bring forth fruit unto death*, Rom. vii. 5. But of the law which thus operated it is said that we *are become dead thereto*, v. 4. and *that being dead wherein we were held*, v. 6. *we are delivered from it*, as a wife is free *from the law of her husband who is dead*, v. 3. We are therefore *delivered*, v. 6. not from the ceremonial law alone, but from the whole law of Moses.

Seventhly, all believers, inasmuch as they are justified by God through faith, are undoubtedly to be accounted righteous; but Paul expressly asserts that *the law is not made for a righteous man*, 1 Tim. i. 9. Gal. v. 22, 23. If however any law were to be made for the righteous, it must needs be a law which should justify. Now the ceremonial law alone was so far from justifying, that even the entire Mosaic law had not power to effect this, as has been already shown in treating of justification: Gal. iii. 11, &c. therefore it must be the whole law, and not the ceremonial part alone, which is abrogated by reason of its inability in this respect.

To these considerations we may add, that that law which not only cannot justify, but is the source of trouble and subversion to believers; which even tempts God if we endeavour to perform its requisitions; which has no promise attached to it, or, to speak more properly, which

takes away and frustrates all promises, whether of inheritance, or adoption, or grace, or of the Spirit itself; nay, which even subjects us to a curse; must necessarily have been abolished. If then it can be shown that the above effects result, not from the ceremonial law alone, but from the whole law, that is to say, the law of works in a comprehensive sense, it will follow that the whole law is abolished; and that they do so result, I shall proceed to show from the clearest passages of Scripture. With regard to the first point, Acts xv. 24. *we have heard that certain which went out from us have troubled you with words, subverting your souls, saying, Ye must be circumcised, and keep the law.* v. 10. *why tempt ye God, to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples?* Certain of the Pharisees which believed, said that *it was needful for them to keep the whole law,* v. 5. when therefore Peter in opposition to this doctrine contends, that the yoke of the law ought to be removed from the necks of the disciples, it is clear that he must mean the whole law. Secondly, that the law which had not the promise was not the ceremonial law only, but the whole law, is clear from the consideration, that it would be sufficient if one part had the promise, although the other were without it; whereas the law which is so often the subject of discussion with Paul has no promise attached to either of its branches. Rom. iv. 13, 16. *the promise that he should be the heir of the world, was not to Abraham, or to his seed through the law, but through the righteousness of faith.* Gal. iii. 18. *if the inheritance be of the law, it is no more of promise; but God gave it to Abraham by promise;* and therefore not by the law, or any part of it; whence Paul shows that either the whole law, or the promise itself, must of necessity be abolished, Rom. iv. 14. *if they which are of the law be heirs, faith is made void, and the promise is made of none effect.* Compare also Gal. iii. 18. as above. By the abolition of the promise, the inheritance and adoption are abolished; fear and bondage, which are incompatible with adoption, are brought back, Rom. viii. 15. Gal. iv. 1, &c. v. 21, 24, 26, 30. as above; union and fellowship with Christ are dissolved, Gal. v. 4. *Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law,* whence follows the loss of glorification; nay, grace itself is abolished, unless the

abolition of the law be an entire abolition: Gal. v. 4. *whosoever of you are justified by the law, ye are fallen from grace,* where by the word *law* is intended the entire code, as appears not only from the preceding verse, *he is a debtor to do the whole law,* but from other considerations; finally, the Spirit itself is excluded; Gal. v. 18. *if ye be led of the Spirit, ye are not under the law;* therefore, vice versa, if ye be under the law, ye are not led of the Spirit. We are consequently left under the curse: Gal. iii. 10. *as many as are of the works of the law, are under the curse; for it is written, Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law, to do them;* therefore *all things which are written in the law,* and not the things of the ceremonial law alone, render us obnoxious to the curse. Christ therefore, when he *redeemed us from the curse,* v. 13. redeemed us also from the causes of the curse, namely, the works of the law, or, which is the same, from the whole law of works; which, as has been shown above, is not the ceremonial part alone. Even supposing, however, that no such consequences followed, there could be but little inducement to observe the conditions of a law which has not the promise; it would be even ridiculous to attempt to observe that which is of no avail unless it be fulfilled in every part, and which nevertheless it is impossible for man so to fulfil; especially as it has been superseded by the more excellent law of faith, which God in Christ has given us both will and power to fulfil.[2]

It appears therefore as well from the evidence of Scripture, as from the arguments above adduced, that the whole of the Mosaic law is abolished

[2] ..... peace
Of conscience, which the law by ceremonies
Cannot appease, nor man the moral part
Perform, and, not performing, cannot live.
So law appears imperfect, and but giv'n
With purpose to resign them, in full time,
Up to a better cov'nant, disciplin'd
From shadowy types to truth, from flesh to spirit,
From imposition of strict laws to free
Acceptance of large grace, from servile fear
To filial, works of law to works of faith. *Paradise Lost,* XII. 296.

by the gospel. It is to be observed, however, that the sum and essence of the law is not hereby abrogated; its purpose being attained in that love of God and our neighbour, which is born of the Spirit through faith. It was with justice therefore that Christ asserted the permanence of the law, Matt. v. 17. *think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil.* Rom. iii. 31. *do we then make void the law through faith? God forbid: yea, we establish the law.* viii. 4. *that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.*

The common objection to this doctrine is anticipated by Paul himself, who expressly teaches that by this abrogation of the law, sin, if not taken away, is at least weakened rather than increased in power: Rom. vi. 14, 15. *sin shall not have dominion over you; for ye are not under the law, but under grace: what then? shall we sin, because we are not under the law, but under grace? God forbid.* Therefore, as was said above, the end for which the law was instituted, namely, the love of God and our neighbour, is by no means to be considered as abolished; it is the tablet of the law, so to speak, that is alone changed, its injunctions being now written by the Spirit in the hearts of believers; with this difference, that in certain precepts the Spirit appears to be at variance with the letter, namely, wherever by departing from the letter we can more effectually consult the love of God and our neighbour. Thus Christ departed from the letter of the law, Mark ii. 27. *the sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath,* if we compare his words with the fourth commandment. Paul did the same in declaring that a marriage with an unbeliever was not to be dissolved, contrary to the express injunction of the law; 1 Cor. vii. 12. *to the rest speak I, not the Lord.* In the interpretation of these two commandments, of the sabbath and marriage, a regard to the law of love is declared to be better than a compliance with the whole written law; a rule which applies equally to every other instance. Matt. xxii. 37—40. *on these two commandments* (namely, the love of God and our neighbour) *hang all the law and the prophets.* Now neither of these is propounded in express

terms among the ten commandments, the former occurring for the first time Deut. vi. 5. the latter, Lev. xix. 18. and yet these two precepts are represented as comprehending emphatically, not only the ten commandments, but the whole law and the prophets. Matt. vii. 12. *all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets.* Rom. xiii. 8, 10. *he that loveth another hath fulfilled the law; love is the fulfilling of the law.* Gal. v. 14. *all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.* 1 Tim. i. 5. *the end of the commandment is charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned.* If this is the end of the Mosaic commandment, much more is it the end of the evangelic. James ii. 8. *if ye fulfil the royal law according to the scripture, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, thou shalt do well.* Hence all rational interpreters have explained the precepts of Christ, in his sermon on the mount, not according to the letter, but in the spirit of the law of love. So also that of Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 4. *every man praying or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonoureth his head;* a text which will come under consideration in Book II. chap. iv. on the outward deportment befitting prayer. Hence it is said, Rom. iv. 15. *where no law is, there is no transgression;* that is, no transgression in disregarding the letter of the law, provided that under the direction of the Spirit the end of the institution be attained in the love of God and our neighbour.

On the united authority of so many passages of Scripture, I conceived that I had satisfactorily established the truth in question against the whole body of theologians, who, so far as my knowledge then extended, concurred in denying the abrogation of the entire Mosaic law. I have since however discovered, that Zanchius, in his commentary on the second chapter of Ephesians, declares himself of the same opinion,[3]

[3] 'These authorities, without long search, I had to produce ..... But God (I solemnly attest him) withheld from my knowledge the consenting judgement of these men so late, until they could not be my instructors, but only my unexpected witnesses to partial men—.' *Tetrachordon.* Prose Works, II. 237.

remarking, very justly, that 'no inconsiderable part of divinity depends on the right explanation of this question; and that it is impossible to comprehend the Scriptures properly, especially those parts which relate to justification and good works,' (he might have added, the whole of the New Testament) 'unless the subject of the abrogation of the law be thoroughly understood.' He proves his point with sufficient accuracy, but neglects to follow up his conclusions; losing himself in a multitude of minute exceptions, and apparently fluctuating between the two opinions, so as to leave the reader, if not extremely attentive, in a state of uncertainty. I have also observed that Cameron somewhere expresses the same opinion respecting the abolition of the whole law.[4]

It is asserted, however, by divines in general, who still maintain the tenet of the converted Pharisees, that it is needful for those who are under the gospel to observe the law (a doctrine which in the infancy of the church was productive of much mischief) that the law may be highly useful, in various ways, even to us who are Christians; inasmuch as we are thereby led to a truer conviction of sin, and consequently to a more thankful acceptance of grace; as well as to a more perfect knowledge of the will of God. With regard to the first point, I reply, that I am not speaking of sinners, who stand in need of a preliminary impulse to come to Christ, but of such as are already believers, and consequently in the most intimate union with Christ; as to the second, the will of God is best learnt from the gospel itself under the promised guidance of the Spirit of truth, and from the divine law written in the hearts of believers. Besides, if the law be the means of leading us to a conviction of sin and an acceptance of the grace of Christ, this is effected by a knowledge of the law itself, not by the performance

[4] Cameron appears to have been a favorite author with Milton. He elsewhere calls him 'a late writer much applauded,' and characterizes an observation which he makes on Matt. xix. 3. as 'acute and learned.' *Tetrachordon.* Prose Works, II. 174. Mr. Todd also, in noticing that Cameron was one of the few contemporary authors whom Milton has mentioned in terms of respect, quotes another passage in praise of him from the treatise cited above, where he is spoken of as 'an ingenious writer, and in high esteem.' *Tetrachordon,* II. 210. *Life of Milton,* p. 153.

of its works; inasmuch as through the works of the law, instead of drawing nearer to Christ, we depart farther from him; as Scripture is perpetually inculcating.

In the next place, a distinction is made; and Polanus in particular observes, that 'when it is said that we are not under the law, it is not meant that we are not under an obligation to obey it, but that we are exempt from the curse and restraint of the law, as well as from the provocation to sin which results from it.'[5] If this be the case, what advantage do believers reap from the gospel? since even under the law they at least were exempted from the curse and provocation to sin; and since to be free from the restraint of the law can mean nothing but that for which I contend, an entire exemption from the obligation of the law. For as long as the law exists, it constrains, because it is a law of bondage; constraint and bondage being as inseparable from the dispensation of the law, as liberty from the dispensation of the gospel; of which shortly.

Polanus contends, on Gal. iv. 4, 5. *to redeem them that were under the law,* that 'when Christians are said to be redeemed from subjection to the law, and to be no longer under the law, this is not to be taken in an absolute sense, as if they owed no more obedience to it. What then do the words imply? They signify, that Christians are no longer under the necessity of perfectly fulfilling the law of God in this life, inasmuch as Christ has fulfilled it for them.' That this is contrary to the truth, is too obvious not to be acknowledged. So far from a less degree of perfection being exacted from Christians, it is expected of them that they should be more perfect than those who were under the law; as the whole tenour of Christ's precepts evinces. The only difference is, that Moses imposed the letter, or external law, even on those who were not willing to receive it; whereas Christ writes the inward law of God by his Spirit

[5] 'Non esse sub lege, non est, non teneri obedientia legis, sed liberum esse a maledictione, et coactione legis, et peccati irritatione.' Polani *Syntagm. Theol.* lib. vi. cap. 10. *De Lege Dei.*

on the hearts of believers,[6] and leads them as willing followers. Under the law, those who trusted in God were justified by faith indeed, but not without the works of the law; Rom. iv. 12. *the father of circumcision to them who are not of the circumcision only, but who also walk in the steps of that faith of our father Abraham, which he had being yet uncircumcised.* The gospel, on the contrary, justifies by faith without the works of the law. Wherefore, we being freed from the works of the law, no longer follow the letter, but the spirit; doing the works of faith, not of the law. Neither is it said to us, *whatever is not of the law is sin,* but, *whatever is not of faith is sin;* faith consequently, and not the law, is our rule. It follows, therefore, that as faith cannot be made matter of compulsion, so neither can the works of faith.[7] See more on this subject in the fifteenth chapter, on Christ's kingly office, and on the inward spiritual law by which he governs the church. Compare also Book II. chap. i. where the form of good works is considered.

From the abrogation, through the gospel, of the law of servitude, results Christian liberty; though liberty, strictly speaking, is the peculiar fruit of adoption, and consequently was not unknown during the time of the law, as observed in the twenty-third chapter. Inasmuch, however, as it was not possible for our liberty either to be perfected or made fully manifest till the coming of Christ our deliverer, liberty must be considered as belonging in an especial manner to the gospel,

[6] .....what the Spirit within
Shall on the heart engrave. *Paradise Lost,* XII. 523.

'The state of religion under the gospel is far differing from what it was under the law; then was the state of rigour, childhood, bondage, and works, to all which force was not unbefitting; now is the state of grace, manhood, freedom, and faith, to all which belongs willingness and reason, not force: the law was then written on tables of stone, and to be performed according to the letter, willingly or unwillingly; the gospel, our new covenant, upon the heart of every believer, to be interpreted only by the sense of charity and inward persuasion.' *Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes.* Prose Works, III. 335.

[7] 'Surely force cannot work persuasion, which is faith; cannot therefore justify or pacify the conscience: and that which justifies not in the gospel, condemns; is not only not good, but sinful to do: Rom. xiv. 23. *whatsoever is not of faith, is sin.*' *Ibid.* Prose Works, III. 342.

and as consorting therewith:[8] first, because truth is principally known by the gospel,[9] John i. 17. *grace and truth came by Jesus Christ,* and truth has an essential connection with liberty; viii. 31, 32. *if ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed; and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.* v. 36. *if the Son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed.* Secondly, because the peculiar gift of the gospel is the Spirit; but *where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty,* 2 Cor. iii. 17.

CHRISTIAN LIBERTY is that whereby WE ARE LOOSED AS IT WERE BY ENFRANCHISEMENT, THROUGH CHRIST OUR DELIVERER, FROM THE BONDAGE OF SIN, AND CONSEQUENTLY FROM THE RULE OF THE LAW AND OF MAN; TO THE INTENT THAT BEING MADE SONS INSTEAD OF SERVANTS, AND PERFECT MEN INSTEAD OF CHILDREN, WE MAY SERVE GOD IN LOVE THROUGH THE GUIDANCE OF THE SPIRIT OF TRUTH. Gal. v. 1. *stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free; and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage.* Rom. viii. 2. *the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death.* v. 15. *ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father.* Gal. iv. 7. *wherefore thou art no more a servant, but a son.* Heb. ii. 15. *that he might deliver them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage.* 1 Cor. vii. 23. *ye are bought with a price; be not ye the servants of men.* James i. 25. *whoso looketh into the perfect law of liberty, and continueth therein.* ii. 12. *so speak ye, and so do, as they that shall be judged by the law of liberty.*

THAT WE MAY SERVE GOD. Matt. xi. 29, 30. *take my yoke upon*

[8] ..... what will they then
But force the Spirit of grace itself, and bind
His consort Liberty? *Paradise Lost,* XII. 524.

[9] 'In respect of that verity and freedom which is evangelical, St. Paul comprehends both ends alike, &c.' *A Treatise of Civil Power,* &c. Prose Works, IV. 338.

you .....for my yoke is easy, and my burden is light, compared with 1 John v. 3—5. *this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments, and his commandments are not grievous.* Rom. vi. 18. *being then made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness.* v. 22. *now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto holiness.* vii. 6. *now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held, that we should serve in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter.* xii. 1, 2. *present your bodies.....a reasonable service; and be not conformed to this world; but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God.* James i. 25. *whoso looketh into the perfect law of liberty, and continueth therein, he being not a forgetful hearer, but a doer of the work, this man shall be blessed in his deed.* 1 Pet. ii. 16. *as free, and not using your liberty for a cloke of maliciousness, but as the servants of God.* Hence we are freed from the yoke of human judgements, much more of civil decrees and penalties in religious matters. Rom. xiv. 4. *who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth.* v. 8. *whether we live or die, we are the Lord's.* Matt. vii. 1. *judge not, that ye be not judged.* Rom. xiv. 10. *why dost thou judge thy brother? or why dost thou set at nought thy brother? for we shall all stand before the judgement-seat of Christ.* If we are forbidden to judge (or condemn) our brethren respecting matters of religion or conscience in common discourse, how much more in a court of law, which has confessedly no jurisdiction here; since Paul refers all such matters to the judgement-seat of Christ, not of man? James ii. 12. *so speak ye, and so do, as they that shall be judged by the law of liberty;* namely, by God, not by fallible men in things appertaining to religion; wherein if he will judge us according to the law of liberty, why should man prejudge us according to the law of bondage?

By the guidance of the Spirit of truth in love. Rom. xiv. throughout the whole of the chapter; and chap. xv. 1—15. In these chapters Paul lays down two especial cautions to be observed; first,

that whatever we do in pursuance of this our liberty, we should do it in full assurance of faith, nothing doubting that it is permitted us.[1] v. 5. *let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.* v. 23. *whatever is not of faith, is sin.* Secondly, that we should give no just cause of offence to a weak brother, v. 20, 21. *for meat destroy not the work of God: all things indeed are pure, but it is evil for that man who eateth with offence.* 1 Cor. viii. 13. *if meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend;* which resolution, however, must be considered as an effect of the extraordinary love which the apostle bore his brethren, rather than a religious obligation binding on every believer to abstain from flesh for ever, in case a weak brother should think vegetable food alone lawful. ix. 19—22. *though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself servant unto all, that I might gain the more; unto the Jews I became as a Jew ..... to them that are under the law, as under the law ..... to them that are without law, as without law; being not without law to God, but under the law to Christ ..... to the weak became I as weak .... I am made all things to all men.* x. 23. *all things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient.* Gal. v. 13. *for, brethren, ye have been called unto liberty; only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh; but by love serve one another.* 2 Pet. ii. 19. *while they promise themselves liberty, they themselves are the servants of corruption.* 1 Cor. viii. 9. *take heed lest by any means this liberty of yours become a stumbling-block to them that are weak.*

This appears to have been the sole motive for the command given to the churches, Acts xv. 28, 29. *to abstain from blood, and from things strangled;* namely, lest the Jews who were not yet sufficiently established in the faith should take offence. For that the abstinence from blood was purely ceremonial, is evident from the reason assigned

[1] 'In religion whatever we do under the gospel, we ought to be thereof persuaded without scruple; and are justified by the faith we have, not by the work we do: Rom. xiv. 5. *let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.*' *A Treatise of Civil Power,* &c. Prose Works, III. 341.

Lev. xvii. 11. *the life of the flesh is in the blood, and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls.* Thus the eating of fat was forbidden by the law, vii. 23, &c. yet no one infers from hence that the use of fat is unlawful, this prohibition applying only to the sacrificial times: Acts x. 13, &c.

No regard, however, is to be paid to the scruples of the malicious or obstinate. Gal. ii. 4, 5. *and that because of false brethren unawares brought in, who came in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage; to whom we gave place by subjection, no, not for an hour; that the truth of the gospel might continue with you.* 1 Cor. xiv. 38. *if any man be ignorant, let him be ignorant.* Christ was not deterred by the fear of giving offence to the Pharisees, from defending the practice of his disciples in eating bread with unwashen hands, Matt. xv. 2, 3. and plucking the ears of corn, which it was considered unlawful to do on the sabbath-day, Luke vi. 1, &c. Nor would he have suffered a woman of condition to anoint his feet with precious ointment, and to wipe them with her hair, still less would he have vindicated and praised the action, John xii. 3, &c. neither would he have availed himself of the good offices and kindness of the women who ministered unto him whithersoever he went, if it were necessary on all occasions to satisfy the unreasonable scruples of malicious or envious persons. Nay, we must withstand the opinions of the brethren themselves, if they are influenced by motives unworthy of the gospel. Gal. ii. 11, &c. *when Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed.* Nor ought the weak believer to judge rashly of the liberty of a Christian brother whose faith is stronger than his own, but rather to give himself up to be instructed with the more willingness. Rom. xiv. 13. *let us not therefore judge one another any more.*

Neither this reason, therefore, nor a pretended consideration for the weaker brethren, afford a sufficient warrant for those edicts of the magistrate which constrain believers, or deprive them in any respect of their

religious liberty.[2] For so the apostle argues 1 Cor. ix. 19. *though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself servant unto all;* I was not made so by others, but became so of my own accord;[3] *free from all men,* and consequently from the magistrate, in these matters at least. When the magistrate takes away this liberty, he takes away the gospel itself; he deprives the good and the bad indiscriminately of their privilege of free judgement, contrary to the spirit of the well known precept, Matt. xiii. 29, 30. *lest while ye gather up the tares ye root up also the wheat with them: let both grow together until the harvest.*[4]

[2] 'I have shown that the civil power hath neither right, nor can do right, by forcing religious things: I will now show the wrong it doth, by violating the fundamental principle of the gospel, the new birthright of every true believer, Christian liberty.' *A Treatise of Civil Power,* &c. Prose Works, III. 337. 'Liberty, which is inseparable from Christian religion.' *Ibid.* 352.

[3] 'None more cautious of giving scandal than St. Paul. Yet while he made himself *servant to all,* that he *might gain the more,* he made himself so of his own accord, was not made so by outward force, testifying at the same time that he *was free from all men.*' *Ibid.* III. 342.

[4] ..... On earth
Who against faith and conscience can be heard
Infallible? *Paradise Lost,* XII. 528.

'Seeing then that in matters of religion, as hath been proved, none can judge or determine here on earth, no not church-governors themselves against the consciences of other believers, my inference is, or rather not mine, but our Saviour's own, that in those matters they neither can command or use constraint, lest they run rashly on a pernicious consequence, forewarned in that parable, Matt. xiii. from the 29th to the 31st verse, *lest while ye gather up the tares ye root up also the wheat with them: let both grow together until the harvest; and in the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather ye together first the tares,* &c.' *A Treatise of Civil Power,* &c. III. 323.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the

external sealing of the Covenant of Grace.

The manifestation of the covenant of grace, under the law and the gospel respectively, has been considered; we are now to speak of the sealing of that covenant, or rather of its representation under certain outward signs.

This representation, like the covenant itself and its manifestation, is common both to the law and the gospel: under the former it consisted in Circumcision and the Passover; under the latter it consists in Baptism and the Supper of the Lord. These ceremonies, particularly the two latter, are generally known by the name of Sacraments.

A Sacrament is a visible sign ordained by God, whereby he sets his seal on believers in token of his saving grace, or of the satisfaction of Christ; and whereby we on our part testify our faith and obedience to God with a sincere heart and a grateful remembrance.

Respecting circumcision, compare Gen. xvii. 10, &c. *this is my covenant which ye shall keep between me and you, and thy seed after thee; every man child among you shall be circumcised; and ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin; and it shall be a token of the covenant between me and you.* Rom. iv. 11, 12. *he received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of faith which he had yet being uncircumcised; that he might be the father of all them that believe, though they be not circumcised, that righteousness might be imputed unto them also; and the father*

of circumcision to them who are not of the circumcision only, but who also walk in the steps of that faith of our father Abraham, which he had being yet uncircumcised. Deut. x. 16. *circumcise the foreskin of your heart, and be no more stiff-necked.* xxx. 6. *Jehovah thy God will circumcise thine heart, and the heart of thy seed, to love Jehovah thy God—.* Jer. iv. 4. *circumcise yourselves to Jehovah, and take away the foreskins of your heart.* Sometimes, by a similar figure, it signifies sanctification even under the gospel. Col. ii. 11. *in whom also ye are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ.*

Subsequently, however, to the giving of the law circumcision seems to have typified the covenant of works. Rom. iv. 12. *the father of circumcision to them who are not of the circumcision only.* ii. 25. *for circumcision verily profiteth, if thou keep the law; but if thou be a breaker of the law, thy circumcision is made uncircumcision.* Gal. v. 3. *I testify again to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to do the whole law.* Hence it is said to have been given by Moses, John vii. 22, 23.

Respecting the PASSOVER, compare Exod. xii. 3, &c. *in the tenth day of this month they shall take to them every man a lamb, according to the house of their fathers, a lamb for an house,* &c. v. 13. *the blood shall be to you for a token upon the houses where ye are, and when I see the blood I will pass over you, and the plague shall not be upon you to destroy you, when I smite the land of Egypt.* v. 15. *seven days shall ye eat unleavened bread; even the first day ye shall put away leaven out of your houses.*

The passover typified the sacrifice of Christ, and the efficacy of the sprinkling of his blood for the salvation of such as celebrated the feast with purity of heart. John i. 29. *John seeth Jesus coming unto him, and saith, Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world.* xix. 36. *these things were done that the scripture should be fulfilled, A bone of him shall not be broken.* 1 Cor. v. 7. *purge out there-*

fore the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, as ye are unleavened: for even Christ our passover is sacrificed for us.

Under the gospel, the first of the sacraments commonly so called is BAPTISM, wherein THE BODIES OF BELIEVERS WHO ENGAGE THEMSELVES TO PURENESS OF LIFE ARE IMMERSED IN RUNNING WATER,[5] TO SIGNIFY THEIR REGENERATION BY THE HOLY SPIRIT, AND THEIR UNION WITH CHRIST IN HIS DEATH, BURIAL, AND RESURRECTION.

OF BELIEVERS. Matt. xxviii. 19. *teach all nations, baptizing them—.* Mark xvi. 15, 16. *preach the gospel.....he that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved.* Acts viii. 36, 37. *what doth hinder me to be baptized?.... if thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest.* Eph. v. 26. *that he might cleanse it with the washing of water by the word.* 1 Pet. iii. 21. *the like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God) by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.*

Hence it follows that infants are not to be baptized, inasmuch as they are incompetent to receive instruction, or to believe, or to enter into a covenant, or to promise or answer for themselves, or even to

[5] In *profluentem* aquam. By the admission of this word into the definition, it is evident that Milton attributed some importance to this circumstance, probably considering that the superior purity of running water was peculiarly typical of the thing signified. Hence it appears that the same epithet employed in Paradise Lost, in a passage very similar to the present, is not merely a poetical ornament.

> ..... Them who shall believe
> Baptizing *in the profluent stream,* the sign
> Of washing them from guilt of sin to life
> Pure, and in mind prepar'd, if so befall,
> For death, like that which the Redeemer died. XII. 441.

Tertullian concludes differently, arguing that any water which can be conveniently procured, is sufficient for the spirit of the ordinance. 'Nulla distinctio est mari quis an stagno, flumine an fonte, lacu an alveo diluatur; nec quidquam refert inter eos quos Joannes in Jordane, et quos Petrus in Tiberi tinxit; nisi et ille spado quem Philippus inter vias fortuita aqua tinxit, plus salutis aut minus retulit.' *De Baptismo,* IV.

hear the word. For how can infants, who understand not the word, be purified thereby; any more than adults can receive edification by hearing an unknown language? For it is not that outward baptism, which purifies only the filth of the flesh, that saves us, but *the answer of a good conscience,* as Peter testifies; of which infants are incapable.[6] Besides, baptism is not merely a covenant, containing a certain stipulation on one side, with a corresponding engagement on the other, which in the case of an infant is impossible; but it is also a vow, and as such can neither be pronounced by infants, nor required of them. See Book II. Chap. iv. under the head of vows.

It is remarkable to what futile arguments those divines have recourse, who maintain the contrary opinion. They allege Matt. xix. 14. *suffer little children, and forbid them not to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven.*[7] It appears however that they were not brought to him for the purpose of being baptized; v. 13. *then were there brought unto him little children, that he should put his hands on them and pray;* neither did Christ baptize them, but only put his hands on them, v. 15. Mark x. 16. *he took them up in his arms, put his hands upon them, and blessed them.* Seeing then that they were neither brought to Christ to be baptized, nor, when received, were actually baptized by him, it is impossible to admit the sophistical inference, that they were properly qualified for baptism; or, which is still more difficult to conceive, that not little children merely, but infants, are so qualified. For if competent to be baptized, they are competent on the same grounds to be partakers of the Lord's Supper. Let the church therefore receive infants which come unto her, after the example of Christ, with imposition of hands and benediction, but not with baptism. Again, they remind us, that *of such is the kingdom of heaven.* Is this to be understood of all without distinction, or only of such as shall subsequently

[6] For an answer to this see Wall's *Defence of his History of Infant Baptism,* p. 243. and Whitby on Matt. iii. 16.

[7] See Beveridge *on the Twenty-seventh Article.*

believe? How perfectly soever God may know them that are his, the church does not know them; what they are in the sight of God is one thing, and what they are by church privilege is another. It must mean, therefore, *of such* in respect of simplicity and innocence; whereas neither simplicity nor innocence, although they may be predicated of little children, can properly be attributed to infants, who have not as yet the faculty of reason: neither does it follow, that because any one is an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven, he is therefore admissible to every religious sacrament; or that, because he is included in the covenant, he has therefore the right of participating in such signs and seals of that covenant as demand the exercise of mature faith and reason. For the thing signified in the Supper of the Lord appertains no less to infants than the thing signified in baptism; and yet infants are not admitted to the former rite, although they were admitted to the passover, which held the same place in the former dispensation as the Lord's Supper in the present. Hence, by the way, we may perceive how weak it is to reason as follows: baptism has succeeded to circumcision; but infants were circumcised, therefore infants are to be baptized: seeing that it is equally certain that the Lord's Supper has succeeded to the passover, notwithstanding which, infants, who were admitted to the latter rite, are not admitted to the former.

They argue, again, that as it is said *we were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea,* 1 Cor. x. 2. infants must be included in the general expression. I answer, that *all did eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink,* iii. 4. yet that infants are not on this ground admitted to partake of the Lord's Supper.

They lay much stress likewise on Gen. xvii. 7. *I will establish my covenant between me and thee and thy seed after thee ..... in their generations.* No one, however, will seriously affirm that this is to be understood of infants, and not of the adult posterity of Abraham *in their generations,* that is, successively. Otherwise, we must suppose that God intended to give the land also to infants, v. 8. and that infants are

commanded to keep the covenant, v. 9. Again, Acts ii. 39. *the promise is unto you and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call.* *Your children,* that is, as they understand it, your infants: in other words, God calls those who cannot understand, and addresses those who cannot hear; an interpretation which can only have proceeded from the infancy of reasoning. Had these commentators but read two verses farther, they would have found it expressly stated, *they that gladly received his word were baptized;* whence it appears that understanding and will were necessary qualifications for baptism, neither of which are possessed by infants. So also Acts viii. 37. *if thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest be baptized;* whereas infants, so far from believing with all their heart, are incapable of even the slightest degree of faith. With regard, however, to the text on which they insist so much, *the promise is unto you and to your children,* if they had attended sufficiently to Paul's interpretation of this passage, Rom. ix. 7, 8. they would have understood that the promise was not to all seed indiscriminately, seeing that it was not even to the *seed of Abraham* according to the *flesh,* but only to the *children of God,* that is, to believers, who alone under the gospel *are the children of the promise,* and *are counted for the seed.* But none can be considered by the church as believers, till they have professed their belief. To those therefore to whom it does not appear that the promise was ever made, the church cannot with propriety give the seal of the promise in baptism.

Again, they allege the analogy between baptism and circumcision, which latter was performed on infants.[8] Coloss. ii. 11. *in whom also ye are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ; buried with him in baptism—.* In the first place, there is no other analogy between being *circumcised* and being *buried with him in baptism,* than that which exists among all sacraments by which the same thing is signified, the mode

[8] See Wall on *Infant Baptism,* Part II. Chap. x. Sect. 1. Bps. Burnet, Beveridge, and Tomline *on the Twenty-seventh Article.*

of signification being different. But, secondly, why is it necessary that things which are analogous should coincide in all points? Of circumcision, for instance, women were not partakers; in baptism they are equally included with men, whether as being a more perfect sign, or a symbol of more perfect things. For circumcision, although *a seal of the righteousness of faith*, Rom. iv. 11, 12. was such only to Abraham, who being uncircumcised had already believed, and to others who should believe in like manner; not to his posterity, who in aftertimes were circumcised before they were of an age to exercise faith, and who, consequently, could not believe in the uncircumcision. To them it was a seal in the flesh, indistinctly and obscurely given, of that grace which was at some distant period to be revealed; whereas baptism is a seal of grace already revealed, of the remission of sins, of sanctification; finally, a sign of our death and resurrection with Christ. Circumcision was given under the law and the sacrifices, and bound the individual to the observance of the whole law, (Gal. v. 3.) which was a service of bondage, and a schoolmaster to bring its followers to Christ; through baptism, on the other hand, we are initiated into the gospel, which is a reasonable, manly, and in the highest sense free service. For under the law men were not merely born, but grew up infants in a spiritual sense;[9] under the gospel, in baptism, we are born men. Hence baptism requires, as from adults, the previous conditions of knowledge and faith; whereas in circumcision all conditions are omitted, as unnecessary in the case of servants, and impracticable in that of infants. Lastly, circumcision was performed not by the priests and Levites, but by the master of a family, Gen. xvii. by the mother, Exod. iv. 26. or by any other person, a surgical operator for instance; whereas baptism, according to our opponents themselves, can only be administered by a teacher of the gospel; and even those who hold a wider opinion on the subject, allow that it can only be performed by a believer, and by one who is neither a new convert, nor unlearned in the faith. To

[9] 'They will be always learning and never knowing; always infants.' *The likeliest Means to remove Hirelings*, &c. Prose Works, III. 391.

what purpose is this, unless that the person to be baptized may be previously instructed in the doctrines of the gospel? which in the case of an infant is impossible. There is therefore no necessary analogy between circumcision and baptism; and it is our duty not to build our belief on vague parallels, but to attend exclusively to the institution of the sacrament itself, and regard its authority as paramount, according to the frequent admonition of our opponents themselves.

They contend, however, that circumcision was *the seal of the righteousness of faith;* Rom. iv. 11, 12. notwithstanding which infants were circumcised, who were incapable of belief.[1] I answer, as above, that it was indeed the seal of the righteousness of faith, but only to Abraham, and to such as after his example believed being yet uncircumcised; in the case of infants it was a thing of entirely different import, namely, an outward and merely national consecration to the external service of God, and, by implication, to the Mosaic form of worship, which was in due time to be ordained.

Lastly, it is urged that the apostles baptized whole families, and consequently infants among the rest.[2] The weakness of this argument is clearly shown by Acts viii. 12. *when they believed.....they were baptized, both men and women,* infants not being included. xvi. 31—34. *believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thy house: and they spake unto him the word of the Lord, and to all that were in his house: and he took them ..... and was baptized, he and all his, straightway ..... and he rejoiced, believing in God with all his house.* Here the expression *all his house* obviously comprehends only those who believed in his house, not infants; therefore those alone unto whom *they spake the word of the Lord,* and who believed, were baptized. The same is evident from chap. xi. 17. *forasmuch then as God gave them the like gift as he did unto us who believe—.* xviii. 8.

[1] See Bps. Beveridge and Burnet *on the Twenty-seventh Article.*

[2] See Bp. Tomline *on the Twenty-seventh Article.*

Crispus ..... believed on the Lord with all his house: and many of the Corinthians hearing believed, and were baptized. Even the baptism of John, which was but the prelude to that of Christ, is called *the baptism of repentance,* Mark i. 4. and those who came to it *were baptized, confessing their sins,* Matt. iii. 6. whereas infants are incapable either of repentance or confession. If then infants were not meet for the baptism of John, how can they be meet for the baptism of Christ, which requires knowledge, repentance, and faith, before it can be received?

IMMERSION. It is in vain alleged by those who, on the authority of Mark vii. 4. Luke xi. 38.[3] have introduced the practice of affusion in baptism instead of immersion, that to dip and to sprinkle mean the same thing; since in washing we do not sprinkle the hands, but immerse them.

TO SIGNIFY THEIR REGENERATION. John iii. 5. *except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God;* that is, if the omission proceed from neglect. Acts xxii. 16. *why tarriest thou? arise and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord.* 1 Cor. vi. 11. *but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.* Eph. v. 26. *that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word.* Tit. iii. 5. *by the washing of regeneration.*

UNION WITH CHRIST IN HIS DEATH, &c. 1 Cor. xii. 13. *by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body.* Gal. iii. 27. *as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ.* Rom. vi. 3. *know ye not that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into his death? therefore we are buried with him by baptism into*

[3] See Wall *on Infant Baptism,* Part II. Chap. viii. Vol. II. p. 300. and *Defence,* &c. Vol. III. p. 106—133.

death. Coloss. ii. 12. *buried with him in baptism.* Hence it appears that baptism was intended to represent figuratively the painful life of Christ, his death and burial, in which he was immersed, as it were, for a season: Mark x. 38. *can ye be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?* Compare also Luke xii. 50. Respecting the administration of baptism, see Chap. xxix. on the visible church, and Chap. xxxi. on particular churches.

The baptism of John was essentially the same as the baptism of Christ; but it differed in the form of words used in its administration, and in the comparative remoteness of its efficacy. If it had not been really the same, it would follow that we had not undergone the same baptism as Christ, that our baptism had not been sanctified by the person of Christ, that Christ had not fulfilled all righteousness, Matt. iii. 15. finally, that the apostles would have needed to be rebaptized, which we do not read to have been the case. In some respects, however, there was a difference; for although both baptisms were from God, Luke iii. 2, 3. vii. 29, 30. and both required repentance and faith, Acts xix. 4, 5. these requisites were less clearly propounded in the one case than in the other, and the faith required in the former instance was an imperfect faith, founded on a partial manifestation of Christ; in the latter, it was faith in a fully revealed Saviour. The baptism of Christ was also administered with a more solemn form of words, *in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,* (although it is nowhere said that this form was ever expressly used by the apostles) and attended, as above observed, with a more immediate efficacy; inasmuch as the baptism of John was with water only, Matt. iii. 11. John i. 33. Acts i. 5. xix. 2. except in the single instance of Christ, the design of which exception was not to prove the virtue of John's baptism, but to bear testimony to the Son of God. Hence the apostles did not receive the Holy Ghost till a much later period, Acts i. 5. and the Ephesians, who had been baptized with the baptism of John, *had not so much as heard whether there was any Holy Ghost,* xix. 1, 2. whereas the baptism of Christ, which was with water and the Spirit, conferred the gifts of the Spirit from the very beginning.

It is usually replied, that in the places where the baptism of John is said to be with water only, it is not intended to oppose the baptism of John to baptism with water and the Spirit, but to distinguish between the part which Christ acts in baptism, and that of the mere minister of the rite. If however this were true, the same distinction would be made with respect to other ministers of baptism, the apostles for instance; which is not the case: on the contrary, it is abundantly evident that the apostles baptized both with water and the Holy Spirit.

Considering, therefore, that the baptism of John either did not confer the gifts of the Spirit at all, or not immediately, it would appear to have been rather a kind of initiatory measure, or purification preparatory to receiving the doctrine of the gospel, in conformity with the ancient Hebrew custom that all proselytes should be baptized, than an absolute sealing of the covenant; for this latter is the province of the Spirit alone: 1 Cor. xii. 13.

Hence it appears that the baptism of Christ, although not indispensable, might without impropriety be superadded to the baptism of John. Acts xix. 5. *when they heard this, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus;* those, namely, who had been already baptized by John, v. 3. I have said, not indispensable, inasmuch as the apostles and many others appear to have rested in the baptism of John; according to which analogy, I should be inclined to conclude, that those persons who have been baptized while yet infants, and perhaps in other respects irregularly, have no need of second baptism when arrived at maturity: indeed, I should be disposed to consider baptism itself as necessary for proselytes alone, and not for those born in the church, had not the apostle taught that baptism is not merely an initiatory rite, but a figurative representation of our death, burial and resurrection with Christ.

Previously to the promulgation of the Mosaic law, Noah's ark was the type of baptism: 1 Pet. iii. 20, 21. *while the ark was a preparing,*

&c. . . . . *the like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us*—. Under the law it was typified by the cloud. 1 Cor. x. 2. *all our fathers were baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea.*

The Lord's Supper is a solemnity in which the death of Christ is commemorated by the breaking of bread and pouring out of wine, both of which elements are tasted by each individual communicant, and the benefits of his death thereby sealed to believers. Matt. xxvi. 26—29. *as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my body; and he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it: for this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins....I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine until that day,* &c. ... See also Mark xiv. 22—25. Luke xxii. 19, 20. *he took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them, saying, This is my body which is given for you; this do in remembrance of me: likewise also the cup after supper, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you.* John vi. 33. *the bread of God is he which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world.* v. 35. *I am the bread of life; he that cometh to me shall never hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst.* v. 50, 51. *this is the bread which cometh down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof, and not die: I am the living bread which came down from heaven; if any man eat of this bread he shall live for ever: and the bread that I give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.* v. 53—58. *he that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him: as the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father, so he that eateth me, even he shall live by me.* v. 63. *it is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing; the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life.* It is true that this chapter of John does not relate exclusively to the Lord's Supper, but to the participation in general, through faith, of any of the benefits of Christ's incarnation: for what is called so repeatedly, v. 50, &c. *eating the flesh of Christ* and *drinking his blood,* is described in v. 35. as *coming to Christ* and *believing in him;*

in the same manner as the phrase in chap. iv. 10, 14. *that living water, of which whosoever drinketh he shall never thirst,* cannot be referred in a primary sense either to baptism, or to the Lord's Supper, but must be considered as an expression purely metaphorical. Nevertheless, the words of Christ to his disciples in this chapter throw a strong light, by anticipation, on the nature of the sacrament which was to be so shortly afterwards instituted (for *the passover was nigh*, v. 4.) They teach us, by an obvious inference, that *flesh*, or the mere bodily food received, has no more spiritual efficacy in the sacrament than it had in the miracle of the loaves there recorded; and that the flesh which he verily and indeed gives is not that which can be eaten with the teeth, and by any one indiscriminately, but the food of faith alone; a heavenly and spiritual bread, *which came down from heaven*, not earthly, (as it must be, if we suppose that what he gave on that occasion was his literal flesh born of the Virgin) but heavenly in a higher sense than manna itself, and of which *he that eateth shall live for ever*, v. 58. Were it, as the Papists hold, his literal flesh, and eaten by all in the Mass, the consequence would be that the very worst of the communicants (to say nothing of the mice and worms by which the eucharist is occasionally devoured) would through the virtue of this heavenly bread attain eternal life. That *living bread* therefore which Christ calls *his flesh*, and that *blood* which is *drink indeed*, can be nothing but the doctrine of Christ's having become man in order to shed his blood for us; a doctrine which whosoever receives by faith, shall as surely attain eternal life, as the partaking of meats and drinks supports our brief term of bodily existence: nay, more surely; for thus, as above quoted, *Christ dwells in us, and we in him;* whereas the food which is received into the body does not dwell there, being carried off partly by natural transpiration,[4] and partly in other ways, as soon as the process of digestion is completed.

[4] .....with keen dispatch
Of real hunger, and concoctive heat
To transubstantiate; what redounds, transpires
Through spirits with ease. *Paradise Lost*, V. 436.

This solemnity is called by Paul *the Lord's Supper*, 1 Cor. xi. 20. and its original institution by Christ, together with an explanation of the rite, is given v. 23—30. *I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat; this is my body which is broken for you; this do in remembrance of me: after the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood; this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me: for as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come.* It is also incidentally explained x. 16, 17, 21. *the cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? the bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? for we being many are one bread, and one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread.*

Under the law, the Lord's Supper was typified by the manna, and the water flowing from the rock. 1 Cor. x. 3, 4. *our fathers did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink: for they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ.* If they under a carnal covenant partook spiritually of the body of Christ, surely we do not partake of it carnally under a spiritual covenant.

I have quoted the above passages at length, inasmuch as in them is comprised the whole Scripture doctrine relative to the Lord's Supper. Whosoever interprets these with true Christian simplicity of heart according to their plain and obvious meaning, will be at a loss to account for the numberless absurd speculations on this subject, by which the peace of the church has been destroyed, and which have well nigh converted the Supper of the Lord into a banquet of cannibals.

Consubstantiation,[5] and above all the papistical doctrine of transubstantiation (or rather anthropophagy, for it deserves no better name)

[5] 'The Lutheran holds consubstantiation; an error indeed, but not mortal.' *Of true Religion*, &c. Prose Works, IV. 262.

are irreconcileable, not only with reason and common sense, and the habits of mankind, but with the testimony of Scripture, with the nature and end of a sacrament, with the analogy of baptism, with the ordinary forms of language, with the human nature of Christ, and finally with the state of glory in which he is to remain till the day of judgement.

In speaking of sacraments, as of most other subjects between whose parts an analogy exists, a figure is frequently employed, by which whatever illustrates or signifies any particular thing is used to denote, not what it is in itself, but what it illustrates or signifies. In sacraments, on account of the peculiarly close relation between the sign and the thing signified, this kind of identification is not uncommon; an inattention to which peculiarity has been, and continues to be, a source of error to numbers. Thus circumcision is called *a covenant*, Gen. xvii. 10. and *a token of the covenant*, v. 11. Again, a lamb is called *the passover*, Exod. xii. 11. which text is defended against the exceptions of objectors by the similar passages, Luke xxii. 7. *the passover must be killed.* v. 8. *prepare us the passover.* v. 11. *where I shall eat the passover.* v. 13. *they made ready the passover.* A similar expression occurs 2 Sam. xxiii. 17. *is not this the blood of the men that went in jeopardy of their lives?* Accordingly, the same form of speech is used in regard to baptism: Eph. v. 26. *that he might cleanse it with the washing of water by the word;* Col. ii. 12. *buried with him in baptism;* and to the Lord's Supper: Matt. xxvi. 26, 27. *as they were eating, Jesus took bread,* &c.....*take, eat; this is my body.* Compare also Mark xiv. 23. and Luke xxii. 20. *this cup is the new testament.* See also 1 Cor. xi. 25. Again, 1 Cor. x. 4. *that rock was Christ.* The object of the sacred writers, in thus expressing themselves, was probably to denote the close affinity between the sign and the thing signified, as well as, by a bold metaphor, to intimate the certainty with which the seal is thus set to spiritual blessings; the same form of speech being used in other instances, where the certainty of a thing is to be emphatically expressed: Gen. xli. 27. *the seven kine are seven years.* Rev. i. 20. xvii. 9.

the seven heads are seven mountains, and v. 12. *the ten horns are ten kings.*

Lastly, since every sacrament is, by its very definition, a seal of the covenant of grace, it is evident that the Papists err, when they attribute to the outward sign the power of bestowing salvation or grace by virtue of the mere *opus operatum;* seeing that sacraments can neither impart salvation nor grace of themselves, but are given as a pledge or symbol to believers of the actual blessings. 1 Pet. iii. 21. *not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience.*

Hence it follows, that sacraments are not absolutely indispensable: first, because many have been saved without partaking of them; thus circumcision was dispensed with in the case of women, baptism in that of the thief on the cross, and doubtless of many infants and catechumens. Thus also many have obtained the gifts of the Spirit through the word and faith alone. Acts x. 44. *the Holy Ghost fell on all them which heard the word.* Nor was John himself, the first who administered the rite, baptized, although he testified that he also had need of baptism, Matt. iii. 14. The same was not improbably the case with Apollos, inasmuch as this latter does not appear to have left his native city of Alexandria for Ephesus till long after the death of John; nor can it be inferred with certainty, from its being said of him that he *knew only the baptism of John,* that he had actually undergone the ceremony. Yet, as far as appears, Aquila and Priscilla considered a more thorough initiation in the gospel all that was wanting to him, without requiring that he should be baptized, Acts xviii. 24—26. Secondly, the seal does not constitute the covenant, but is only an evidence of it; whence Abraham, after that he had already believed and was justified, received circumcision as the seal of his righteousness. When therefore it is said John iii. 5. *except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God,* this must be understood in a conditional sense, assuming that a fit opportunity has been offered, and that it has not been lost through neglect. The same may be said of Eph. v. 26. *that*

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

he might cleanse it with the washing of water by the word, and Tit. iii. 5. *by the washing of regeneration;* for the gospel is also called *the power of God unto salvation,* Rom. i. 16. and we are said *to be born again by the word,* 1 Pet. i. 23. although those who die in infancy must either be regenerated by the Spirit alone, without any outward reception of the gospel or word, or they must perish altogether. In the same manner, he who believes only, drinks of that living water which is the blood of Christ, and eats of that heavenly bread which is the flesh of Christ, and has eternal life: John iv. and vi. as above. When therefore the necessity of the sacraments is under discussion, it may in like manner be urged, that it is the Spirit which quickens, and that it is faith which feeds upon the body of Christ; that on the other hand the outward feeding of the body, as it cannot always take place conveniently, so neither is it absolutely necessary. Assuredly, if a sacrament be nothing more than what it is defined, a seal, or rather visible representation of God's benefits to us, he cannot be wrong, who reposes the same faith in God's promises without as with this confirmation, in cases where it is not possible for him to receive it duly and conveniently; especially as so many opportunities are open to him through life of evincing his gratitude to God, and commemorating the death of Christ, though not in the precise mode and form which God has instituted.

We nowhere read in Scripture of the Lord's Supper being distributed to the first Christians by an appointed minister; we are only told that they partook of it in common, and that frequently, and in private houses. Acts ii. 42. *they continued stedfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers.* v. 46. *they continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart.* xx. 7. *upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them—.* I know no reason therefore why ministers refuse to permit the celebration of the Lord's Supper, except where they themselves are allowed to administer it; for if it be alleged

that Christ gave the bread and wine to his disciples, it may be replied, first, that we nowhere read of his giving them to each individually, and secondly, that he was then acting in the character, not of a minister, but of the founder of a new institution. With regard to the expression in 1 Cor. iv. 1. *let a man so account of us, as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God*, it is evident that Paul is there speaking of himself and the other ministers of his own order, who were the exclusive stewards of the divine mysteries, that is, of the doctrine of the Gospel, before hidden, but then first revealed from God; not of bread and wine, for they did not *serve tables*, Acts vi. 2. not even those at which we may suppose them to have met constantly for the celebration of the sacrament; in like manner as Paul himself was not sent *to baptize, but to preach the gospel*, 1 Cor. i. 17. That the *mysteries* in question are to be understood of doctrine, is evident from the verse following, *it is required in stewards that a man be found faithful*; for it would be derogating from the dignity of such a steward as Paul to consider faithfulness in administering bread and wine (which are mere elements, and not mysteries) as of sufficient importance to be specified in his case among the requisite qualifications for the office. So also chap. x. 16, 17. the cup of blessing and the breaking of bread is spoken of as common to all, who are qualified to participate in the communion itself. For Christ is the sole priest of the new covenant, Heb. vii. 23, 24. nor is there any order of men which can claim to itself either the right of distributing or the power of withholding the sacred elements, seeing that in Christ we are all alike priests, 1 Pet. ii. 9. Rev. i. 6.[6] Even were it otherwise, however, it is not conceivable that there should be any such essential distinction between the passover and the Lord's Supper, that whereas under the law, when it was forbidden to all but the priests and Levites even to touch the sacred things, there was no ordinance restricting the celebration of the passover to the members of that body, under the gospel, by which these ceremonial sanctities have been abolished, and a wider scope given to the rights and liberties of

[6] 'We now under Christ, a royal priesthood, 1 Pet. ii. 9. as we are coheirs, kings and priests with him.' *The likeliest Means to remove Hirelings*, &c. Prose Works, III. 359.

believers, the dispensing of the elements, which in Scripture is committed to no one in particular, should be considered as an unfit office for any but the ministers of the church; so that the master of a family, or any one appointed by him, is not at liberty to celebrate the Lord's Supper from house to house, as was done in the dispensation of the passover: if indeed we are to suppose that any distribution of the elements by an individual officiator was then, or is now, requisite.

The sacraments are not to be approached without self-examination and renunciation of sin. 2 Chron. xxx. 13—15. *they arose and took away the altars that were in Jerusalem, and all the altars for incense took they away, and cast them into the brook Kidron: then they killed the passover.* Ezra vi. 21. *all such as had separated themselves unto them from the filthiness of the heathen of the land, to seek Jehovah, God of Israel, did eat.* 1 Cor. xi. 28. *let a man examine himself.*

The neglect, or the improper celebration of the sacraments, equally provokes the indignation of the Deity. Exod. iv. 24—26. *Jehovah met him and sought to kill him: then Zipporah took a sharp stone, and cut off the foreskin of her son..... so he let him go.* 1 Cor. xi. 29, &c. *he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body: for this cause many are weak and sickly among you—.* Hence it is not only allowable, but necessary to defer partaking in them, till such time as a proper place and season, purity of heart and life, and a regular communion of believers, concur to warrant their celebration. Exod. xiii. 5. *it shall be when Jehovah shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanites.....that thou shalt keep this service in this month.* Numb. ix. 10, 11. *if any man of you or of your posterity shall be unclean by reason of a dead body, or be in a journey afar off, yet he shall keep the passover unto Jehovah; the fourteenth day of the second month at even they shall keep it.* Compare also 2 Chron. iii. 2, 3. Josh. v. 5. *all the people that were born in the wilderness, by the way as they came forth out of Egypt, them they had not circumcised.*

The mass of the Papists differs from the Lord's Supper in several respects. In the first place, the one is an ordinance of our Lord, the other an institution of the Pope. Secondly, the Lord's Supper is celebrated in remembrance of Christ once offered, which offering he himself made by virtue of his own peculiar priesthood, Heb. vii. 24, 25, 27. ix. 15, 25, 26. x. 10, 12, 14. whereas in the mass the offering itself is supposed to be repeated daily, and that by innumerable petty priests at the same point of time. Thirdly, Christ offered himself, not at the holy Supper, but on the cross; whereas it is in the mass that the pretended daily sacrifice takes place. Fourthly, in the Lord's Supper the real body of the living Lord, made of the Virgin Mary, was personally present; in the mass, by the mere muttering of the four mystical words *this is my body*, it is supposed to be created out of the substance of the bread at some given moment, for the sole purpose of being broken in pieces as soon as created. Fifthly, in the Lord's Supper the bread and wine, after consecration, remain unchanged in substance as in name; in the mass, if we believe the Papists, although the outward appearance remains the same, they are converted by a sudden metamorphosis into the body of our Lord. Sixthly, in the Lord's Supper, according to the original institution, all the communicants drink of the cup; in the mass, the cup is refused to the laity. Lastly, in the mass the sacred body of Christ, after having completed its appointed course of hardship and suffering, is dragged back from its state of exaltation at the right hand of the Father to a condition even more wretched and degrading than before; it is again exposed to be broken, and crushed, and bruised by the teeth not only of men, but of brutes; till, having passed through the whole process of digestion, it is cast out at length into the draught; a profanation too horrible to be even alluded to without shuddering.

It is manifest from the very definition of the word, that the other sacraments so called by the Papists, namely, CONFIRMATION, REPENTANCE, EXTREME UNCTION, ORDINATION, and MARRIAGE, cannot be such in the proper sense of the term; inasmuch as they are not of divine

institution, neither do they possess any sign appointed by God for the sealing of the covenant of grace.

CONFIRMATION or IMPOSITION OF HANDS was, it is true, administered by Christ, not however as a sacrament, but as a form of blessing, according to a common Jewish custom, derived probably from patriarchal times, when fathers were accustomed to lay their hands on their children in blessing them, and magistrates on those whom they appointed their successors, as Moses on Joshua, Numb. xxvii. 18. Hence the apostles usually laid hands on such as were baptized, or chosen to any ecclesiastical office; usually, I say, not always: for, although we read of imposition of hands on the seven deacons, Acts vi. 6. we do not find that this ceremony was practised towards Matthias, when he was numbered with the eleven apostles, Acts i. 26. In the case of the baptized, imposition of hands conferred, not indeed saving grace, but miraculous powers, and the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit: Acts viii. 17, &c. xix. 6. 1 Tim. iv. 14. 2 Tim. i. 6. Hence, although the church rejects this ceremony as a sacrament, she retains it with great propriety and advantage as a symbol of blessing. Heb. vi. 2. *the doctrine of baptisms, and of laying on of hands.*

With respect to ORDINATION, and to the act of REPENTANCE for sins committed subsequently to baptism, (the only kind of repentance to which the Papists apply the name of a sacrament) we have no objection to their being called sacraments, in the sense of religious emblems, or symbols of things sacred, analogous to the ancient custom of washing the feet of the poor, and the like. It is unnecessary to be very scrupulous as to the sense of a word which nowhere occurs in Scripture. Repentance however has no peculiar sign attached to it, neither is it a seal of the covenant, any more than faith.

With regard to MARRIAGE, inasmuch as it is not an institution peculiar to Christian nations, but common to all by the universal law of mankind, (unless it be meant to restrict the word to the union of believers

properly so called,) it is not even a religious ceremony, still less a sacrament, but a compact purely civil; nor does its celebration belong in any manner to the ministers of the church.[7]

As to the UNCTION OF THE SICK, it is true that the apostles *anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them*, Mark vi. 13. and James enjoins the same custom, v. 14, 15. This rite, however, was not of the nature of a sacrament; and as it was employed solely in conjunction with miraculous powers, with the cessation of those powers its use must have also ceased. There is therefore no analogy between the anointing of the first Christians, and the extreme unction of the modern Papists; seeing that, in the first place, the apostles anointed not only those who were at the point of death, as is now the custom, but all, as many as were grievously sick; and that, secondly, this unction was attended with the cure of their disorder: Mark vi. 13.

To the above may be added, that sacraments, being instituted chiefly for purposes in which all are concerned, namely, as tokens of the sealing of the covenant of grace, and for the confirmation of our faith, ought to be imparted equally to all believers; whereas of the five papistical sacraments above mentioned, four are exclusively appropriated to particular classes of individuals; repentance to the lapsed, ordination to the clergy, extreme unction to the sick, marriage to the lay members of the church alone.

[7] 'They insinuated that marriage was not holy without their benediction, and for the better colour, made it a sacrament; being of itself a civil ordinance, a household contract, a thing indifferent and free to the whole race of mankind, not as religious, but as men; best indeed undertaken to religious ends, and as the apostle saith, 1 Cor. vii. *in the Lord;* yet not therefore invalid or unholy without a minister and his pretended necessary hallowing, more than any other act, enterprize, or contract of civil life, which ought all to be done also in the Lord and to his glory: all which, no less than marriage, were by the cunning of priests heretofore, as material to their profit, transacted at the altar. Our divines deny it to be a sacrament, yet retained the celebration, till prudently a late parliament recovered the civil liberty of marriage from their encroachment, and transferred the ratifying and registering thereof from the canonical shop to the proper cognizance of civil magistrates.' *Considerations on the likeliest Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church.* Prose Works, III. 371.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of

The Visible Church.

We have hitherto treated of the vocation of man, and of the effects thereby produced, whether consisting in a mere outward change of character, or in actual regeneration; of the spiritual increase of the regenerate; of the various manifestations of the offered covenant; and, finally, of the sealing of that covenant by sacraments.

The assembly of those who are called is termed the visible church. By the called, I mean those indiscriminately who have received the call, whether they be actually regenerate or otherwise. Matt. iii. 12. *whose fan is in his hand, and he will throughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into his garner; but he will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.* xiii. 24, 25. *the kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man which sowed good seed in his field; but while men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat.* v. 47. *the kingdom of heaven is like unto a net that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind.* xxii. 9, 10. *go ye therefore into the highways.....and they gathered together all as many as they found, both bad and good.* xxv. 1, 2. *then shall the kingdom of heaven be likened unto ten virgins.....and five of them were wise, and five were foolish.* 1 John ii. 19. *they went out from us, but they were not of us.*

The tokens of the visible church are, pure doctrine; the proper external worship of God; genuine evangelical love, so far as it can be

distinguished from the fictitious by mere human perception; and a right administration of the seals of the covenant. Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. *go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them.....teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.* Acts ii. 42. *they continued stedfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers.* 1 Tim. iii. 15. *the church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth.* The tokens of the Jewish church enumerated by St. Paul are not dissimilar: Rom. ix. 4. *who are Israelites; to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises.* On the other hand, he intimates, that where these tokens are wanting, there is no church. Eph. ii. 12. *at that time ye were without Christ, being aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenant of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world.*

As to what are called signs, Mark xvi. 17, 18. *these signs shall follow them that believe; in my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover;* these are not to be considered as tokens uniformly attending the visible church, but as testimonies which, however necessary at the time of its first establishment, when the doctrines of Christianity were to Jews and Gentiles alike, new, unheard of, and all but incredible, are less requisite at the present period, when men are educated in the apostolical faith, and begin their belief from their earliest childhood. Under these circumstances, the same end is answered by their hearing and reading of the miracles performed at the beginning by Christ and his apostles. Deut. xxxi. 13. *that their children, which have not known anything, may hear, and learn to fear Jehovah your God, as long as ye live—.* So also 1 Cor. xiv. 22. *tongues are for a sign, not to them that believe, but to them that believe not,* and *they shall cease,* 1 Cor. xiii. 8. The working of miracles was sometimes permitted even to impostors, and to a false church. Deut. xiii. 1—3. *if there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth*

thee a sign or a wonder, and the sign or the wonder come to pass whereof he spake unto thee ..... thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams; for Jehovah your God proveth you, to know whether ye love Jehovah your God with all your heart and with all your soul. Matt. vii. 22, 23. *many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name, and in thy name have cast out devils, and in thy name have done many wonderful works? and then will I profess unto them, I never knew you.* xxiv. 24. *there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders, insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect.* Gal. i. 8. *though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed.* 2 Thess. ii. 9. *whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders.* Rev. xiii. 13. *he doeth great wonders.*

Neither is the re-establishment of the church uniformly attended by miracles; in like manner as this species of attestation was not granted to several of the prophets, nor to the Baptist, John x. 41. nor in all cases to the apostles themselves, Matt. xvii. 16. *I brought him to thy disciples, and they could not cure him.* 2 Tim. iv. 20. *Trophimus have I left at Miletum sick:* whence it appears that Paul was unable to heal, not only one who was a believer, but who was of note among the believers.

Miracles have no inherent efficacy in producing belief, any more than simple preaching; it is God that gives the right heart in the one case as in the other.[8] Deut. xxix. 2—4. *ye have seen all that Jehovah did before your eyes in the land of Egypt ..... yet Jehovah hath not given you an heart to perceive, and eyes to see, and ears to hear, unto this day.* Psal. lxxviii. 11. *they forgat his wonders.* v. 32. *they believed not his wondrous works.* Luke xvi. 31. *if they hear not Moses and the pro-*

[8] 'It is God only who gives as well to believe aright, as to believe at all. *Considerations touching the likeliest Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church*' Prose Works, III. 351.

phets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead. Acts iv. 16, 17. *that a notable miracle hath been done by them is manifest to all them that dwell in Jerusalem, and we cannot deny it.* Those also are declared blessed who believe without the testimony of miracles. John xx. 29. *blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.* Matt. xii. 39, &c. *an evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign, and there shall no sign be given it, but the sign of the prophet Jonas ... the men of Nineveh shall rise in judgement with this generation, and shall condemn it, because they repented at the preaching of Jonas.* Luke x. 20. *in this rejoice not, that the spirits are subject unto you, but rather rejoice because your names are written in heaven.*

So long therefore as charity, the greatest of all gifts, exists, and wheresoever it is found, we cannot doubt that the visible church there established is a true church. John xiii. 35. *by this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.* 1 Cor. xii. 31. *covet earnestly the best gifts: and yet show I you a more excellent way.* xiii. 1, &c. *though I speak with the tongue of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass—.* v. 8. *charity never faileth: but whether there be prophecies, they shall fail—.* v. 13. *now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity.*

As Christ is the head of the mystical church, so no one besides Christ has the right or power of presiding over the visible church.[9] Matt. xviii. 20. *there am I in the midst of them.* xxviii. 20. *I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.* 1 Cor. v. 4. *in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, with*

[9] ..... Man over men
He made not lord; such title to himself
Reserving, human left from human free. *Paradise Lost,* XII. 69.

'Christ hath a government of his own, sufficient of itself to all his ends and purposes in governing his church.' *Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes.* Prose Works, III. 331.

the power of our Lord Jesus Christ. Heb. iii. 6. *Christ as a son over his own house.* Rev. ii. 1. *who walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks.* They are therefore in error, who would set up an earthly head over the church in the person of the apostle Peter, and his successors commonly so called, the Roman pontiffs; for which no authority can be found in Scripture.[1] As to Peter, it does not appear that any preference was given to him over the other apostles, either with regard to his mission, Matt. x. 1. or to any special command assigned to him, John xx. 21, 22. or to any authority reposed in him for the deciding of controversies, Acts xv. 2, 6, 7, 19, 23, 25. or to his knowledge of the faith, at least to his constancy in professing it, since he fell grievously in his denial of Christ, and was afterwards reprehensible, though in a less degree, in the matter for which he was reproved by Paul, Gal. ii. 11. He was *also an elder* like the others, 1 Pet. v. 1. neither is he promised any distinction of honours hereafter, Matt. xix. 28. nor is superiority of any kind attributed to him rather than to James, or John, or Paul and Barnabas, Gal. ii. 9. Nay, he was the apostle of the circumcision only, as was Paul of the Gentiles, v. 8, 9. who was *not a whit behind the very chiefest apostles,* 2 Cor. xi. 5. He was likewise sent as the colleague of John into Samaria, Acts viii. 14. and gave an account of his apostleship to those who contended with him, xi. 2. Lastly, the church is not said to be *built upon the foundation* of Peter alone, but *of the apostles,* Eph. ii. 20. Rev. xxi. 14. Even supposing, however, that it were otherwise, how can a *foundation* have any succession? Nor does the celebrated text, Matt. xvi. 18, 19. which is perverted by the Pope to form the charter of his authority, confer any distinction on Peter beyond what is not enjoyed by other professors of the same faith. For inasmuch as many others confessed no less explicitly than Peter that Christ was the

[1] 'All Protestants hold that Christ in his church hath left no vicegerent of his power; but himself, without deputy, is the only head thereof, governing it from heaven: how then can any Christian man derive his kingship from Christ, but with worse usurpation than the pope his headship over the church? since Christ not only hath not left the least shadow of a command for any such vicegerence from him in the state, as the pope pretends for his in the church'—. *Ready Way to establish a Free Commonwealth.* Prose Works, III. 411.

Son of God (as is clear from the narrative of the evangelists) the answer of Christ is not, *upon thee Peter*, but *upon this rock I will build my church*, that is, upon this faith which thou hast in common with other believers, not upon thee as an individual; seeing that, in the personal sense of the word, the true rock is Christ, 1 Cor. x. 4. nor is there any other foundation, iii. 11. whence also faith in Christ is called the foundation, Jude 20. *building up yourselves on your most holy faith;* and the same term is applied to the apostles as the original teachers of that faith, though not to the exclusion of others, Eph. ii. 20. *ye are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets.* Nor is it to Peter exclusively that the keys of the kingdom of heaven are committed,[2] inasmuch as the power of those keys, as it is called, or the right of binding and loosing, is not entrusted to him alone, Matt. xviii. 18, 19. *whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven*, &c. John xx. 23. *whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them.* Nor does the passage of John, xxi. 15, &c. imply that the office of feeding the flock of Christ was committed to Peter in any higher sense than to the others; the meaning of the repetition is, that he who had fallen by denying his master thrice, is here, by a confession as often repeated, restored to the place from whence he fell; and that he who in his overweening self-confidence had maintained that he loved Christ more than all the rest, is at once reminded of the event by which his weakness had been manifested, and admonished that if he really loved Christ more than the other disciples, he should show that love by a greater assiduity in feeding Christ's flock, and

[2] Milton elsewhere, to ridicule the notion that Peter and his successors are specially entrusted with the keys of heaven, places him at the 'wicket,' while 'embryos and idiots, eremites and friars, white, black and gray, with all their trumpery,' are 'blown transverse' into the paradise of fools.

> And now Saint Peter at heaven's wicket seems
> To wait them with his keys—. *Paradise Lost*, III. 484.

In Lycidas, however, the allusion to the keys is introduced more seriously.

> Last came, and last did go
> The pilot of the Galilean lake;
> Two massy keys he bore of metals twain,
> The golden opes, the iron shuts amain. 108.

more particularly his lambs; being in effect a repetition of the charge he had shortly before received, Luke xxii. 32. *when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren.* For to feed the sheep of Christ, that is, to teach all nations, was the common office of all the apostles. Matt. xxviii. 19.

Granting, however, to Peter all that is claimed for him, what proof have we that the same privileges are continued to his successors? or that these successors are the Roman pontiffs?

THE VISIBLE CHURCH is either UNIVERSAL or PARTICULAR.

THE UNIVERSAL VISIBLE CHURCH IS THE WHOLE MULTITUDE OF THOSE WHO ARE CALLED IN EVERY PART OF THE WORLD, AND WHO OPENLY WORSHIP GOD THE FATHER THROUGH CHRIST IN ANY PLACE WHATEVER, EITHER INDIVIDUALLY, OR IN CONJUNCTION WITH OTHERS.

IN ANY PLACE WHATEVER. John iv. 21. *the hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father.* 1 Cor. i. 2. *with all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord.*

EITHER INDIVIDUALLY, &c. for although it is the duty of believers to join themselves, if possible, to a church duly constituted,[3] Heb. x. 25.

[3] This is an important passage, because it discloses Milton's real views upon a point on which his opinions have been represented in a more unfavourable light than they seem to have deserved. Bishop Newton remarks that 'in the latter part of his life he was not a professed member of any particular sect of Christians, he frequented no public worship, nor used any religious rite in his family. Whether so many different forms of worship as he had seen had made him indifferent to all forms; or whether he thought that all Christians had in some things corrupted the purity and simplicity of the gospel; or whether he disliked their endless and uncharitable disputes, and that love of dominion and inclination to persecution which he said was a piece of popery inseparable from all churches; or whether he believed that a man might be a good Christian without joining in any communion; or whether he did not look upon himself as inspired, as wrapt up in God, and above all forms and ceremonies, it is not easy to determine: *to his own master he standeth or falleth:* but if he was of any denomination, he was a sort of Quietist, and was full of the interior of religion, though he so little regarded the exterior.' The note of Mr. Hawkins on this passage, (Hawkins's Edition of Milton's Poetical Works, Vol. I. p. 101.) deserves to be mentioned

not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is, but exhorting one another; yet such as cannot do this conveniently, or with full satisfaction of conscience, are not to be considered as excluded from the blessing bestowed by God on the churches. 1 Kings xix. 10, 14. *I, even I only, am left.* v. 18. *yet I have left me seven thousand in Israel.* John iv. 23. *the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth; for the Father seeketh such to worship him.* 1 Cor. i. 2. *unto the church of God which is at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints, with all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, both their's and our's.* 2 Cor. i. 1. *unto the church of God which is at Corinth, with all the saints which are in all Achaia.*

The universal church consists of MINISTERS and PEOPLE.[4] 1 Cor. iii. 9. *we are labourers together with God; ye are God's husbandry, ye are God's building.* 2 Cor. iv. 5. *ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake.* Matt. xx. 25—28. *even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister.* Rom. x. 14. *how shall they hear without a preacher?*

MINISTERS are PERSONS APPOINTED BY DIVINE COMMISSION TO PERFORM VARIOUS OFFICES IN THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

BY DIVINE COMMISSION. Jer. xxiii. 21. *I have not sent these prophets, yet they ran; I have not spoken to them, yet they prophesied.* Matt.

as containing the most candid and judicious estimate of Milton's character which has ever been taken. Many parts of the present treatise bear a remarkable testimony to the acuteness with which Mr. Hawkins has detected some of the errors of Milton's religious system, by the unprejudiced spirit in which he has examined the imperfect materials afforded him in the printed works. He observes as follows on Milton's alleged disuse of public worship, which is asserted on the authority of Toland. 'The reproach that has been thrown upon him of frequenting no place of public worship in his latter days, should be received, as Dr. Symmons observes, with some caution. His blindness and other infirmities might be in part his excuse; and it is certain that his daily employments were always ushered in by devout meditation and study of the Scriptures.'

[4] 'Let no man cavil, but take the church of God as meaning the whole consistence of orders and members, as St. Paul's epistles express.' *Of Reformation in England.* Prose Works, I. 11.

xxviii. 19, 20. *go ye therefore, and teach all nations—.* Rom. x. 15. *how shall they preach, except they be sent?* 1 Cor. ii. 1. *I came not with excellency of speech or of wisdom, declaring unto you the testimony of God.* v. 4. *my speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power.* v. 13. *which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth; comparing spiritual things with spiritual.* 1 Tim. iv. 6. *if thou put the brethren in remembrance of these things, thou shalt be a good minister of Jesus Christ, nourished up in the words of faith and of good doctrine, whereunto thou hast attained.*

VARIOUS OFFICES. 1 Cor. xii. 28. *God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments, diversities of tongues.* Acts xx. 20, 21. *I kept back nothing that was profitable unto you, but have shewed you, and have taught you publicly, and from house to house, testifying both to the Jews, and also to the Greeks, repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ.* 2 Tim. iv. 2. *preach the word, be instant in season, out of season, reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine.* 2 Pet. i. 12. *I will not be negligent to put you always in remembrance of these things, though ye know them, and be established in the present truth.*

Ministerial labours are of no efficacy in themselves, independently of divine grace. 1 Cor. iii. 7. *neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase.* A reward, however, is laid up for such as are faithful in the ministry. Isai. xlix. 4. *then I said, I have laboured in vain, I have spent my strength for nought, and in vain; yet surely my judgement is with Jehovah, and my work with my God.* Dan. xii. 3. *they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever.*

THE MINISTERS of the universal church are either EXTRAORDINARY or ORDINARY. 1 Cor. xii. 28. as above. Eph. iv. 11—13. *he gave some,*

apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ; till we all come in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God—: where it is observable that pastors and teachers are used synonymously; for the apostle does not say, *he gave some, pastors, some, teachers,* but merely adds the second or proper title as an explanation of the figurative term; whereby is evinced the futility of the modern academical title of doctor, as distinguishing its possessor from other ministers of the word.[5] For the provinces of teaching and of exhortation are nowhere separated, but are both alike assigned to the pastor, no less than to the teacher so called; the functions are twofold, but the office and the agent are one; although individuals may possess peculiar powers either of teaching or of exhortation, and may be distinguished as such, Rom. xii. 7, 8.

EXTRAORDINARY MINISTERS are persons inspired and sent on a special mission by God, for the purpose of planting the church where it did not before exist, or of reforming its corruptions, either through the medium of preaching or of writing. To this class belong the prophets, apostles, evangelists, and the like. 1 Cor. iv. 1. *let a man so account of us as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God.* Gal. i. 1. *Paul, an apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised him from the dead.* v. 17. *neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were apostles before me.* ii. 6. *of those who seemed to be somewhat, whatsoever they were, it maketh no matter to me; God accepteth no man's person: for they who seemed to be somewhat, in conference added nothing unto me.* Acts xiii. 2. *the Holy Ghost said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them.* 2 Tim. iv. 5. *do the work of an evangelist.*

[5] Titles of honour are spoken of in the same slighting manner in the prophetic view which Michael unfolds to Adam of the corruptions which should prevail in the latter times of the church.

> Then shall they seek to avail themselves of names,
> Places, and titles, and with these to join
> Secular power—. *Paradise Lost,* XII. 515.

Any believer is competent to act as an ORDINARY MINISTER,[6] according as convenience may require, provided only he be endowed with the necessary gifts;[7] these gifts constituting his mission. Such were, before the law, the fathers or eldest sons of families,[8] as Abel, Noah, Abraham, &c. Jethro, Exod. xviii. 12. xix. 22. *let the priests also, which come near to Jehovah, sanctify themselves*—. xxiv. 5. *he sent young men of the children of Israel, which offered burnt-offerings, and sacrificed peace-offerings of oxen unto Jehovah.* Such were, under the law, Aaron and his posterity, the whole tribe of Levi, and lastly the prophets. In like manner, any one, who appeared to be in other respects qualified, was allowed to teach openly in the synagogue, though he were neither priest nor Levite; a permission which was granted to Christ, and subsequently to Paul at Antioch. Acts xiii. 15. *after the reading of the law and the prophets, the rulers of the synagogue sent unto them, saying, Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on.* How much more then must every believer endowed with similar gifts enjoy the same liberty under the gospel? Accordingly, this liberty is expressly

[6] It is evident from many passages in the printed works of Milton, that even the presbyterian institutions did not accord with his notions of Christian liberty. He often attacks the presbyters, during the time when episcopacy was abolished, with as much severity as the bishops during their ascendency. Warton observes, that he contended for that sort of individual or personal religion, by which every man is to be his own priest. See his edition of Milton's smaller Poems, p. 326. Edit. 1785. 'The third priesthood only remaining, is common to all the faithful.' *Considerations,* &c. Prose Works, III. 383. 'If all the faithful be now *a holy and a royal priesthood,* 1 Pet. ii. 5, 9. not excluded from the dispensation of things holiest, after free election of the church, and imposition of hands ... for the gospel makes no difference from the magistrate himself to the meanest artificer, if God evidently favour him with spiritual gifts, as he can easily, and oft hath done.' *Ibid.* 390. 'So is he by the same appointment (of God) ordained, and by the church's call admitted, to such offices of discipline in the church, to which his own spiritual gifts.... have authorized him.' *Reason of Church Government,* &c. I. 138. See also p. 139. 'The functions of church government——commend him.'

[7] 'Heretofore in the first evangelic times (and it were happy for Christendom if it were so again) ministers of the gospel were by nothing else distinguished from other Christians but by their spiritual knowledge and sanctity of life.' *Considerations,* &c. III. 390.

[8] 'In the beginning this authority seems to have been placed, as all both civil and religious rites once were, only in each father of a family.' *Reason of Church Government,* &c. Prose Works, I. 134. 'In those days was no priest, but the father, or the first-born of each family.' *Considerations,* &c. III. 359.

conceded: Mark ix. 38, 39. *we saw one casting out devils in thy name, and he followeth not us; and we forbad him, because he followeth not us: but Jesus said, Forbid him not.* Acts viii. 4. *they that were scattered abroad went everywhere preaching the word.* xi. 19, &c. *they which were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen, travelled as far as Phenice, and Cyprus, and Antioch ..... which spake unto the Grecians, preaching the Lord Jesus; and the hand of the Lord was with them, and a great number believed, and turned unto the Lord.....they sent forth Barnabas ..... who when he came, and had seen the grace of God, was glad, and exhorted them all that with purpose of heart they would cleave unto the Lord.* If our modern clergy, as they are called by way of distinction, who claim to themselves the exclusive right of preaching the gospel, had seen this grace imparted to those whom they are pleased to denominate the laity, it would have been to them a subject, not of rejoicing, but of censure and obloquy. xviii. 24, 25. *a certain Jew named Apollos, born at Alexandria, an eloquent man and mighty in the Scriptures, came to Ephesus: this man was instructed in the way of the Lord, and being fervent in the spirit, he spake and taught diligently the things of the Lord, knowing only the baptism of John.* 2 Tim. ii. 2. *the things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also.* Exod. xix. 6. compared with Isai. lxi. 6. *ye shall be named the priests of Jehovah; men shall call you the ministers of our God.* 1 Pet. ii. 9. *ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people; that ye should shew forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light.* Rev. i. 6. *who hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father.* Again, 1 Pet. v. 3. *neither as being lords over God's heritage.* If in this passage the word *heritage* (*clerus*, Lat. whence the term clergy, appropriated by the ecclesiastics to themselves) has any meaning at all, it must designate the whole body of the church.[9] Nor is the name of prophet applied exclusively

[9] 'This all Christians ought to know, that the title of clergy St. Peter gave to all God's people, till pope Hyginus and the succeeding prelates took it from them, appropriating that name to themselves and their priests only, and condemning the rest of God's inheritance to an injurious and

to such as foretell future events, but to any one endowed with extraordinary piety and wisdom for the purposes of teaching. Thus it was said of Abraham, Gen. xx. 7. *he is a prophet, and he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live.* So also Miriam is called a prophetess, Exod. xv. 20. and Deborah, Judges iv. 4. and the same title is applied to believers in general, Psal. cv. 15. *touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm.* Hence under the gospel likewise, the simple gift of teaching, especially of public teaching, is called *prophecy.* 1 Cor. xiv. 1. *desire spiritual gifts, but rather that ye may prophesy.* v. 3. *he that prophesieth, speaketh unto men to edification;* and so through the remainder of the chapter. 1 Cor. iii. 8, &c. *he that planteth and he that watereth are one; and every man shall receive his own reward according to his own labour: for we are labourers together with God.* Pastors and teachers, therefore, are the gift of the same God who gave apostles and prophets, and not of any human institution whatever.[1] 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11. *as every man hath received the gift, even so let him minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God: if any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God.*

If therefore it be competent to any believer whatever to preach the gospel, provided he be furnished with the requisite gifts, it is also competent to him to administer the rite of baptism; inasmuch as the latter office is inferior to the former. John iv. 2. *Jesus himself baptized not, but his*

and alienate condition of laity.' *Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty.* Prose Works, I. 135. 'Ecclesiasticorum duntaxat bona fuere, qui hoc maxime sensu clerici, vel etiam holoclerici, ut qui sortem totam invasissent, rectius nominari poterant.' *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano,* V. 247.

[1] 'It is a foul error, though too much believed among us, to think that the university makes a minister of the gospel: what it may conduce to other arts and sciences, I dispute not now; but that which makes fit a minister, the Scripture can best inform us to be only from above, whence also we are bid to seek them. Matt. ix. 38. Acts xx. 28. Rom. x. 15. *how shall they preach, unless they be sent?* By whom sent? By the university, or the magistrate, or their belly? No surely, but sent from God only, and that God who is not their belly.' *Considerations,* &c. Prose Works, III. 386. 'Doubtless, if God only be he who gives ministers to his church till the world's end, and through the whole gospel never sent us for ministers to the schools of philosophy——.' *Ibid.* 390.

disciples. 1 Cor. i. 17. *Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel.* Hence Ananias, who was only a disciple, baptized Paul. Acts ix. 10, 18. x. 48. *he commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord;* which command was given to the companions of Peter, who are only called *brethren,* v. 23. and *they which believed,* v. 45. And if it be true that baptism has succeeded to the place of circumcision, and bears the analogy to it which is commonly supposed, why should not any Christian whatever (provided he be not a mere novice, and therefore otherwise incompetent) be qualified to administer baptism, in the same manner as any Jew was qualified to perform the rite of circumcision?

With regard to the Lord's Supper also, it has been shown in the preceding chapter that all are entitled to participate in that rite, but that the privilege of dispensing the elements is confined to no particular man, or order of men. There can be still less shadow of reason for assigning to the ministers of the church the celebration of marriages or funerals,[2] offices which hirelings[3] are wont to assume to themselves exclusively, without even the feeble semblance of prescription derived from the Levitical law.

THE PEOPLE of the universal church comprise *all nations:* Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. *go ye and teach all nations;* whose conversion it is the duty of all men to promote to the utmost of their power. Rom. i. 14. *I am debtor both to the Greeks and to the barbarians; both to the wise and to the unwise.*

[2] 'Burials and marriages are so little to be any part of their gain, that they who consider well, may find them to be no part of their function..... As for marriages, that ministers should meddle with them, as not sanctified or legitimate without their celebration, I find no ground in Scripture either of precept or example.' *Considerations,* &c. Prose Works, III. 370.

[3] Help us to save free conscience from the paw
Of hireling wolves, whose gospel is their maw. *Sonnet* XVI. 13.

'Of which hireling crew.... Christendom might soon rid herself and be happy, if Christians would but know their own dignity, their liberty, their adoption .... and let it not be wondered if I say their spiritual priesthood, whereby they have all equal access to any ministerial function, whenever called by their own abilities and the church, though they never came near the university.' *Considerations,* &c. Prose Works, III. 391.

CHAP. XXX.

Of

The Holy Scriptures.

The writings of the prophets, apostles and evangelists, composed under divine inspiration, are called THE HOLY SCRIPTURES. 2 Sam. xxiii. 2. *the Spirit of Jehovah spake by me, and his word was in my tongue.* Matt. xxii. 43. *how then doth David in spirit call him Lord, saying—?* 2 Cor. xiii. 3. *since ye seek a proof of Christ speaking in me.* 2 Tim. iii. 16. *all scripture is given by inspiration of God.*

With regard to the question, what books of the Old and New Testament are to be considered as CANONICAL, that is to say, as the genuine writings of the prophets, apostles, and evangelists, there is little or no difference of opinion among the orthodox, as may be seen in the common editions of the Bible.

The books usually subjoined to these under the name of APOCRYPHAL, are by no means of equal authority with the canonical, neither can they be adduced as evidence in matters of faith.

The reasons for their rejection are, first, because, although written under the old dispensation, they are not in the Hebrew language, which they would undoubtedly be if genuine; for as the Gentiles were not then called, and the church consisted wholly of Hebrews, Rom. iii. 2. ix. 4. it would have been preposterous to write in the language of a people who had no concern in the things discoursed of. Secondly, their authority is deservedly called in question, inasmuch as they are never

quoted in the New Testament. Lastly, they contain much that is at variance with the acknowledged parts of Scripture, besides some things fabulous, low, trifling, and contrary to true religion and wisdom.

The Holy Scriptures were not written for occasional purposes only, as is the doctrine of the Papists, but for the use of the church throughout all ages, as well under the gospel as under the law. Exod. xxxiv. 27. *write thou these words; for after the tenour of these words I have made a covenant with thee and with Israel.* Deut. xxxi. 19. *write ye this song for you.....that this song may be a witness for me.* Isai. viii. 20. *to the law and to the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them.* xxx. 8. *write it.....that it may be for the time to come for ever and ever.* Habak. ii. 2. *write.....for the vision is yet for an appointed time.* Luke xvi. 29. *they have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them.* John v. 39. *search the scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life.* Rom. xv. 4. *whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the scriptures might have hope.* 1 Cor. x. 11. *they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come.*

Almost every thing advanced in the New Testament is proved by citations from the Old. The use of the New Testament writings themselves is declared John xx. 31. *these are written that ye might believe—.* Eph. ii. 20. *built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets.* Philipp. iii. 1. *to write the same things to you, to me indeed is not grievous, but for you it is safe.* 1 Thess. v. 27. *I charge you by the Lord, that this epistle be read unto all the holy brethren.* 1 Tim. iii. 15. *—if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God.* 2 Tim. iii. 15—17. *from a child thou hast known the holy scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus: all scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.* It is true that the Scriptures which Timothy is here said to have *known from a child,* and which

were of themselves *able to make him wise unto salvation through faith in Christ,* were probably those of the Old Testament alone, since no part of the New Testament appears to have existed during the infancy of Timothy; the same is, however, predicated of the whole of Scripture in the succeeding verse, namely, that it is *profitable for doctrine;* even to such as are already wise and learned, 1 Cor. x. 15. *I speak as unto wise men, judge ye what I say,* to men arrived at Christian maturity, Philipp. iii. 15. *let us therefore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded,* such as Timothy himself, and Titus, to whom Paul wrote; and to the strong in faith, 1 John ii. 14. *I have written unto you, young men, because ye are strong, and the word of God abideth in you.* 2 Pet. i. 12, 15. *wherefore I will not be negligent to put you always in remembrance of these things, though ye know them, and be established in the present truth: moreover I will endeavour that ye may be able after my decease to have these things always in remembrance.* iii. 15, 16. *even as our beloved brother Paul also, according unto the wisdom given unto him, hath written unto you.* For although the epistle of Paul here alluded to was more immediately directed to the Romans, Rom. i. 7. 15. Peter in the above passage expressly intimates that it was addressed not to that church alone, but to believers generally. 2 Pet. iii. 1, 2. *this second epistle, beloved, I now write unto you; in both which I stir up your pure minds by way of remembrance.* 1 John ii. 21. *I have not written unto you, because ye know not the truth, but because ye know it.* Rev. i. 19. *write the things which thou hast seen, and the things which are, and the things which shall be hereafter.*

From all these passages it is evident, that the use of the Scriptures is prohibited to no one; but that, on the contrary, they are adapted for the daily hearing or reading of all classes and orders of men;[4]

[4] 'The papal antichristian church permits not her laity to read the Bible in their own tongue; our church on the contrary hath proposed it to all men ..... Neither let the countryman, the tradesman, the lawyer, the physician, the statesman excuse himself by his much business from the studious reading thereof.' *Of true Religion,* &c. Prose Works, IV. 266.

of princes, Deut. xvii. 19. of magistrates, Josh. i. 8. of men of all descriptions, Deut. xxxi. 9—11. *Moses wrote this law, and delivered it unto the priests the sons of Levi...and unto all the elders of Israel: and Moses commanded them, saying..... Thou shalt read this law before all Israel.* xi. 18—20. *therefore shall ye lay up these my words in your heart, and in your soul, and bind them for a sign upon your hand....and thou shalt write them upon the door-posts of thine house.* xxix. 29. *those things which are revealed belong unto us and to our children for ever, that we may do all the words—.* xxx. 11. *for this commandment which I command thee this day, it is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off.* 2 Chron. xxxiv. 30. *he read in their ears all the words of the book of the covenant.* Isai. viii. 20. *to the law and to the testimony.* Nehem. ix. 3. *they stood up in their place, and read in the book of the law of Jehovah;* that is, the whole people, as appears from the second verse of the chapter. To the same purpose may be adduced the testimony of a writer whom the opponents of this opinion regard as canonical. 1 Macc. i. 56, 57. *wheresoever was found with any the book of the testament, the king's commandment was that they should put him to death.*

The New Testament is still more explicit. Luke x. 26. *what is written in the law? how readest thou?* This was the question of Christ to one of the interpreters of the law, of whom there were many at that time, Pharisees and others, confessedly neither priests nor Levites; neither was Christ himself, whom we cannot suppose to have been considered as particularly learned in the law, forbidden to expound in the synagogue; much less therefore could it have been unlawful to read the Scriptures at home. xvi. 29. *they have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them.* John v. 39. *search the scriptures.* Acts viii. 28. *he read Esaias the prophet.* xvii. 11. *they searched the scriptures daily.* xviii. 24. *mighty in the scriptures.* 2 Tim. iii. 15. *from a child thou hast known the holy scriptures.* Rev. i. 3. *blessed is he that readeth.*

The Scriptures, therefore, partly by reason of their own simplicity, and partly through the divine illumination, are plain and perspicuous in

all things necessary to salvation, and adapted to the instruction even of the most unlearned, through the medium of diligent and constant reading.[5] Psal. xix. 7. *the law of Jehovah is perfect, converting the soul; the testimony of Jehovah is sure, making wise the simple.* cxix. 105. *thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path.* v. 130. *the entrance of thy words giveth light, it giveth understanding unto the simple;* whence it follows that the liberty of investigating Scripture thoroughly is granted to all. v. 18. *open thou mine eyes, that I may behold wondrous things out of thy law.* Luke xxiv. 45. *then opened he their understanding, that they might understand the scriptures.* Acts xviii. 28. *he mightily convinced the Jews, and that publicly, shewing by the scriptures that Jesus was Christ.* 2 Pet. i. 20, 21. *no prophecy of the scripture is of any private interpretation; for the prophecy came not in the old time by the will of man;* neither therefore is it to be interpreted by the judgement of men, that is, by our own unassisted judgement, but by means of that Holy Spirit promised to all believers.[6] Hence the gift of prophecy, mentioned 1 Cor. i. 4.

If then the Scriptures be in themselves so perspicuous, and sufficient of themselves *to make men wise unto salvation through faith,* and that *the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works,*

[5] 'I offer it to the reason of any man, whether he think the knowledge of Christian religion harder than any other art or science to attain. I suppose he will grant that it is far easier, both of itself, and in regard of God's assisting Spirit.....Therefore are the Scriptures translated into every vulgar tongue, as being held in main matters of belief and salvation plain and easy to the poorest, and such no less than their teachers have the Spirit to guide them in all truth, John xiv. 26. xvi. 13.' *Considerations on the likeliest Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church.* Prose Works, III. 372.

[6] ..... the truth,
Left only in those written records pure,
Though not but by the Spirit understood. *Paradise Lost,* XII. 511.
.....he, who receives
Light from above, from the fountain of light,
No other doctrine needs, though granted true. *Paradise Regained,* IV. 288.

'The study of Scripture, which is the only true theology—.' *Considerations on the likeliest Means to remove Hirelings,* &c. Prose Works, III. 377.

through what infatuation is it, that even Protestant divines persist in darkening the most momentous truths of religion by intricate metaphysical comments,[7] on the plea that such explanation is necessary; stringing together all the useless technicalities and empty distinctions of scholastic barbarism, for the purpose of elucidating those Scriptures, which they are continually extolling as models of plainness? As if Scripture, which possesses in itself the clearest light, and is sufficient for its own explanation, especially in matters of faith and holiness, required to have the simplicity of its divine truths more fully developed, and placed in a more distinct view, by illustrations drawn from the abstrusest of human sciences, falsely so called.

It is only to those who perish that the Scriptures are obscure, especially in things necessary for salvation. Luke viii. 10. *unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God, but to others in parables; that seeing they might not see, and hearing they might not understand.* 1 Cor. i. 18. *the preaching of the cross is to them that perish foolishness; but unto us which are saved, it is the power of God.* ii. 14. *the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned.* 2 Cor. iv. 2, 3. *by manifestation of the truth commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God: but if our gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost.* 2 Pet. iii. 16. speaking of the epistles of Paul, *in which are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other scriptures, unto their own destruction.*

[7] Considering the language employed in parts of this treatise, Milton more frequently censures the metaphysical divinity than might have been expected. His practice at least, in this as well as in some other points, is not very consistent with his theory. He speaks however in other works in the same slighting manner of the sophistry of the schools. In the following passage it is not impossible that he may allude to the very Treatise which is now for the first time published. 'Somewhere or other, I trust, may be found some wholesome body of divinity, as they call it, without school-terms and metaphysical notions, which have obscured rather than explained our religion, and made it difficult without cause.' *Considerations*, &c. Prose Works, III. 375.

No passage of Scripture is to be interpreted in more than one sense; in the Old Testament, however, this sense is sometimes a compound of the historical and typical, as in Hosea xi. 1. compared with Matt. ii. 15. *out of Egypt have I called my son,* which may be explained in a double sense, as referring partly to the people of Israel, and partly to Christ in his infancy.

The custom of interpreting Scripture in the church is mentioned Nehem. viii. 8, 9. *they read in the book in the law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading: and Nehemiah, which is the Tirshatha, and Ezra the priest the scribe, and the Levites that taught the people—.* 2 Chron. xvii. 9. *they taught in Judah, and had the book of the law of Jehovah with them, and went about throughout all the cities of Judah, and taught the people.* Luke iv. 17. *then was delivered unto him the book of the prophet Esaias.* 1 Cor. xiv. 1. *desire spiritual gifts, but rather that ye may prophesy.*

The requisites for the public interpretation of Scripture have been laid down by divines with much attention to usefulness, although they have not been observed with equal fidelity. They consist in knowledge of languages; inspection of the originals; examination of the context; care in distinguishing between literal and figurative expressions; consideration of cause and circumstance, of antecedents and consequents; mutual comparison of texts; and regard to the analogy of faith. Attention must also be paid to the frequent anomalies of syntax; as for example, where the relative does not refer to the immediate antecedent, but to the principal word in the sentence, though more remote. See 2 Kings xvi. 2. compared with v. 1. *twenty years old was Ahaz when he began to reign,* that is, Jotham the father of Ahaz, as appears by considering the age at which Hezekiah began his reign, xviii. 2. See also 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9. *when he began to reign,* compared with 2 Kings xxiv. 8. Psal. xcix. 6. *Moses and Aaron among his priests.* John viii. 44. *he is a liar, and the father of it.* Lastly, no inferences from the text are to be admitted, but such as follow necessarily and

plainly from the words themselves; lest we should be constrained to receive what is not written for what is written, the shadow for the substance, the fallacies of human reasoning for the doctrines of God; for it is by the declarations of Scripture, and not by the conclusions of the schools, that our consciences are bound.

Every believer has a right to interpret the Scriptures for himself, inasmuch as he has the Spirit for his guide, and the mind of Christ is in him;[8] nay, the expositions of the public interpreter can be of no use to him, except so far as they are confirmed by his own conscience. More will be added on this subject in the next chapter, which treats of the members of particular churches. The right of public interpretation for the benefit of others is possessed by all whom God has appointed apostles, or prophets, or evangelists, or pastors, or teachers, 1 Cor. xii. 8, 9. Eph. iv. 11—13. that is, by all who are endowed with the gift of teaching, *every scribe which is instructed unto the kingdom of heaven,* Matt. xiii. 52. not by those whose sole commission is derived from human authority, or academical appointment; of whom it may too often be said in the words of Scripture, *woe unto you, lawyers, for ye have taken away the key of knowledge; ye enter not yourselves, and them that were entering in ye hindered,* Luke xi. 52.

It is not therefore within the province of any visible church, much less of the civil magistrate, to impose their own interpretations on us as laws, or as binding on the conscience; in other words, as matter of implicit faith.[9]

If however there be any difference among professed believers as to the sense of Scripture, it is their duty to tolerate such difference in

[8] 'Every true Christian, able to give a reason of his faith, hath the word of God before him, the promised Holy Spirit, and the mind of Christ within: 1 Cor. ii. 16.' *Treatise of Civil Power,* &c. Prose Works, III. 321.

[9] 'What Protestant then, who himself maintains the same principles, and disavows all implicit faith, would prosecute, and not rather charitably tolerate such men as these?' *Of true Religion,* &c. IV. 263.

each other, until God shall have revealed the truth to all. Philipp. iii. 15, 16. *let us therefore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded; and if in anything ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you: nevertheless, whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing.* Rom. xiv. 4. *to his own master he standeth or falleth: yea, he shall be holden up.*

The rule and canon of faith, therefore, is Scripture alone.[1] Psal. xix. 9. *the judgements of Jehovah are true and righteous altogether.* Scripture is the sole judge of controversies; or rather, every man is to decide for himself through its aid, under the guidance of the Spirit of God. For they who, on the authority of 1 Tim. iii. 15. *the church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth,* claim for the visible church, however defined, the supreme right of interpreting Scripture and determining religious controversies, are confuted by a comparison of the words in question with the former part of the verse, and with that which precedes. What Paul here writes to Timothy, and which is intended to have the force of Scripture with him, is a direction by which he may know *how he ought to behave himself in the house of God, which is the church;* that is, in any assembly of believers. It was not therefore *the house of God,* or *the church,* which was to be a rule to him *that he might know,* but the Scripture which he had received from the hands of Paul. The church indeed is, or rather ought to be, (for it is not always such in fact) the *pillar and ground,* that is, the guardian, and repository, and support *of the truth;* even where it is all this, however, it is not on that account to be considered as the rule or arbiter of truth and the Scripture; inasmuch as the house of God is not a rule to itself, but receives its rule from the word of God, which it is bound, at least, to observe scrupulously. Besides, the writings of the prophets and apostles, in other words the Scriptures themselves, are said to be the foundation of the church: Eph. ii. 20. *built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets,*

[1] See the *Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes:* 'First it cannot be denied ——— counts all heretics but himself.' Prose Works, III. 320—326.

Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone. Now the church cannot be the rule or arbiter of that on which it is itself founded.

That some of the instructions of the apostles to the churches were not committed to writing, or that, if written, they have not come down to us, seems probable from 2 John 12. *having many things to write unto you, I would not write with paper and ink.* See also 3 John 13. Col. iv. 16. *that ye likewise read the epistle from Laodicea.* Seeing then that the lost particulars cannot be supposed to have contained anything necessary to salvation, but only matters profitable for doctrine, they are either to be collected from other passages of Scripture, or, if it be doubtful whether this is possible, they are to be supplied, not by the decrees of popes or councils, much less by the edicts of magistrates, but by the same Spirit which originally dictated them, enlightening us inwardly through the medium of faith and love. John xvi. 12, 13. *I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now; howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he shall guide you into all truth.* So also Peter admonishes us, 2 Ep. i. 19. *to take heed to the sure word of prophecy, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in our hearts,* that is to say, the light of the gospel, which is not to be sought in written records alone, but in the heart. 2 Cor. iii. 3. *ye are manifestly declared to be the epistle of Christ ministered by us, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart.* Eph. vi. 17. *the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.* 1 John ii. 20. *ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things.* v. 27. *ye need not that any man teach you; but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie, and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him.* Thus when the Corinthians had made inquiry of Paul on certain subjects with regard to which there was no specific direction in Scripture, he answers them according to the natural dictates of Christianity, and the unction of the Spirit which he had received: 1 Cor. vii. 12. *to the rest speak I, not the Lord.* v. 25. *concerning virgins, I have no commandment of the Lord; yet I give my judgement as one that hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful:*

I suppose therefore—. v. 40. *she is happier if she so abide after my judgement; and I think also that I have the Spirit of God;* whence he reminds them that they are also able to give answer to themselves in such questions, v. 15. *a brother or sister is not under bondage in such cases.* v. 36. *if any man think that he behaveth himself uncomely toward his virgin, if she pass the flower of her age, and need so require, let him do what he will, he sinneth not.*

Under the gospel we possess, as it were, a twofold Scripture; one external, which is the written word, and the other internal, which is the Holy Spirit, written in the hearts of believers, according to the promise of God, and with the intent that it should by no means be neglected; as was shown above, chap. xxvii. on the gospel. Isai. lix. 21. *as for me, this is my covenant with them, saith Jehovah; my Spirit which is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith Jehovah, from henceforth and for ever.* See also Jer. xxxi. 33, 34. Acts v. 32. *we are his witnesses of those things, and so is also the Holy Ghost, whom God hath given to them that obey him.* 1 Cor. ii. 12. *we have received, not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God, that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God.*

Hence, although the external ground which we possess for our belief at the present day in the written word is highly important, and, in most instances at least, prior in point of reception, that which is internal, and the peculiar possession of each believer, is far superior to all, namely, the Spirit itself.

For the external Scripture, or written word, particularly of the New Testament (to say nothing of spurious books, with regard to which the apostle has long since cautioned us, 2 Thess. ii. 2. *that ye be not shaken in mind....by letter as from us—;* iii. 17. *the salutation of Paul with mine own hand, which is the token in every epistle—:*) the written word, I say,

of the New Testament, has been liable to frequent corruption, and in some instances has been corrupted, through the number, and occasionally the bad faith of those by whom it has been handed down, the variety and discrepancy of the original manuscripts, and the additional diversity produced by subsequent transcripts and printed editions. But the Spirit which leads to truth cannot be corrupted, neither is it easy to deceive a man who is really spiritual: 1 Cor. ii. 15, 16. *he that is spiritual judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man: for who hath known the mind of the Lord, that he may instruct him? but we have the mind of Christ.* xii. 10. *to another, discerning of spirits.* An instance of a corrupted text pervading nearly all the manuscripts occurs in Matt. xxvii. 9. where a quotation is attributed to Jeremiah, which belongs only to Zechariah;[2] and similar instances are to be found in almost every page of Erasmus, Beza, and other editors of the New Testament.

Previously to the Babylonish captivity, the law of Moses was preserved in the sacred repository of the ark of the covenant; after that event, it was committed to the trust and guardianship of the priests and prophets, as Ezra, Zechariah, Malachi, and other men taught of God. There can be no doubt that these handed down the sacred volumes in an uncorrupted state to be preserved in the temple by the priests their successors, who were in all ages most scrupulous in preventing alterations, and who had themselves no grounds of suspicion to induce them to make any change. With regard to the remaining books, particularly the historical, although it be uncertain by whom and at what time they were written, and although they appear sometimes to contradict themselves on points of chronology, few or none have ever questioned the integrity of their doctrinal parts. The New Testament, on the contrary, has come down to us (as before observed) through the hands of a multitude of persons, subject to various temptations; nor have we in any instance the original copy in the author's hand-writing, by which to correct the errors of the others. Hence Erasmus, Beza, and other learned

[2] See Horne's *Introduction to the Critical Study of the Scriptures,* Vol. II. p. 385. Note 2.

men, have edited from the different manuscripts what in their judgement appeared most likely to be the authentic readings. It is difficult to conjecture the purpose of Providence in committing the writings of the New Testament to such uncertain and variable guardianship, unless it were to teach us by this very circumstance that the Spirit which is given to us is a more certain guide than Scripture, whom therefore it is our duty to follow.

For with regard to the visible church, which is also proposed as a criterion of faith, it is evident that, since the ascension of Christ, the *pillar and ground of the truth* has not uniformly been the church, but the hearts of believers, which are properly *the house and church of the living God*, 1 Tim. iii. 15. Certain it is, that the editors and interpreters of the New Testament (which is the chief authority for our faith) are accustomed to judge of the integrity of the text, not by its agreement with the visible church, but by the number and integrity of the manuscripts. Hence, where the manuscripts differ, the editors must necessarily be at a loss what to consider as the genuine word of God; as in the story of the woman taken in adultery,[3] and some other passages.

The process of our belief in the Scriptures is, however, as follows: we set out with a general belief in their authenticity, founded on the testimony either of the visible church, or of the existing manuscripts; afterwards, by an inverse process, the authority of the church itself, and of the different books as contained in the manuscripts, are confirmed by the internal evidence implied in the uniform tenor of Scripture, considered as a whole; and, lastly, the truth of the entire volume is established by the inward persuasion of the Spirit working in the hearts of individual believers. So the belief of the Samaritans

[3] For the authenticity of the passage alluded to, John vii. 53. and viii. 1—11. see Whitby and Mill in loco. Selden, *Uxor. Heb.* III. 11. Simon, *Crit. Hist. of the New Testament*, I. 13. Michaelis, Part I. Chap. vi. Sect. 11. Against its authenticity, see Beza, Grotius, Wetstein, Hammond and Le Clerc in loco.

in Christ, though founded in the first instance on the word of the woman, derived its permanent establishment, less from her saying, than from the presence and discourses of Christ himself, John iv. 42.[4] Thus, even on the authority of Scripture itself, every thing is to be finally referred to the Spirit and the unwritten word.

Hence it follows, that when an acquiescence in human opinions or an obedience to human authority in matters of religion is exacted, in the name either of the church or of the Christian magistrate, from those who are themselves led individually by the Spirit of God, this is in effect to impose a yoke, not on man, but on the Holy Spirit itself.[5] Certainly, if the apostles themselves, in a council governed by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, determined that even the divinely instituted law was a yoke from which believers ought to be exempt, Acts xv. 10, 19, 28. *why tempt ye God?* much less is any modern church, which cannot allege a similar claim to the presence of the Spirit, and least of all is the magistrate entitled to impose on believers a creed nowhere found in Scripture, or which is merely inferred from thence by human reasonings, carrying with them no certain conviction.

[4] 'As the Samaritans believed Christ, first for the woman's word, but next and much rather for his own, so we the Scripture: first on the church's word, but afterwards and much more for its own, as the word of God; yea the church itself we believe then for the Scripture.' *Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes.* Prose Works, III. 326.

[5] ..... From that pretence
Spiritual laws by carnal power shall force
On every conscience; laws which none shall find
Left them inroll'd, or what the Spirit within
Shall on the heart engrave. What will they then
But force the Spirit of grace itself? .....
..... for, on earth,
Who against faith and conscience can be heard
Infallible? *Paradise Lost,* XII. 520.

'With good cause, therefore, it is the general consent of all sound Protestant writers, that neither traditions, councils, nor canons of any visible church, much less edicts of any magistrate or civil session, but the Scripture only, can be the final judge or rule in matters of religion, and that only in the conscience of every Christian to himself.' *Treatise of Civil Power,* &c. Prose Works, III. 321.

An acquiescence in human traditions, whether written or unwritten, is expressly prohibited.[6] Deut. iv. 2. *ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish ought from it.* Prov. xxx. 6. *add thou not unto his words, lest he reprove thee, and thou be found a liar.* Rev. xxii. 18, 19. *if any man shall add unto these things,* &c. ... *and if any man shall take away from the words,* &c. Isai. xxix. 13, 14. *their fear toward me is taught by the precept of men.* See also Matt. xv. 3, 9. Gal. i. 8. *though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you—.* 1 Tim. vi. 3. *if any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words.* Tit. i. 4. *not giving heed to Jewish fables and commandments of men, that turn from the truth.* 1 Tim. i. 4. *neither give heed to fables and endless genealogies, which minister questions, rather than godly edifying which is in faith.* Col. ii. 8. *beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ.*

Neither can we trust implicitly in matters of this nature to the opinions of our forefathers, or of antiquity.[7] 2 Chron. xxix. 6. *our fathers have trespassed.* Psal. lxxviii. 8, &c. *that they might not be as their fathers.* Ezek. xx. 18. *walk ye not in the statutes of your fathers.* Amos ii. 4. *because they have despised the law of Jehovah, and have not kept his commandments, and their lies caused them to err, after the which their fathers have walked.* Mal. iii. 7. *even from the days of your fathers ye are gone away from mine ordinances.* Eccles. vii. 10. *say not thou, What is the cause that the former days were better than these? for thou dost not*

[6] 'He hath revealed and taught it us in the Holy Scriptures by inspired ministers, and in the gospel by his own Son and his apostles, with strictest command to reject all other traditions or additions whatsoever; according to that of St. Paul, Gal. i. 8. and Deut. iv. 2. Rev. xxii. 18, 19.' *Of true Religion,* &c. Prose Works, IV. 260.

[7] 'If we turn this our discreet and wary usage of them into a blind devotion towards them, and whatsoever we find written by them, we both forsake our own grounds and reasons which led us at first to part from Rome, that is, to hold to the Scriptures against all antiquity.' *Of Prelatical Episcopacy.* I. 75.

inquire wisely respecting this. Jeremiah also admonishes the people *to ask for the old paths,* in order to see *where is the good way,* and to choose that alone, vi. 16.[8] for in any other sense the argument may be as justly employed to defend the idolatries of the heathen, and the errors of the Pharisees and Samaritans. Jer. xliv. 17. *to burn incense unto the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink-offerings unto her, as we have done, we, and our fathers, our kings, and our princes—.* Matt. xv. 2, &c. *why do thy disciples transgress the tradition of the elders?* where Christ opposes to their tradition the commandment of God, v. 3. *why do ye also transgress the commandment of God by your tradition?* See also Mark vii. 8, 9. John iv. 20. *our fathers worshipped in this mountain.*

Even to the venerable name of our mother church itself we are not to attach any undue authority. Hos. ii. 2. *plead with your mother, plead; for she is not my wife, neither am I her husband; let her therefore put away her whoredoms out of her sight:* unless by this expression we understand exclusively the mystical church in heaven; Gal. iv. 26. *Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all.*

[8] 'Remonst. He that said I am the way, said that the old way was the good way. Answ. He bids ask of the old paths, or for the old ways, where or which is the good way; which implies that all old ways are not good, but that the good way is to be searched with diligence among the old ways, which is a thing that we do in the oldest records we have, the gospel.' *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence.* Prose Works, I. 177.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of

Particular Churches.

THUS far of the UNIVERSAL VISIBLE CHURCH. A PARTICULAR CHURCH is a society of persons professing the faith, united by a special bond of brotherhood, and so ordered as may best promote the ends of edification and mutual communion of the saints. Acts ii. 42. *they continued stedfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers.*

The ordinary ministers of a particular church are PRESBYTERS and DEACONS.

PRESBYTERS are otherwise called BISHOPS.[9] Acts xx. 17. compared with v. 28. *he called the elders* (πρεσβυτέρους) *of the church: take heed therefore unto yourselves and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers,* (ἐπισκόπους) *to feed the church of God.* The same office of bishop or presbyter is described 1 Tim. iii. 1, &c. where no mention is made of any other minister except deacon.[1] Philipp. i. 1. *with the bishops and deacons.* Tit. i. 5. *that thou shouldest ordain*

[9] 'Bishops and presbyters are the same to us both name and thing.' *Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing.* Prose Works, I. 314. 'It will not be denied that in the Gospel there be but two ministerial degrees, presbyters and deacons.' *Likeliest Means to remove Hirelings,* &c. III. 356. 'Through all which book can be nowhere, either by plain text, or solid reasoning, found any difference between a bishop and a presbyter, save that they be two names to signify the same order.' *Of Prelatical Episcopacy,* I. 60. 'A bishop and presbyter is all one both in name and office.' *Ibid.* 75. See also p. 76.

[1] 'More beneath in the 14th verse of the third chapter, when he hath delivered the duties of bishops, or presbyters, and deacons, not once naming any other order in the church.' *Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty.* Prose Works, I. 86.

elders in every city, as I had appointed thee, compared with v. 7. *a bishop must be blameless.* 1 Pet. v. 1. *the elders which are among you I exhort ....feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof,* that is, performing the office of bishops. Lastly, in the first council of the church, held at Jerusalem, the apostles and elders alone are spoken of as present, no mention being made of bishops, Acts xv. 6. xvi. 4. bishops and presbyters must therefore have been the same.

Of the presbyters, some were set apart for the office of teaching, others watched over the discipline of the church, while in particular instances both these functions were united. 1 Tim. iii. 2. *apt to teach.* v. 5. *if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God?* v. 17. *let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour, especially they who labour in the word and doctrine.* Rom. xii. 7, 8. *he that teacheth, on teaching .... he that ruleth, with diligence.* 1 Cor. xii. 28. *governments,* 1 Pet. v. 1. as above. Hence a bishop or presbyter is called *the steward of God,* Tit. i. 7.

The office of a DEACON is properly to administer, in the character of a public servant, to the temporal wants of the church in general, and particularly of the poor, the sick, and strangers. Acts vi. 3. *look ye out among you.....whom we may appoint over this business,* 1 Tim. iii. 10. *let them use the office of a deacon, being found blameless.* v. 13. *they that have used the office of a deacon well.* Also to teach and baptize; as appears from the example of Philip, who in his capacity of deacon (the apostle of that name having remained during the same period at Jerusalem) converted the people of Samaria to the faith, and on his own authority baptized, first his new converts, and afterwards the Ethiopian eunuch. Acts vi. 5. viii. 1, 12. *when they believed Philip preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized, both men and women.* v. 38. *he baptized him.* In allusion to this his office of preaching he is called *the evangelist,* Acts xxi. 8. where his identity is established by his being designated as *one of the seven.* Hence 1 Tim. iii. 13. *they that have*

used the office of a deacon well, purchase to themselves a good degree, and great boldness in the faith which is in Christ Jesus.

The widows of the church are also associated with the deacons in the performance of their duty, 1 Tim. v. 3—16. *honour widows that are widows indeed,* &c.

The choice of ministers belongs to the people.[2] Acts i. 23. *they appointed two.* vi. 5. *the saying pleased the whole multitude, and they chose Stephen.* xiv. 23. *when they had ordained them elders in every church.* xv. 22. *then pleased it the apostles and elders, with the whole church, to send chosen men of their own company to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas.*

It is proper that ministers should undergo a certain trial previous to their admission. 1 Tim. iii. 10. *let these also first be proved; then let them use the office of a deacon, being found blameless.* The requisite qualifications of an elder, as well as of a deacon, are detailed at length in the epistles to Timothy and Titus, and particularly 1 Tim. iii. 1, &c. Tit. i. 5, &c.

On such as were approved the presbyters laid their hands. 1 Tim. iv. 14. *neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.* v. 22. *lay hands suddenly on no man.* The imposition of hands, however, was not confined to the election of presbyters, but was practised even towards veteran ministers, in the way of solemn benediction, on their engaging in any work of importance. Acts xiii. 2, 3. *as they ministered*

[2] 'He that ennobled with gifts from God, and the lawful and primitive choice of the church assembled in convenient number, faithfully from that time forward feeds his parochial flock, has his co-equal and co-presbyterial power to ordain ministers and deacons by public prayer and vote of Christ's congregation, in like sort as he himself was ordained, and is a true apostolic bishop.' *Of Reformation in England.* Prose Works, I. 9. 'He that will mould a modern bishop into a primitive, must yield him to be elected by the popular voice.' *Ibid.* 14.

unto the Lord ..... when they had fasted and prayed and laid hands upon them, they sent them away.

The right of succession is consequently nugatory, and of no force.[3] Acts xx. 29, 30. *I know this, that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock: also of your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them.* 2 Cor. xi. 13. *such are false apostles, deceitful workers, transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ.*

With regard to the remuneration to be allotted to the ministers of the universal church, as well as to those of particular religious communities, it must be allowed that a certain recompence is both reasonable in itself, and sanctioned by the law of God and the declarations of Christ and his apostle.[4] Matt. x. 10. *the workman is worthy of his meat.* 1 Cor. ix. 7—13. *who goeth a warfare at any time at his own charges?* Gal. vi. 6. *let him that is taught in the word, communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things.* 1 Tim. v. 17, 18. *let the elders that rule well,* &c. Hence it is lawful and equitable, and the ordinance of God himself, 1 Cor. ix. 14. *that they which preach the gospel, should live of the gospel.* It is however more desirable for example's sake, and for the preventing of offence or suspicion, as well as more noble and honourable in itself, and conducive to our more complete glorying in God, to render an unpaid service to the church in this as well as in all other instances, and, after the example of our Lord, to minister and serve gratuitously. Matt. xx. 28. *even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister.* x. 8. *freely ye have received, freely give.* Acts xx. 35. *remember*

[3] 'See the frowardness of this man; he would persuade us that the succession and divine right of bishopdom hath been unquestionable through all ages.' *Animadversions on the Remonstrant's Defence.* Prose Works, I. 160.

[4] 'We consider, first, what recompense God hath ordained should be given to ministers of the church; (for that a recompense ought to be given them, and may by them justly be received, our Saviour himself from the very light of reason and of equity hath declared, Luke x. 7. *the labourer is worthy of his hire.*)' *Likeliest Means to remove Hirelings,* &c. III. 354.

the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, It is more blessed to give than to receive. Paul proposed the same to the imitation of ministers in general, and recommended it by his example.[5] v. 34, 35. *ye yourselves know, that these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were with me: I have showed you all things, how that so labouring ye ought to support the weak.* 2 Thess. iii. 7—9. *yourselves know how ye ought to follow us; for we behaved not ourselves disorderly among you; neither did we eat any man's bread for nought; but wrought with labour and travail night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any of you: not because we have not power, but to make ourselves an example unto you to follow us.* 1 Cor. ix. 15, 18. *I have used none of these things; neither have I written these things that it should be so done unto me; for it were better for me to die, than that any man should make my glorying void: what is my reward then? verily that, when I preach the gospel, I may make the gospel of Christ without charge, that I abuse not my power in the gospel.* 2 Cor. xi. 9. *when I was present with you, and wanted, I was chargeable to no man ..... in all things I have kept myself from being burthensome unto you, and so will I keep myself.* v. 10. *no man shall stop me of this boasting.* v. 12. *what I do, that I will do, that I may cut off occasion from them that desire occasion; that wherein they glory, they may be found even as we are.* xii. 14. *behold the third time I am ready to come unto you, and I will not be burthensome to you; for I seek not yours, but you; for the children ought not to lay up for the parents, but the parents for the children.* v. 17. *did I make a gain of you by any of them whom I sent unto you?* v. 18. *did Titus make a gain of you? walked we not in the same spirit?* v. 19. *we do all things, dearly beloved, for your edifying.* And if at any time extreme necessity compelled him to accept the voluntary aid of the churches, such constraint was so grievous to him, that he accuses himself as if he were guilty of robbery. 2 Cor. xi. 8. *I robbed other churches, taking wages of them, to do you service.*

[5] 'Which argues also the difficulty, or rather the impossibility to remove them quite, unless every minister were, as St. Paul, contented to preach gratis; but few such are to be found.' *Likeliest Means to remove Hirelings,* &c. Prose Works, III. 345.

If however such self-denial be thought too arduous for the ministers of the present day, they will most nearly approach to it, when, relying on the providence of God who called them, they shall look for the necessary support of life, not from the edicts of the civil power, but from the spontaneous good-will and liberality of the church in requital of their voluntary service. Matt. x. 11. *enquire who in it is worthy, and there abide till ye go thence.* Luke x. 7, 8. *in the same house remain, eating and drinking such things as they give ..... and into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you.* xxii. 35. *he said unto them, When I sent you without purse, and scrip, and shoes, lacked ye anything? and they said, Nothing.* 2 Cor. xi. 9. *that which was lacking to me, the brethren which came from Macedonia supplied.* Philipp. iv. 15, &c. *now, ye Philippians, know also, that in the beginning of the gospel, when I departed from Macedonia, no church communicated with me as concerning giving and receiving, but ye only: for even in Thessalonica ye sent once and again unto my necessity: not because I desire a gift, but I desire fruit that may abound to your account: but I have all, and abound; I am full, having received of Epaphroditus the things which were sent from you, an odour of a sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, well pleasing to God.*

For it does not necessarily follow, that because a thing is in itself just, a matter of duty and conscience, and sanctioned by the word of God, the performance of it is therefore to be enjoined and compelled by the authority of the magistrate. The same argument, and nearly the same words, which are used by Paul to prove that provision should be made for the ministers of the church, are also used to prove that the Gentiles ought to contribute to the support of the poor saints at Jerusalem; 1 Cor. ix. 11. compared with Rom. xv. 27. *it hath pleased them verily, and their debtors they are; for if the Gentiles have been made partakers of their spiritual things, their duty is also to minister unto them in carnal things;* yet no one contends that the giving of alms should be compelled by authority. If then in a case of merely moral and civil gratitude, force is not to be employed, how much more ought the

gratitude which we owe for the benefits of the gospel to be exempt from the slightest shadow of force or constraint? On the same principle, pecuniary considerations ought by no means to enter into our motives for preaching the gospel: Acts viii. 20. *thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the gift of God may be purchased with money.* If it be a crime to purchase the gospel, what must it be to sell it? or what are we to think of the faith of those, whom I have so often heard exclaiming in the language of unbelief, 'If you take away church revenues, you destroy the gospel?'[6] If the Christian religion depends for its existence on no firmer supports than wealth and civil power, how is it more worthy of belief than the Mahometan superstition?[7]

Hence to exact or bargain for tithes or other stipendiary payments under the gospel, to extort them from the flock under the alleged authority of civil edicts, or to have recourse to civil actions and legal processes for the recovery of allowances purely ecclesiastical, is the part of wolves rather than of ministers of the gospel.[8] Acts xx. 29. *I know*

[6] 'But of all are they to be reviled and shamed, who cry out with the distinct voice of notorious hirelings, that if ye settle not our maintenance by law, farewell the Gospel.' *Likeliest Means to remove Hirelings*, &c. Prose Works, III. 389.

[7] Si vi et pecunia stat Christiana religio atque fulcitur, quid est quamobrem non æque ac Turcarum religio suspecta esse videatur? 'For if it must be thus, how can any Christian object it to a Turk, that his religion stands by force only; and not justly fear from him this reply, yours both by force and money, in the judgement of your own teachers?' *Ibid.* 389.

[8] Wolves shall succeed for teachers, grievous wolves. *Paradise Lost*, XII. 508.
'Not long after, as the apostle foretold, hirelings like wolves came in by herds.' *Considerations on the likeliest Means*, &c. Prose Works, III. 358. To the same effect is quoted, in the *History of Britain*, Gildas's character of the Saxon clergy; 'subtle prowlers, pastors in name, but indeed wolves; intent upon all occasions, not to feed the flock, but to pamper and well-line themselves.' IV. 112. 'Immo lupi verius plerique eorum, quam aliud quidvis erant dicendi ... pinguia illis plerumque omnia, ne ingenio quidem excepto; decimis enim saginantur, improbato ab aliis omnibus ecclesiis more; Deoque sic diffidunt, ut eas malint per magistratum atque per vim suis gregibus extorquere, quam vel divinæ providentiæ, vel ecclesiarum benevolentiæ et gratitudini debere.' *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano.* V. 246.

this that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock. v. 33. *I have coveted no man's silver, or gold, or apparel;* whence it follows that the apostle neither exacted these things himself, nor approved of their exaction by ministers of the gospel in general. 1 Tim. iii. 3. *not greedy of filthy lucre; not covetous;* far less therefore an exactor of lucre. Compare also v. 8. Tit. i. 7, 11. 1 Pet. v. 2, 3. *feed the flock of God which is among you ..... not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind.* If it be scarcely allowable for a Christian to go to law with his adversary in defence even of his own property, Matt. v. 39, 40. 1 Cor. vi. 7. what are we to think of an ecclesiastic, who for the sake of tithes, that is, of the property of others, which, either as an offering made out of the spoils of war, or in pursuance of a vow voluntarily contracted by an individual, or from an imitation of that agrarian law established among the Jews, but altogether foreign to our habits, and which is not only abolished itself, but of which all the causes have ceased to operate, were due indeed formerly, and to ministers of another sect, but are now due to no one; what are we to think of a pastor, who for the recovery of claims thus founded, (an abuse unknown to any reformed church but our own,)[9] enters into litigation with his own flock, or, more properly speaking, with a flock which is not his own? If his own, how avaricious in him to be so eager in making a gain of his holy office! if not his own, how iniquitous! Moreover, what a piece of officiousness, to force his instructions on such as are unwilling to receive them; what extortion, to exact the price of teaching from one who disclaims the teacher, and whom the teacher himself would equally disclaim as a disciple, were it not for the profit![1] For *he that is an hireling, whose*

[9] 'Under the law he gave them tithes; under the gospel, having left all things in his church to charity and christian freedom, he hath given them only what is justly given them. That, as well under the gospel, as under the law, say our English divines, and they only of all Protestants, is tithes; and they say true, if any man be so minded to give them of his own the tenth or twentieth; but that the law therefore of tithes is in force under the gospel, all other Protestant divines, though equally concerned, yet constantly deny.' *Likeliest Means to remove Hirelings,* &c. Prose Works, III. 354.

[1] 'Any one may perceive what iniquity and violence hath prevailed since in the church, whereby it hath been so ordered, that they also shall be compelled to recompense the parochial minister,

own the sheep are not ..... fleeth because he is an hireling, and careth not for the sheep, John x. 12, 13. Many such there are in these days, who abandon their charge on the slightest pretences, and ramble from flock to flock, less through fear of the wolf than to gratify their own wolfish propensities, wherever a richer prey invites; who, unlike good shepherds, are for ever seeking out new and more abundant pastures, not for their flock, but for themselves.[2]

'How then,' ask they, 'are we to live?' How ought they to live, but as the prophets and apostles lived of old? on their own private resources, by the exercise of some calling, by honest industry, after the example of the prophets, who accounted it no disgrace to be able to hew their own wood, and build their own houses, 2 Kings vi. 2. of Christ, who wrought with his own hands as a carpenter, Mark vi. 3. and of Paul,[3] Acts xviii. 3, 4. to whom the plea so importunately urged in modern times, of the expensiveness of a liberal education, and the necessity that it should be repaid out of the wages of the gospel, seems

minister, who neither chose him for their teacher, nor have received instruction from him.' *Ibid.* 372. 'If he give it as to his teacher, what justice or equity compels him to pay for learning that religion which leaves freely to his choice whether he will learn it or no, whether of this teacher or of another, and especially to pay for what he never learned, or approves not?' *Ibid.* 380.

[2] 'They have fed themselves, and not their flocks.' *Animadversions on the Remonstrant's Defence.* Prose Works, I. 200. 'Rambling from benefice to benefice, like ravenous wolves, seeking where they may devour the biggest.' *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates,* II. 303. 'Aliis fortasse in locis haud æque ministris provisum; nostris jam satis superque bene erat; oves potius appellandi quam pastores, pascuntur magis quam pascunt.' *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano,* V. 247.

[3] 'Our great clerks think that these men, because they have a trade, (as Christ himself and St. Paul had) cannot therefore attain to some good measure of knowledge.' *Animadversions on the Remonstrant's Defence,* I. 162. 'This was the breeding of St. Paul, though born of no mean parents, a free citizen of the Roman empire; so little did his trade debase him, that it rather enabled him to use that magnanimity of preaching the gospel through Asia and Europe at his own charges.' *Likeliest Means to remove Hirelings,* &c. III. 377. 'The church elected them to be her teachers and overseers, though not thereby to separate them from whatever calling she then found them following beside; as the example of St. Paul declares, and the first times of Christianity.' *Ibid.* 390.

never to have occurred.[4] Thus far of the ministers of particular churches.

With regard to the PEOPLE OF THE CHURCH (especially in those particular churches where discipline is maintained in strictness) such only are to be accounted of that number, as are well taught in Scripture doctrine, and capable of trying by the rule of Scripture and the Spirit any teacher whatever, or even the whole collective body of teachers, although arrogating to themselves the exclusive name of the church.[5] Matt. vii. 15, 16. *beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves: ye shall know them by their fruits.* xvi. 6. *take heed and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees,* compared with v. 12. *then understood they how that he bade them not beware of the leaven of bread, but of the doctrine—.* John vii. 17, 18. *if any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself: he that speaketh of himself, seeketh his own glory.* Acts xvii. 11. *they searched the scriptures daily, whether these things were so.* 1 Cor. ii. 15. *he that is spiritual, judgeth all things.* x. 15. *I speak as to wise men; judge ye what I say.* Eph. iv. 14. *that we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine.* vi. 14, &c. *stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth.*

[4] 'They pretend that their education, either at school or university, hath been very chargeable, and therefore ought to be repaired in future by a plentiful maintenance.' *Likeliest Means,* &c. Prose Works, III. 385. See also *Animadversions on the Remonstrant's Defence,* I. 193.

[5] 'I shall not decline the more for that, to speak my opinion in the controversy next moved, whether the people may be allowed for competent judges of a minister's ability. For how else can be fulfilled that which God hath promised, to pour out such abundance of knowledge upon all sorts of men in the times of the gospel? How should the people examine the doctrine which is taught them, as Christ and his apostles continually bid them do? How should they *discern and beware of false prophets, and try every spirit,* if they must be thought unfit to judge of the minister's abilities?' *Apology for Smectymnuus.* Prose Works, I. 255. 'Every member of the church, at least of any breeding or capacity, so well ought to be grounded in spiritual knowledge, as, if need be, to examine their teachers themselves, Acts xvii. 11. Rev. ii. 2. How should any private christian try his teachers, unless he be well grounded himself in the rule of Scripture by which he is taught?' *Of true Religion,* &c. IV. 267.

Philipp. iii. 2. *beware of dogs; beware of evil workers; beware of the concision.* 1 Thess. v. 21. *prove all things; hold fast that which is good.* Heb. xiii. 9. *be not carried about with divers and strange doctrines.* See more on this subject above, chap. xxi. on the discernment of spiritual things.

Hence the people are warned not to take delight in vain teachers. 2 Tim. iv. 3. *the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine, but after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears.* 1 Pet. ii. 2. *as new born babes, desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby.* False teachers are not to be tolerated. Rev. ii. 2. *I know thy works, and thy labour, and thy patience, and how thou canst not bear them which are evil; and thou hast tried them which say they are apostles, and are not, and hast found them liars.* v. 7. *he that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.*

Every church consisting of the above parts, however small its numbers, is to be considered as in itself an integral and perfect church, so far as regards its religious rights; nor has it any superior on earth, whether individual, or assembly, or convention, to whom it can be lawfully required to render submission; inasmuch as no believer out of its pale, nor any order or council of men whatever, has a greater right than itself to expect a participation in the written word and the promises, in the presence of Christ, in the presiding influence of the Spirit, and in those gracious gifts which are the reward of united prayer. Matt. xviii. 20. *where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.* Acts xiv. 23. *when they had ordained them elders in every church, and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they believed.*

Hence all particular churches, whether in Judea, where there was originally one church comprehending the whole nation, or in any other country whatever, are properly called churches: 2 Cor. viii. 1. *the churches of Macedonia;* Gal. i. 2. *the churches of Galatia;* v. 22. *the*

churches of Judea; see also 1 Thess. ii. 14. Rev. i. 4. *the seven churches which are in Asia:* even where they consist of but few members: Rom. xvi. 5. *greet the church that is in their house.* See also 1 Cor. xvi. 19. Col. iv. 15. *the church which is in his house.* Philem. 2. *the church in thy house.*

In this respect a particular church differs from the Jewish synagogue, which, although a particular assembly, and convened for religious purposes, was not a particular church, inasmuch as the entire worship of God could not be there duly celebrated, by reason that the sacrifices and ceremonies of the law were to be performed in the temple alone. Under the gospel, on the contrary, all that pertains to the worship of God and the salvation of believers, all, in short, that is necessary to constitute a church, may be duly and orderly transacted in a particular church, within the walls of a private house, and where the numbers assembled are inconsiderable. Nay, such a church, when in compliance with the interested views of its pastor it allows of an increase of numbers beyond what is convenient, deprives itself in a great measure of the advantages to be derived from meeting in common.

It was indeed necessary for Jews and proselytes to meet together at Jerusalem from all quarters of the world for religious purposes, Acts ii. 5, &c. viii. 27. because at that time there was only one national or universal Jewish church, and no particular churches; whereas at present there is no national church, but a number of particular churches,[6] each complete and perfect in itself,[7] and all co-equal in divine right and power; which, like similar and homogeneous parts of the same body, connected

[6] 'But to proceed further in the truth yet more freely, seeing the Christian church is not national, but consisting of many particular congregations—.' *Likeliest Means to remove Hirelings,* &c. Prose Works, III. 379.

[7] Suis in se numeris omnes absolutæ: a Ciceronian expression which he has imitated elsewhere; speaking of the Deity:

... Through all numbers absolute, though one. *Paradise Lost,* VIII. 421.

by a bond of mutual equality, form in conjunction one catholic church: nor need any one church have recourse to another for a grace or privilege which it does not possess in its independent capacity.

Particular churches, however, may communicate with each other in a spirit of brotherhood and agreement, and co-operate for purposes connected with the general welfare. 2 Cor. viii. 19. *who was also chosen of the churches to travel with us.* i. 24. *not for that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy.* 1 Pet. v. 3. *neither as being lords over God's heritage.*

Of councils, properly so called, I find no trace in Scripture;[8] for the decision recorded Acts xv. 2, &c. is rather to be considered as an oracular declaration obtained from the inspired apostles, to whom recourse was had in a doubtful matter, as to the supreme authority on controverted points, while there was as yet no written word. This was very different from a modern council composed of bishops or elders, who have no gift of inspiration more than other men; whose authority is not, like that of the apostles, co-ordinate with the Scriptures; who are equally liable to error with their brethren, insomuch that they cannot pronounce with certainty, like the apostles, Acts xv. 28. *it hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us;* who nevertheless assume the right of imposing laws on the churches, and require the rest of mankind to obey their mandates; forgetting that at the assembly in Jerusalem[9] the whole

[8] It is probably owing to Milton's dislike of councils, that he describes in his epic poems the consultations of the fallen angels in terms borrowed from ecclesiastical assemblies. The devils are said to *sit in secret conclave, Paradise Lost,* I. 795; and their council is styled *a gloomy consistory, Paradise Regained,* I. 442. He also says in a letter to a friend, written in the year 1659, 'I pray that the Protestant synod, which you say is soon to meet at Leyden, may have a happy termination, which has never yet happened to any synod that has ever met before.' Prose Works, I. 40.

[9] 'That way which the apostles used, was to call a council; from which, by anything that can be learned from the fifteenth of the Acts, no faithful Christian was debarred, to whom knowledge and piety might give entrance.' *Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty.* Prose Works, I. 105.

multitude of believers were present, and gave their voices: Acts xv. 12, 22, 23. Where however they content themselves with the fraternal office of admonition, their counsel is not to be despised.

The enemies of the church are partly heretics, and partly profane opponents.

The hostility of heretics originates either in their own evil dispositions, Philipp. i. 16. *the one preach Christ of contention, not sincerely;* or in the imposition of some unnecessary yoke on the church, Matt. ix. 16. *that which is put in to fill it up taketh from the garment, and the rent is made worse.* Yet even these are not without their use. 1 Cor. xi. 19. *there must be also heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you.*

The enemies of the church are various, but the destruction of all is portended. Psal. cxxxvii. 7—9. *remember, O Jehovah, the children of Edom ..... O daughter of Babylon, who art to be destroyed, happy shall he be that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us.* Jer. xxx. 16. *all they that devour thee shall be devoured.* l. 29, 30. *call together the archers against Babylon, all ye that bend the bow—.* v. 34. *their Redeemer is strong.* li. 11. *the vengeance of Jehovah, the vengeance of his temple.* v. 24. *I will render unto Babylon—.* v. 34. *Nebuchadrezzar hath devoured me, he hath crushed me.* v. 49. *as Babylon hath caused the slain of Israel to fall, so at Babylon shall fall the slain of all the earth.* Ezek. xxv. 3, &c. *because thou saidst, Aha, against my sanctuary—.* xxviii. 24. *there shall be no more a pricking brier unto the house of Israel.* xxxv. 5, &c. *because thou hast had a perpetual hatred—.* Joel iii. 2, &c. *I will bring them down into the valley of Jehoshaphat—.* Amos i. 3, &c. *for three transgressions of Damascus—.* Obad. 10, &c. *for thy violence against thy brother Jacob.* Micah iv. 13. *arise and thresh, O daughter of Zion—.* Zech. xii. 3, &c. *I will make Jerusalem a burthensome stone for all people—.* Rev. xix. 2. *he hath avenged the blood of his servants at her hand.*

The great enemy of the church is called *Antichrist*, who according to prediction is to arise from the church itself. 2 Thess. ii. 3, &c. *that man of sin, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God.* 1 John ii. 18, &c. *even now are there many antichrists ..... they went out from us.* iv. 3. *every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God; and this is that spirit of antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it should come.* 2 John 7. *many deceivers are entered into the world, who confess not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh: this is a deceiver and an antichrist.* See also nearly the whole of the latter part of Revelations, from chap. xiii. to the end of the book.

The frauds and persecutions practised by the enemies of the church are of various kinds. Numb. xxxi. 16. *behold, these caused the children of Israel, through the counsel of Balaam, to commit trespass against Jehovah—*, compared with Rev. ii. 14. Neh. vi. 6, &c. *he pronounced this prophecy against me; for Tobiah and Sanballat had hired him.* Ezra iv. 12. *the rebellious and the bad city.* See also Neh. ii. 19. Esther iii. 8. *there is a certain people scattered abroad and dispersed among the people in all the provinces of thy kingdom; and their laws are diverse from all people, neither keep they the king's laws.* Jer. xxvi. 8. *the priests took him.* xxix. 26. *Jehovah hath made thee priest in the stead of Jehoiada the priest ..... that thou shouldest put him in prison and in the stocks.* Amos vii. 10, 13. *then Amaziah the priest of Bethel sent—.* Matt. v. 10, 11. *blessed are they which are persecuted—.* x. 25. *if they have called the master Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household?* Gal. iv. 29. *but as then he that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now.* Heb. xi. 36, &c. *others had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings—.*

Hence we are enjoined to flee from persecution, and the precept is confirmed by the example of Elijah, 1 Kings xix. 3. of Joseph, Matt. ii. 13. and x. 16, 17. *behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of*

wolves ..... but beware of men, for they will deliver you up to the councils. v. 23. *when they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another;* of Christ, Matt. xii. 15. Luke iv. 30. John viii. 59. xi. 54. of the disciples, Acts viii. 4. of Paul and Barnabas, xiv. 6. 2 Cor. xi. 32, 33. Rev. xii. 6. *the woman fled into the wilderness.* v. 14. *to the woman were given two wings—.* Except where flight would not be conducive to the glory of God. Hence Paul declares Acts xxi. 13. *I am ready not to be bound only, but also to die.*

There are appropriate consolations for the persecuted. Matt. x. 32. *whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also.* Luke xii. 4, 5, &c. *be not afraid of them that kill the body.* xxi. 18, 19. *there shall not an hair of your head perish.* John xv. 18—20. *if the world hate you, ye know that it hated me before it hated you.* Acts v. 41. *rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for his name.* Rom. viii. 35, &c. *who shall separate us ..... shall persecution?* 2 Cor. iv. 8, 9. *we are persecuted, but not forsaken.* Philipp. ii. 17. *if I be offered upon the sacrifice of your faith, I joy.* 2 Tim. iii. 12. *all that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution.* 1 Pet. iv. 14. *if ye be reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye.* v. 16. *if any man suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed.*

A compensation is also promised. Mark x. 30. *he shall receive an hundred-fold.* Luke vi. 23. *behold, your reward is great in heaven.* Rom. viii. 18. *I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us.* 2 Thess. i. 6, 7. *tribulation to them that trouble you; and to you who are troubled rest with us.* Heb. x. 34. *knowing in yourselves that ye have in heaven a better and an enduring substance.* v. 36. *that ye might receive the promise.* xi. 26. *he had respect unto the recompense of the reward.*

CHAP. XXXII.

Of Church Discipline.

The bond by which a particular church is held together, is its DISCIPLINE.[1]

CHURCH DISCIPLINE consists in a mutual agreement among the members of the church to fashion their lives according to Christian doctrine, and to regulate every thing in their public meetings decently and with order. Rom. xii. 4. to the end of the chapter. Eph. iv. 1—3. *I therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called, with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love; endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.* Col. iii. 16. *let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom, teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts unto the Lord.* 1 Thess. iv. 18. *comfort one another with these words.* Heb. iii. 13. *exhort one another daily, while it is called to-day, lest any of you be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin.* x. 24. *let us consider one another to provoke unto love and to good works.* 1 Cor. xi. 17, 18. *I praise you not, that ye come together not for the better, but for the worse; for first of all, when ye come together in the church, I hear that*

[1] 'Let whoso will interpret or determine, so it be according to true church discipline, which is exercised on them only who have willingly joined themselves in that covenant of union.' *Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes.* Prose Works, III. 323.

there be divisions among you. xiv. 40. *let all things be done decently and in order.* Col. ii. 5. *though I be absent in the flesh, yet am I with you in the spirit, joying, and beholding your order, and the stedfastness of your faith in Christ.*

It is a prudent as well as a pious custom, to solemnize the formation or re-establishment of a particular church by a public renewal of the covenant; as was frequently done in the reformations of the Jewish church; Deut. xxix. 1. *these are the words of the covenant which Jehovah commanded Moses to make with the children of Israel in the land of Moab, beside the covenant which he made with them in Horeb.* The same took place under Asa, Ezra, Nehemiah, and others.

So also, when an individual unites himself to a particular church, it is requisite that he should enter into a solemn covenant with God and the church, to conduct himself in all respects, both towards the one and the other, so as to promote his own edification and that of his brethren. This covenant ought properly to take place in baptism, as being the rite appointed for the admission of all persons (that is, of all adults) into the church. Seeing also that most men are liable to a frequent change of residence, it will be necessary that this promise should be repeated so often as they pass from one particular church to another, unless they are provided with the most satisfactory testimonials from some other orthodox church; this being apparently the only means by which discipline can be adequately maintained, or prevented from sinking into gradual decline and dissolution.

The custom of holding assemblies is to be maintained, not after the present mode, but according to the apostolical institution, which did not ordain that an individual, and he a stipendiary, should have the sole right of speaking from a higher place, but that each believer in turn should be authorized to speak, or prophesy, or teach, or exhort, according to his gifts; insomuch that even the weakest among the brethren had the privilege of asking questions, and consulting the elders and

more experienced members of the congregation. 1 Cor. xiv. 26, &c. *when ye come together, every one of you,* &c.

This custom was derived by the apostles from the synagogue, and transferred by them to the churches. Luke ii. 46. *hearing them, and asking them questions.*[2] iv. 16. *he stood up for to read.* Compare also other places where Christ is related to have taught in the synagogue, and even in the temple, Matt. xxvi. 55. John vii. 14. a permission which was granted to him not as Christ, but simply as a gifted individual, in the same manner as it was afterwards granted to the apostles, Acts xiii. 5. *they preached the word of God in the synagogues of the Jews.* v. 15. *after the reading of the law and the prophets, the rulers of the synagogue sent unto them, saying, Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on.* These rulers of the synagogue were persons appointed to see that all things were done in order. Mark v. 22. *one of the rulers of the synagogue.* Luke viii. 41. *a ruler of the synagogue.* xiii. 14. *the ruler of the synagogue answered with indignation, because that Jesus had healed on the sabbath day.* Acts xiii. 15. as above, &c.

Women, however, are enjoined to keep silence in the church. 1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35. *let your women keep silence in the churches, for it is not permitted unto them to speak, but they are commanded to be under obedience, as saith the law* (Gen. iii. 16.); *and if they will learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home; for it is a shame for women to speak in the church.* 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12. *let the woman learn in silence in all subjection: but I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence.*[3]

[2] . . . . . At our great feast
I went into the temple, there to hear
The teachers of our law, and to propose
What might improve my knowledge or their own. *Paradise Regained,* I. 210.

[3] The texts quoted in this paragraph appear to have been in Milton's mind in that passage of Paradise Lost, where Eve is represented as retiring from table as soon as she perceived from Adam's countenance that the conversation was beginning to assume an abstruse cast:

The administration of discipline is called *the power of the keys*;[4] a power not committed to Peter and his successors exclusively, or to any individual pastor specifically, but to the whole particular church collectively, of whatever number of members composed. Matt. xvi. 19. *I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven,* compared with xviii. 17—20. *tell it unto the church.....verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven: again, I say unto you, that if two of you shall agree on earth, as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven: for where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.* John xx. 22, 23. *when he had said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.* 1 Cor. v. 4. *when ye are gathered together, and my spirit.* 2 Cor. ii. 7, 8. *ye ought rather to forgive him.....wherefore I beseech you that ye would confirm your love toward him.* Rev. iii. 7, 8. *these things saith he that is*

> Such pleasure she reserv'd,
> Adam relating, she sole auditress;
> Her husband the relater she preferr'd
> Before the angel, and of him to ask
> Chose rather. VIII. 50.

The same decorum is observed subsequently, when Eve is not permitted to see the vision which Michael displays to Adam from the highest hill of Paradise. On descending from the 'specular mount' to the bower where Eve had been left sleeping, the angel says to his companion,

> Thou, at season fit,
> Let her with thee partake what thou hast heard;
> Chiefly what may concern her faith to know. XII. 597.

[4] 'Surely much rather might the heavenly ministry of the evangel bind himself about with far more piercing beams of majesty and awe, by wanting the beggarly help of halings and amercements in the use of her powerful keys.' *Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty.* Prose Works, I. 131. 'The church in all ages, primitive, Romish, or Protestant, held it ever no less their duty, than the power of their keys,' &c. *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, Ibid.* 290.

true, he that hath the key of David, he that openeth and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth.....behold, I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it.

The administration of discipline consists, first, in receiving and treating with gentleness the weak or lapsed members of the church. Rom. xiv. 1. *him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations.* Gal. vi. 1. *brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted.* Matt. ix. 16. *no man putteth a piece of new cloth unto an old garment; for that which is put in to fill it up taketh from the garment, and the rent is made worse.* John xvi. 12. *I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now.* 1 Thess. v. 14. *comfort the feeble-minded, support the weak.* Jude 22, 23. *of some have compassion, making a difference.* It was for the sake of such that those temporary decrees were made, Acts xv. For similar reasons Paul circumcised Timothy, xvi. 3. and purified himself in the temple, xxi. 26.

Secondly, in composing differences between the brethren, Matt. xviii. 17. *if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it to the church.*

Thirdly, in admonishing or openly rebuking grievous offenders. 1 Tim. v. 20. *them that sin rebuke before all.* Tit. iii. 10. *a man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition reject.* 1 Cor. iv. 21. *shall I come unto you with a rod, or in love, and in the spirit of meekness?* 2 Cor. ii. 6. *sufficient to such a man is this punishment, which was inflicted of many.* 1 Thess. v. 14. *warn them that are unruly.* 1 Tim. v. 1. *rebuke not an elder.* 3 John 10. *if I come, I will remember his deeds which he doeth.*

Fourthly, in separating the disobedient from the communion of the church. Rom. xvi. 17. *I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and*

avoid them. 1 Cor. v. 11. *with such an one no not to eat.* 2 Thess. iii. 6. *we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which he received of us.* v. 14. *if any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed.* 2 John 10, 11. *if there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed; for he that biddeth him God speed, is partaker of his evil deeds.* Rev. ii. 14. *I have a few things against thee, because thou hast there them that hold the doctrine of Balaam.*

Or even, lastly, in ejecting them from the church;[5] not however for their destruction, but rather for their preservation, if so they may be induced to repent; as was done in the ancient synagogue, John ix. 22, 34. xii. 42. Matt. xviii. 17. *if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican.* 1 Cor. v. 5. *deliver such an one unto Satan* (that is, give him over again to the world, which, as being out of the pale of the church, is the kingdom of Satan) *for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.* 2 Cor. ii. 7, 8. *so that contrariwise ye ought rather to forgive him, and comfort him, lest perhaps such an one should be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow.* xiii. 10. *therefore I write these things, being absent, lest being present I should use sharpness, according to the power which the Lord hath given me to edification, and not to destruction.* 2 Thess. iii. 15. *yet count him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother.* 1 Tim. i. 20. *whom I have delivered unto Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme.* Rev. ii. 2. *I know thy patience, and how thou canst not bear them that are evil.*

[5] 'Quos ecclesiæ est e cœtu fidelium ejicere, non magistratuum e civitate pellere, siquidem in leges civiles non peccant.' *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio.* Prose Works, V. 47. The various degrees of church censure, its design, and its effects, are described in a most eloquent passage of the treatise on *Church Government,* &c. I. 140—142. Compare also p. 53, 54. *Of Reformation in England.*

There are some, however, who may justly be considered irrecoverable. 1 Cor. xvi. 22. *if any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema, Maran-atha;* by which form of words an incurable sinner is abandoned to the dreadful judgement of the Lord at his final advent. 1 John v. 16. *there is a sin unto death; I do not say that he shall pray for it.*

The civil power differs from the ecclesiastical in the following respects. First, every man is subject to the civil power; that is to say, in matters properly civil. Rom. xiii. 1. *let every soul be subject unto the higher powers.* On the contrary, none but the members of the church are subject to ecclesiastical power, and that only in religious matters, with a liability to ecclesiastical punishment alone, that is, to punishment inflicted by their own body: Matt. xviii. 15, 16. *if thy brother shall trespass against thee ..... tell it unto the church; if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican.* John viii. 11. *neither do I condemn thee.* 1 Cor. v. 11—13. *now I have written unto you not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator .... with such an one no not to eat: for what have I to do to judge also them that are without?* Secondly, the civil power has dominion only over the body and external faculties of man; the ecclesiastical is exercised exclusively on the faculties of the mind, which acknowledge no other jurisdiction.[6] Luke xii. 14. *who made me a judge or a divider over you?* Acts v. 4. *whiles it remained, was it not thine own?* 1 Cor. vi. 4. *if then ye have judgements of things*

[6] 'Especially for that the church hath in her immediate cure those inner parts and affections of the mind, where the seat of reason is.' *Reason of Church Government,* &c. Prose Works, I. 79. 'The magistrate hath only to deal with the outward part ... God hath committed this other office, of preserving in healthful constitution the inner man, to his spiritual deputy, the minister of each congregation,' &c. *Ibid.* 134. 'Christ hath a government of his own .... It deals only with the inward man and his actions, which are all spiritual, and to outward force not liable.' *Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes,* III. 331.

> ..... this attracts the soul,
> Governs the inner man, the nobler part;
> That other o'er the body only reigns. *Paradise Regained,* II. 476.

pertaining to this life, set them to judge who are least esteemed in the church. 2 Cor. x. 3, 4. *though we walk in the flesh, we do not war after the flesh; for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal—.* James iv. 12. *there is one lawgiver who is able to save and to destroy: who art thou that judgest another?* Nay, we are expressly enjoined not to suffer ourselves to be governed by the commandments of men in matters of religion. 1 Cor. vii. 23. *ye are bought with a price; be not ye the servants of men.* Thirdly, the civil power punishes even such as confess their faults; the ecclesiastical, on the contrary, pardons all who are penitent. John viii. 7. *when they continued asking him, he lifted up himself, and said unto them, He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her.*

The power of the church against those who despise her discipline is exceedingly great and extensive. 2 Cor. x. 4, &c. *the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds; casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ; and having in a readiness to revenge all disobedience.*

It is therefore highly derogatory to the power of the church, as well as an utter want of faith, to suppose that her government cannot be properly administered without the intervention of the civil magistrate.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of Perfect Glorification, including the Second Advent of Christ, the Resurrection of the Dead, and the General Conflagration.

In the twenty-fifth chapter I treated of that IMPERFECT GLORIFICATION to which believers attain in this life. I now proceed to consider, lastly, that PERFECT GLORIFICATION which is effected in eternity.

Before the law this was typified by the translation of Enoch, Gen. v. 24. as it was under the law by that of Elijah, 2 Kings ii. 11.

Its fulfilment and consummation will commence from the period of Christ's second coming to judgement, and the resurrection of the dead. Luke xxi. 28. *when these things begin to come to pass, then look up, and lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth nigh.* 2 Thess. i. 7. *to you who are troubled rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven.*

THE COMING OF THE LORD TO JUDGEMENT, when he shall judge the world with his holy angels, was predicted, first, by Enoch and the

prophets; afterwards by Christ himself and his apostles. Jude 14, 15. *Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, saying, Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his saints, to execute judgement upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them of all their ungodly deeds which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard speeches which ungodly sinners have spoken against him.* Dan. vii. 22. *until the Ancient of days came, and judgement was given to the saints of the most High.* Matt. xxv. 31. *the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him.* Acts i. 11. *this same Jesus ..... shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven.* x. 42. *it is he which was ordained of God to be the judge of quick and dead.* xvii. 31. *he hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained ..... in that he hath raised him from the dead.* 2 Thess. i. 7, 8. *the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels.*

The day and hour of Christ's coming are known to the Father only. Matt. xxiv. 36. Mark xiii. 32. *of that day and that hour knoweth no man.* Acts i. 7. *it is not for you to know the times or the seasons which the Father hath put in his own power.* Dan. xii. 8, 9. *then said I, O my lord, what shall be the end of these things? and he said, Go thy way, Daniel; for the words are closed up and sealed till the time of the end.* The treatise of Zanchius *De fine sæculi,* tom. vii. may be likewise advantageously consulted on this subject.

Hence it will be sudden. Matt. xxv. 6. *at midnight there was a cry made, Behold, the bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet him.* Luke xvii. 26, &c. *as it was in the days of Noe ..... likewise also as it was in the days of Lot.* xxi. 34, 35. *take heed to yourselves, lest at any time,* &c. ..... *and so that day come upon you unawares; for as a snare shall it come upon all them that dwell on the face of the whole earth.* 1 Thess. v. 2, 3. *for yourselves know perfectly, that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night: for when they shall say, Peace and safety, then sudden destruction cometh upon them.*

Certain signs however are pointed out by Christ and his apostles as indicative of its approach; Matt. xxiv. 3—27. Mark xiii. Luke xxi. These signs are either general or peculiar.

The general signs are those which relate equally to the destruction of Jerusalem, the type of Christ's advent, and to the advent itself; such as false prophets, false Christs, wars, earthquakes, persecutions, pestilence, famine, and the gradual decay of faith and charity, down to the very day itself.[7] Matt. xxiv. 3—27. 2 Tim. iii. 1, &c.

The peculiar signs are, first, an extreme recklessness and impiety, and an almost universal apostasy. Luke xviii. 8. *when the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?* 2 Thess. ii. 3. *that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first.* Compare also 1 Tim. iv. 1.

Secondly, the revealing of antichrist, and his destruction by the spirit of the mouth of Christ. 2 Thess. ii. 3. *that man of sin shall be revealed, the son of perdition—.* v. 8. *and then shall that wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming.*

Some refer to the same event another sign, namely, the calling of the entire nation of the Jews, as well as of the ten dispersed tribes.[8]

[7] ..... truth shall retire
Bestuck with sland'rous darts, and works of faith
Rarely be found: so shall the world go on,
To good malignant, to bad men benign,
Under her own weight groaning; till the day
Appear of respiration to the just,
And vengeance to the wicked. *Paradise Lost,* XII. 535.

[8] Compare *Paradise Regained,* III. 433. especially with reference to the passage quoted from Isaiah xxvii.

Yet he at length (time to himself best known)
Rememb'ring Abraham, by some wond'rous call
May bring them back, repentent and sincere,
And at their passing cleave the Assyrian flood,

Isai. xi. 11, 12. *it shall come to pass in that day, that Jehovah shall set his hand again the second time—.* xiv. 1. *Jehovah will have mercy on Jacob, and will yet choose Israel, and set them in their own land.* xxvii. 12. *Jehovah shall beat off from the channel of the river unto the stream of Egypt.* Jer. iii. 12. *return, thou backsliding Israel.* v. 18. *in those days the house of Judah shall walk with the house of Israel.* xxx. 3. *I will bring again the captivity of my people Israel and Judah.* xxxi. 5. *thou shalt yet plant vines upon the mountains of Samaria.* v. 36, &c. *if those ordinances depart from before me—.* xxxiii. 7. *I will cause the captivity of Judah and the captivity of Israel to return—.* Ezek. xx. 42. *ye shall know that I am Jehovah, when I shall bring you into the land of Israel.* xxxvii. 21, 22. *I will make them one nation in the land—.* Hos. iii. 5. *afterward shall the children of Israel return.* Amos ix. 14, 15. *I will bring again the captivity of my people of Israel.* Zech. viii. 23. *in those days it shall come to pass that ten men shall take hold ..... of him that is a Jew,* &c. xii. 4, &c. *in that day, saith Jehovah, I will smite every horse with astonishment—.* Thus the Jews, on their return from the Babylonish captivity, Ezra vi. 17. *offered for a sin-offering for all Israel, twelve he-goats, according to the number of the tribes of Israel,* all which God still accounted as his own, though even to the present day they have not returned out of captivity. Luke xxi. 24. *Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.* Rom. xi. 12, 13. *now if the fall of them be the riches of the world ..... how much more their fulness?* v. 15. *if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be?* v. 25. *I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery ..... that blindness in part is happened to Israel until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in: and so all Israel shall be saved.*

Christ will delay his coming. 2 Thess. ii. 1—3. *now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gather-*

> While to their native land with joy they haste,
> As the Red Sea and Jordan once he cleft,
> When to the promis'd land their fathers pass'd.

ing together unto him, that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand: let no man seduce you by any means; for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first—. 2 Pet. iii. 3, 4, &c. *there shall come in the last days scoffers ..... saying, Where is the promise of his coming?* &c. to the end of the chapter; where the reason of his delay is assigned.

His advent will be glorious. Matt. xxiv. 27. *as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be.* v. 30. *they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory.* See also Luke xxi. 27. Matt. xxv. 31. *when the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory.* 1 Thess. iv. 16. *the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God.* 2 Thess. i. 10. *when he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be admired in all them that believe in that day.* Tit. ii. 13. *looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.* Jude 14. *behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his saints.*

It will be terrible. Isai. lxvi. 15, 16. *behold, Jehovah will come with fire, and with his chariots like a whirlwind, to render his anger with fury, and his rebuke with flames of fire.* xiii. 9, 10. compared with Matt. xxiv. 29, 30. *immediately after the tribulation of those days shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken.* See also Mark xiii. 24, 25. Luke xxi. 25, 26. *there shall be signs in the sun and in the moon, and in the stars, and upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity, the sea and the waves roaring, men's hearts failing them for fear.* 2 Thess. i. 7, 8. *the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire.* Rev. vi. 12. to the end of the chapter; *lo, there was a great earthquake ..... and the kings of the earth,*

and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains ..... hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains.

The second advent of Christ will be followed by the resurrection of the dead and the last judgement.

A belief in the RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD existed even before the time of the gospel. Job xix. 25, 26, &c. *I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth; and though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh I shall see God.* Psal. xvi. 10, &c. *thou wilt not leave my soul in hell.* xvii. 14, 15. *from men of the world, which have their portion in this life.* xlix. 14, 15. *like sheep they are laid in the grave; death shall feed on them,* &c. Isai. li. 6, &c. *the heavens shall vanish away like smoke ..... but my salvation shall be for ever.* xxvi. 19. *thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise; awake and sing, ye that dwell in dust.* Zech. iii. 7. *thus saith Jehovah of hosts; if,* &c. ..... *I will give thee places to walk among these that stand by.* Dan. xii. 2. *many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake; some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.* Hos. xiii. 14. compared with 1 Cor. xv. 54. *I will ransom thee from the power of the grave, I will redeem thee from death: O death, I will be thy plagues; O grave, I will be thy destruction.* Acts xxiv. 15. *have hope toward God, which they themselves also allow, that there shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust.* xxvi. 6—8. *I stand and am judged for the hope of the promise made of God unto our fathers ..... why should it be thought a thing incredible with you, that God should raise the dead?* Heb. xi. 10. *he looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God.*

This expectation was confirmed under the gospel by the testimony of Christ. Matt. xii. 41. *the men of Nineveh shall rise in judgement with this generation.* John v. 28, 29. *the hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth, they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil*

unto the resurrection of damnation. See also vi. 39, 40. and 1 Cor. vi. 14. xv. 52. *the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible.* 2 Cor. iv. 14. *knowing that he which raised up the Lord Jesus, shall raise up us also by Jesus, and shall present us with you.* See also 1 Thess. iv. 14.

To these testimonies from Scripture, may be added several arguments from reason in support of the doctrine. First, the covenant with God is not dissolved by death. Matt. xxii. 32. *God is not the God of the dead, but of the living.* Secondly, *if there be no resurrection of the dead, then is Christ not risen,* 1 Cor. xv. 13—20. v. 23. *every man in his own order; Christ the first-fruits, afterward they that are Christ's at his coming.* John xi. 25. *Jesus said unto her, I am the resurrection and the life.* Thirdly, were there no resurrection, the righteous would be of all men most miserable, and the wicked, who have a better portion in this life, most happy; which would be altogether inconsistent with the providence and justice of God. 1 Cor. xv. 19. *if in this life only we have hope in Christ—.* v. 30—32. *why stand we in jeopardy every hour?*

This resurrection will take place partly through the resuscitation of the dead, and partly through a sudden change operated upon the living.

It appears indicated in Scripture that every man will rise numerically one and the same person. Job xix. 26, 27. *though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God: whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another.* 1 Cor. xv. 53. *this corruptible must put on incorruption.* 2 Cor. v. 4. *not for that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life.* v. 10. *that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.* Otherwise we should not be conformed to Christ, who entered into glory with that identical body of flesh and blood, wherewith he had died and risen again.

The change to be undergone by the living is predicted 1 Cor. xv. 51. *behold, I show you a mystery ..... we shall all be changed.* 1 Thess. iv. 15—18. *this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep ..... and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air, and so shall we ever be with the Lord.*

THE LAST JUDGEMENT is that wherein CHRIST WITH THE SAINTS, ARRAYED IN THE GLORY AND POWER OF THE FATHER, SHALL JUDGE THE EVIL ANGELS, AND THE WHOLE RACE OF MANKIND.[9]

ARRAYED IN THE GLORY AND POWER OF THE FATHER. John v. 22. *the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgement unto the Son.* v. 27. *he hath given him authority to execute judgement also, because he is the Son of man;* that is, because he is himself man.[1] So

[9] When thou attended gloriously from heav'n
Shalt in the sky appear, and from thee send
The summoning archangels to proclaim
Thy dread tribunal; forthwith from all winds
The living, and forthwith the cited dead
Of all past ages, to the general doom
Shall hasten; such a peal shall rouse their sleep.
Then, all thy saints assembled, thou shalt judge
Bad men and angels; they, arraign'd, shall sink
Beneath thy sentence. *Paradise Lost*, II. 323.
..... Thence shall come
When this world's dissolution shall be ripe,
With glory and power to judge both quick and dead. XII. 458.
Last in the clouds from heav'n to be reveal'd
In glory of the Father, to dissolve
Satan with his perverted world. *Ibid.* 545.

[1] Vicegerent Son, to thee I have transferr'd
All judgement, whether in heav'n, or earth, or hell.
Easy it may be seen that I intend
Mercy colleague with justice, sending thee

Man's

Acts xvii. 31. *he will judge the world in righteousness by that man—.* Rom. ii. 16. *in the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ, according to my gospel.*

With the saints. Matt. xix. 28. *ye which have followed me in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.* See also Luke xxii. 30. 1 Cor. vi. 2, 3. *do ye not know that the saints shall judge the world? ..... know ye not that we shall judge angels?*

Shall judge. Eccles. xii. 14. *God shall bring every work into judgement, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil.* Matt. xii. 36, 37. *every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgement; for by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned;* that is to say, where our actions do not correspond with our words.[2] Rom. xiv. 12. *so then every one of us shall give account of himself to God.* 1 Cor. iv. 5. *until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts; and then shall every man have praise of God.* 2 Cor. v. 10. *that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.*

The evil angels. 1 Cor. vi. 2, 3, as above.

The whole race of mankind. Matt. xxiv. 31. *he shall send his angels with a great shout of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other.* xxv. 32, &c.

> Man's friend, his mediator, his design'd
> Both ransom and redeemer voluntary,
> And destin'd man himself to judge man fall'n. *Paradise Lost,* X. 56.

[2] ..... only add
Deeds to thy knowledge answerable. XII. 581.

'He who from such a kind of psalmistry, or any other verbal devotion, without the pledge and earnest of suitable deeds, can be persuaded of a real and true righteousness in the person, hath yet much to learn.' *Answer to Eikon Basilike.* Prose Works, II. 406.

before him shall be gathered all nations; and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats. Rom. xiv. 10. *we shall all stand before the judgement-seat of Christ.* 2 Cor. v. 10. *we must all appear before the judgement-seat of Christ.* Rev. xx. 12, 13. *I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God ..... and the sea gave up the dead which were in it, and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them.*

The rule of judgement will be the conscience of each individual, according to the measure of light which he has enjoyed. John xii. 48. *he that rejecteth me, and receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him; the word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him at the last day.* Rom. ii. 12. *as many as have sinned without law, shall also perish without law; and as many as have sinned in the law shall be judged by the law.* v. 14. *when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these having not the law, are a law unto themselves: which shew the work of the law written in their hearts, their consciences also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another; in the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ according to my gospel.* James ii. 12. *as they that shall be judged by the law of liberty.* Rev. xx. 12. *the books were opened; and another book was opened, which is the book of life; and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works.*

Coincident, as appears, with the time of this last judgement (I use the indefinite expression time, as the word day is often used to denote any given period, and as it is not easily imaginable that so many myriads of men and angels should be assembled and sentenced within a single day) beginning with its commencement, and extending a little beyond its conclusion, will take place that glorious reign of Christ on earth with his saints, so often promised in Scripture, even until all his enemies shall be subdued. His kingdom of grace, indeed, which is also called *the kingdom of heaven*, began with his first advent, when its beginning was proclaimed by John the Baptist, as appears from

the testimony of Scripture; but his kingdom of glory will not commence till his second advent. Dan. vii. 13, 14. *behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven ..... and there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom; given him,* that is, from the time when he came with the clouds of heaven (in which manner his final advent is uniformly described) not to assume our nature, as Junius interprets it,[3] (for then he would have been like the Son of man before he became man, which would be an incongruity) but to execute judgement; from the period so indicated, to the time when he should lay down the kingdom, 1 Cor. xv. 24. *then cometh the end,* of which more shortly. That this reign will be on earth, is evident from many passages. Psal. ii. 8, 9. compared with Rev. ii. 25—27. *I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession; thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel.* cx. 5, 6. *Jehovah at thy right hand shall strike through kings in the day of his wrath: he shall judge among the heathen, he shall fill the places with the dead bodies, he shall wound the heads over many countries.* Isai. ix. 7. *of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David and upon his kingdom.* Dan. vii. 22. *until the Ancient of days came, and judgement was given to the saints of the most High, and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom.* v. 27. *the kingdom, and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the most High—.* Luke i. 32, 33. *the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David; and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end.* Matt. xix. 28. *ye which have followed me, in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.* Luke xxii. 29, 30. *I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me; that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.* It appears that the *judgement* here spoken of will not be confined

[3] '*Veniebat;* perfecturus in terris mysterium redemptionis nostræ.' Junius on Dan. vii. 13.

to a single day, but will extend through a great space of time; and that the word is used to denote, not so much a judicial inquiry properly so called, as an exercise of dominion; in which sense Gideon, Jephthah, and the other judges are said to have judged Israel during many years. 1 Cor. xv. 23—26. *every man in his own order; Christ the first-fruits, afterward they that are Christ's, at his coming: then cometh the end—.* Rev. v. 10. *thou hast made us unto our God kings and priests, and we shall reign on the earth.* xi. 15. *the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever.* xx. 1—7. *I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgement was given unto them ..... and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years: but the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished: this is the first resurrection: blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection; on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years.*

After the expiration of the thousand years Satan will rage again, and assail the church at the head of an immense confederacy of its enemies; but will be overthrown by fire from heaven, and condemned to everlasting punishment. Rev. xx. 7—9. *when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, and shall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle ..... and they compassed the camp of the saints about, and the beloved city; and fire came down from God out of heaven, and devoured them.* 2 Thess. ii. 8. *then shall that wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming.*

After the evil angels and chief enemies of God have been sentenced, judgement will be passed upon the whole race of mankind. Rev. xx. 11—15. *I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it .... and I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened; and another book was opened, which is the book of life; and the dead*

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works: and the sea gave up the dead which was in it, and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them; and they were judged every man according to their works.

Then, as appears, will be pronounced that sentence, Matt. xxv. 34. COME, YE BLESSED OF MY FATHER, INHERIT THE KINGDOM PREPARED FOR YOU FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE WORLD. v. 41. DEPART FROM ME, YE CURSED, INTO EVERLASTING FIRE, PREPARED FOR THE DEVIL AND HIS ANGELS.

The passing of the sentence will be followed by its execution; that is to say, by the punishment of the wicked, and the perfect glorification of the righteous. Matt. xxv. 46. *these shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal.* Rev. xx. 14, 15. *death and hell were cast into the lake of fire: this is the second death: and whosoever was not found written in the book of life, was cast into the lake of fire.*

Then will be the end, spoken of 1 Cor. xv. 24—28. *then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father, when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority, and power; for he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet: the last enemy that shall be destroyed is death; for he hath put all things under his feet: but when he saith, all things are put under him, it is manifest that he is excepted which did put all things under him: and when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.*

It may be asked, if Christ is to deliver up the kingdom to God and the Father, what becomes of the declarations, Heb. i. 8. *unto the Son he saith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever* (*in sæculum sæculi*, for ages of ages), and Dan. vii. 14. *his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed;*

Luke i. 33. *of his kingdom there shall be no end.* I reply, there shall be no end of his kingdom *for ages of ages*, that is, so long as the ages of the world endure, until *time* itself *shall be no longer*, Rev. x. 6. until every thing which his kingdom was intended to effect shall have been accomplished;[4] insomuch that his kingdom will not *pass away* as insufficient for its purpose; it will not be *destroyed*, nor will its period be a period of dissolution, but rather of perfection and consummation, like the end of the law, Matt. v. 18. In the same manner many other things are spoken of as never to pass away, but to remain eternally; as circumcision, Gen. xvii. 13. the ceremonial law in general, Levit. iii. 17. xxiv. 8. the land of Canaan, Gen. xiii. 15. Jer. vii. 7. xxv. 5. the sabbath, Exod. xxxi. 16. the priesthood of Aaron, Numb. xviii. 8. the memorial of stones at the river Jordan, Josh. iv. 7. the signs of heaven, Psal. cxlviii. 6. the earth, Eccles. i. 4. although every one of these has either already come to an end, or will eventually be terminated.

The second death is so termed with reference to the first, or death of the body. For the three other, or preparatory degrees of death, see chap. xiii. on the punishment of sin. The fourth and last gradation is that of which we are now speaking, namely, eternal death, or the punishment of the damned.

Under this death may be included the destruction of the present unclean and polluted world itself, namely, its FINAL CONFLAGRATION.[5] Whether by this is meant the destruction of the substance of the world itself, or only a change in the nature of its constituent parts, is uncertain, and of no importance to determine; respecting the event itself, we are informed, so far as it concerns us to know, Job xiv. 12. *till the heavens be no more.* Psal. cii. 26. *they shall perish.* Isai. xxxiv. 4. *the heavens shall*

[4] Then thou thy regal scepter shalt lay by,
For regal scepter thou no more shalt need,
God shall be all in all. *Paradise Lost*, III. 339.

[5] ..... meanwhile
The world shall burn. III. 333.

be rolled together as a scroll, and all their host shall fall down. li. 6. *the heavens shall vanish away like smoke.* Matt. xxiv. 35. *heaven and earth shall pass away.* 1 Cor. vii. 31. *the fashion of this world passeth away.* 2 Pet. iii. 7. *the heavens and the earth, which are now ..... reserved unto fire against the day of judgement and perdition of ungodly men.* v. 10. *in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise.* v. 12. *wherein the heavens being on fire—.* Rev. x. 6. *he sware by him that liveth for ever and ever ..... that there should be time no longer.* xxi. 1. *the first heaven and the first earth were passed away, and there was no more sea.*

The second death, or the punishment of the damned, seems to consist partly in the loss of the chief good, namely, the favour and protection of God, and the beatific vision of his presence, which is commonly called the punishment of loss; and partly in eternal torment, which is called the punishment of sense.[6] Matt. xxv. 41. *depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.* Luke xiii. 27, 28. *I know you not whence ye are; depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and all the prophets, in the kingdom of God, and you yourselves thrust out.* xvi. 23. *being in torments, he seeth Abraham afar off.* 2 Thess. i. 9. *who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power.*

The intensity and duration of these punishments are variously intimated. Isai. xxx. 33. *Tophet is ordained of old; yea, for the king it is prepared: he hath made it deep and large; the pile thereof is fire and much wood; the breath of Jehovah, like a stream of brimstone, doth*

[6] 'Quidam enim eorum censent peccatum originis puniri tantum *pœna damni;* alii vero insuper ei *pœnam sensus* adjungunt.' *Dissertatio Secunda de Peccato Originis,* Curcell. 61. 'To which two heads, all that is necessary to be known concerning this everlasting punishment may be reduced; and we shall accordingly consider it as it is both *pœna damni* and *pœna sensus,* the punishment of loss and the punishment of sense.' Beveridge, Works, Vol. II. 449. See also Taylor, Works, IX. 369.

kindle it. lxvi. 24. compared with Mark ix. 44. *where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.* Dan. xii. 2. *to shame and everlasting contempt.* Matt. viii. 12. *outer darkness, there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.* See also xiii. 42, &c. Mark ix. 43. *fire that never shall be quenched.* Rom. ii. 8, 9. *indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish.* 2 Thess. i. 9. *who shall be punished with everlasting destruction.* Rev. xiv. 11. *the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever, and they have no rest day nor night.* See also xix. 3. xxi. 8. *they shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone.*

Punishment, however, varies according to the degree of guilt. Matt. xi. 22. *it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the day of judgement, than for you.* Luke xii. 47, 48. *he shall be beaten with many stripes.....he shall be beaten with few stripes.*

The place of punishment is called HELL; *Tophet,*[7] Isai. xxx. 33. *hell fire,* Matt. v. 22. and still more distinctly x. 28. *outer darkness,* viii. 12. xxii. 13. xxv. 30. *a furnace of fire,* xiii. 42. *Hades,* Luke xvi. 23; and elsewhere: *a place of torment,* v. 28. *the bottomless pit,* Rev. ix. 1. *the lake of fire,* xx. 15. *the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone,* xxi. 8. Hell appears to be situated beyond the limits of this universe. Luke xvi. 26. *between us and you there is a great gulf fixed, so that they which would pass from hence to you cannot.* Matt. viii. 12. *outer darkness.* Rev. xxii. 14, 15. *they may enter in through the gates into the city; for without are dogs.* Nor are reasons wanting for this locality; for as the place of the damned is the same as that prepared for the devil and his angels, Matt. xxv. 41. in punishment of their apostasy, which occurred before the fall of man, it does not seem probable that hell should have been prepared within the limits of this world, in the bowels of the earth, on which the curse had not as yet passed.[8] This

[7] ..... Tophet thence
And black Gehenna call'd, the type of hell. *Paradise Lost,* I. 404.

[8] In the argument to the first book of Paradise Lost, hell is described as situated 'not in the center (for heaven and earth may be supposed as yet not made, *certainly not yet accursed*) but in a place of utter' (i. e. outer) 'darkness, fitliest called Chaos.'

is said to have been the opinion of Chrysostom, as likewise of Luther and some later divines.[9] Besides, if, as has been shown from various passages of the New Testament, the whole world is to be finally consumed by fire, it follows that hell, being situated in the centre of the earth, must share the fate of the surrounding universe, and perish likewise; a consummation more to be desired than expected by the souls in perdition.

Thus far of the punishment of the wicked; it remains to speak of the perfect glorification of the righteous.

Perfect glorification consists in eternal life and perfect happiness, arising chiefly from the divine vision.[1] It is described Psal. xvi. 11. *thou wilt show me the path of life; in thy presence is fulness of joy; at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.* xvii. 15. *I will behold thy face in righteousness; I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with thy*

[9] Καὶ ποῦ, φησὶ, καὶ ἐν ποίῳ χωρίῳ αὕτη ἔσται ἡ γέεννα; τί σοι τούτου μέλει; τὸ γὰρ ζητούμενον, δεῖξαι ὅτι ἐστὶν, οὐ ποῦ τεταμίευται, καὶ ἐν ποίῳ χωρίῳ . . . . . ἀλλ' ἐν ποίῳ τόπῳ, φησὶν, ἔσται; ἔξω που, ὡς ἔγωγε οἶμαι, τοῦ κόσμου τούτου παντός. καθάπερ γὰρ τῶν βασιλείων τὰ δεσμωτήρια καὶ τὰ μέταλλα πόῤῥω ἵστηκεν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ταύτης ἔξω που ἔσται ἡ γέεννα. Chrysost. in Ep. ad Rom. Homil. 31. Milton elsewhere refers to the locality of hell:

> Such place eternal justice had prepared
> For those rebellious; here their prison ordain'd
> In utter darkness, and their portion set
> As far remov'd from God and light of heaven,
> As from the center thrice to th' utmost pole. *Paradise Lost*, I. 70.

Again: 'to banish for ever into a local hell, whether in the air or in the center, or in that uttermost and bottomless gulf of Chaos, deeper from holy bliss than the world's diameter multiplied, they thought not a punishment so proper and proportionate for God to inflict, as to punish sin with sin.' *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce.* Prose Works, II. 11.

[1] The distinction which Milton makes between the beginnings of bliss which are attainable in this life, and that perfect glorification which will ensue hereafter, coincides with the expressions in the Hymn on the Nativity:

> And then at last our bliss
> Full and perfect is,
> But now begins. xviii. 165.

likeness. Dan. xii. 3. *they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever.* Matt. xiii. 43. *then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father.* xxii. 30. *they are as the angels of God in heaven.* v. 8. *blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.* 1 Cor. ii. 9. *as it is written, Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him.* xiii. 12. *now we see through a glass, darkly, but then face to face; now I know in part, but then shall I know even as also I am known.* xv. 42, 43. *so also is the resurrection of the dead: it is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption; it is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power; it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body.* 2 Cor. iv. 17. *a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.* v. 1. *we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.* Eph. ii. 6. *hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus.* Philipp. iii. 21. *who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body.* 1 Thess. iv. 17. *we shall be caught up together with them into the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air, and so shall we ever be with the Lord.* 2 Tim. iv. 8. *henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day, and not to me only, but to all them also that love his appearing.* 1 Pet. i. 4. *an inheritance incorruptible, and undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for you.* v. 4. *when the chief shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away.* v. 10. *who hath called us unto his eternal glory by Christ Jesus.* 1 John iii. 2. *we know that when he shall appear we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is.* Rev. vii. 14—17. *these are they.....therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple; and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them; they shall hunger no more, neither thirst—.* xxi. 4. *God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes, and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither*

shall there be any more pain. xxii. 1—5. *he showed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb—.*

It appears that all the saints will not attain to an equal state of glory. Dan. xii. 3. *they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever.* Matt. xx. 23. *to sit on my right hand and on my left is not mine to give, but it shall be given to them of whom it is prepared of my Father.* 1 Cor. xv. 41, 42. *there is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars; for one star differeth from another star in glory: so also is the resurrection of the dead.*

In heaven. Matt. v. 12. *great is your reward in heaven.* Luke xii. 33. *provide yourselves.....a treasure in the heavens that faileth not.* Philipp. iii. 20. *our conversation is in heaven.* Heb. x. 34. *knowing in yourselves that ye have a better and an enduring substance.*

Our glorification will be accompanied by the renovation of heaven and earth, and of all things therein adapted to our service or delight, to be possessed by us in perpetuity.[2] Isai. lxv. 17. *behold, I create*

[2] The following quotations will show that Milton took pleasure in frequently recurring to this idea.

The world shall burn, and from her ashes spring
New heav'n and earth, wherein the just shall dwell,
And after all their tribulations long
See golden days. *Paradise Lost,* III. 334.
Then heav'n and earth renew'd shall be made pure
To sanctity that shall receive no stain. X. 638.
..... To second life
Wak'd in the renovation of the just
Resigns him up with heav'n and earth renew'd. XI. 64.
..... till fire purge all things new,
Both heav'n and earth, wherein the just shall dwell. *Ibid.* 900.
..... to reward
His faithful, and receive them into bliss,

 Whether

new heavens and a new earth, and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind. lxvi. 22. *as the new heavens and the new earth, which I will make, shall remain before me, saith Jehovah, so shall your seed and your name remain.* Acts iii. 21. *whom the heavens must receive until the times of restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began.* Matt. xix. 29. *every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life.* xxvi. 29. *I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom.* Luke xiv. 15. *one of them that sat at meat with him.....said unto him, Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the kingdom of God;* nor is he reproved by Christ for this saying. xxii. 30. *that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom.* Rom. viii. 19—24. *the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God....in hope, because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the children of God.* 2 Pet. iii. 13. *we according to his pro-*

> Whether in heav'n or earth; for then the earth
> Shall all be Paradise, far happier place
> Than this of Eden, and far happier days. XII. 461.
>
> .....then raise
> From the conflagrant mass, purg'd and refin'd,
> New heav'ns, new earth, ages of endless date
> Founded in righteousness and peace and love,
> To bring forth fruits, joy and eternal bliss. *Ibid.* 547.

And again, in a splendid passage near the end of the treatise *On Reformation in England:* 'Thou, the eternal and shortly expected King, shalt open the clouds to judge the several kingdoms of the world, and distributing national honours and rewards to religious and just commonwealths, shall put an end to all earthly tyrannies, proclaiming thy universal and mild monarchy through heaven and earth; where they undoubtedly, that by their labours, counsels, and prayers, have been earnest for the common good of religion and their country, shall receive above the inferior orders of the blessed, the regal addition of principalities, legions, and thrones into their glorious titles, and in supereminence of beatific vision, progressing the dateless and irrevoluble circle of eternity, shall clasp inseparable hands with joy and bliss, in over-measure for ever.' Prose Works, I. 58.

mise look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness. Rev. v. 10. *thou hast made us unto our God kings and priests, and we shall reign on the earth.* xxi. 1, &c. *I saw a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea: and I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.*

BOOK II.

OF

THE SERVICE OF GOD.

CHAP. I.

OF

GOOD WORKS.

THE subject of the first Book was FAITH, or THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD. The second treats of THE SERVICE or LOVE OF GOD.[3]

The true service of God consists chiefly in the exercise of good works. Matt. xvi. 27. *then he shall reward every man according to his works.* Rom. ii. 13. *not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified.* Philipp. i. 11. *being filled with the fruits of righteousness, which are by Jesus Christ.* iv. 8. *whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things: those things which ye have both learned, and received, and heard, and seen in me, do; and the God of peace shall be with you.* 2 Tim. iii. 17. *that the man of God may be perfect, throughly furnished unto all good works.* Tit. ii. 11, 12. *the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men, teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world.* iii. 8. *this is a faithful saying, and these things I will*

[3] 'What evangelic religion is, is told in two words, Faith and Charity, or Belief and Practice.' *Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes.* Prose Works, III. 332.

that thou affirm constantly, that they which have believed in God may be careful to maintain good works. James i. 22. *be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiving your own selves.* 2 Pet. i. 5, &c. *besides this, giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue, and to virtue knowledge...*&c. *for if these things be in you, and abound, they make you that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

GOOD WORKS are THOSE WHICH WE PERFORM BY THE SPIRIT OF GOD WORKING IN US THROUGH TRUE FAITH, TO THE GLORY OF GOD, THE ASSURED HOPE OF OUR OWN SALVATION, AND THE EDIFICATION OF OUR NEIGHBOUR.

BY THE SPIRIT OF GOD WORKING IN US. John iii. 21. *that his deeds may be made manifest that they are wrought in God.* 1 Cor. xv. 10. *by the grace of God I am what I am; and his grace which was bestowed upon me was not in vain, but I laboured more abundantly than they all; yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me.* 2 Cor. iii. 5. *not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think anything as of ourselves, but our sufficiency is of God.* Gal. v. 22. *the fruit of the Spirit is love....gentleness, goodness, faith.* Eph. ii. 10. *we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them.* v. 9. *the fruit of the Spirit is in all goodness, and righteousness, and truth.* Philipp. ii. 13. *it is God that worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure.*

THROUGH FAITH. John xv. 5. *he that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit; for without me ye can do nothing.* Heb. xi. 6. *without faith it is impossible to please him.* James ii. 22. *seest thou how faith wrought with his works, and by works was faith made perfect?* that is, how faith (to use a logical expression) constitutes the *form* of the works, and endows them with the quality of goodness; and how it is itself consummated by the works, as by its end and natural product.

As to the position of divines, that the essential form of good works is their accordance with the decalogue, so far as they are there prescribed, it is not easy to discover how this can be the case under the gospel. Paul certainly teaches a different doctrine, throughout the whole of Romans and elsewhere; declaring explicitly, Rom. xiv. 23. that *whatsoever is not of faith is sin.* He does not say *whatsoever is not of the decalogue, is sin,* but *whatsoever is not of faith;* it is therefore an accordance with faith, not with the decalogue, that ought to be considered as the essential form of good works. Hence, if I observe the sabbath in compliance with the decalogue, but contrary to the dictates of my own faith, conformity with the decalogue, however exact, becomes in my case sin, and a violation of the law. For it is faith that justifies, not agreement with the decalogue; and that which justifies can alone render any work good; none therefore of our works can be good, but by faith; hence faith is the essential form of good works, the definition of form being, that by which a thing is what it is.[4] With regard to the passages in which mention is made of keeping God's commandments, 1 John ii. 4. iii. 24. and elsewhere, it seems reasonable to understand this of the precepts of the gospel, in which faith is uniformly put before the works of the law. If then in the gospel faith be above the works of the law, it must be equally above its precepts; for works are the end and fulfilling of precepts. Since therefore under the gospel, although a man should observe the whole Mosaic law with the utmost punctuality, it would profit him nothing without faith,[5] it is evident that good works must be defined to be of faith, not of the decalogue; whence it follows that conformity, not with the written, but with the unwritten law, that is, with the law of the Spirit given by the Father to lead us into all truth, is to be accounted the true essential form of good works. For the

[4] See page 99, note 1.

[5] . . . . . His obedience
Imputed becomes theirs by faith, his merits
To save them, not their own, though legal works. *Paradise Lost,* XII. 408.

works of believers are the works of the Spirit itself; and though such can never be in contradiction to the love of God and our neighbour, which is the sum of the law, they may occasionally deviate from the letter even of the gospel precepts, particularly of those which are merely special, through a predominating regard to the law of love; as was shown by Christ himself in the abolition of sabbatical observances, as well as on several other occasions.[6] See Book I. chap. xxvii. on the gospel.

To the Glory of God. Matt. v. 16. *let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.* 1 Cor. x. 31. *do all to the glory of God.* Philipp. i. 11. *being filled with the fruits of righteousness, which are by Jesus Christ, unto the glory and praise of God.*

The assured hope of our own salvation. Gen. xv. 1. *thy exceeding great reward.* Prov. x. 9. *he that walketh uprightly, walketh surely.* v. 25. *the righteous is an everlasting foundation.* v. 29. *the way of Jehovah is straight to the upright.* xi. 18, 19. *to him that soweth righteousness shall be a sure reward.* xii. 3. *the root of the righteous shall not be moved.* xiii. 21. *to the righteous good shall be repaid.* xv. 24. *the way of life is above to the wise, that he may depart from hell beneath.* xvi. 17. *he that keepeth his way preserveth his soul.* xx. 7. *the just man walketh in his integrity; his children are blessed after him.* Psal. xv. 1, 2. *Jehovah, who shall abide in thy tabernacle?* &c. Isai. xxxiii. 14, &c. *who among us shall dwell with the devouring fire? .... he that walketh righteously.* 2 Cor. vii. 1. *having therefore these promises, let us cleanse ourselves—.* Gal. vi. 8. *he that soweth to his flesh, shall of his flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting.* Philipp. iii. 14. *I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.* Heb. xi. 6. *he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of*

[6] See page 381, note 5.

them that diligently seek him. v. 26. *he had respect unto the recompense of the reward.* xii. 2. *who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross.*

THE EDIFICATION OF OUR NEIGHBOUR. Hence we are admonished so to act, that we may become examples to others. 2 Sam. xxi. 11, 12. *it was told David what Rizpah had done,* &c. 2 Cor. viii. 24. *wherefore show ye to them, and before the churches, the proof of your love, and of our boasting on your behalf.* Rom. xii. 17. *provide things honest in the sight of all men.* 1 Tim. iv. 12. *be thou an example of the believers, in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity.* Tit. ii. 4. *that they may teach the young women to be sober, to love their husbands, to love their children.* v. 7. *in all things showing thyself a pattern of good works.* 1 Pet. ii. 12. *that whereas they speak against you as evil doers, they may by your good works, which they shall behold, glorify God in the day of visitation.* For a virtuous example excites, in the virtuous, an emulation of that virtue; Rom. xi. 14. *if by any means I may provoke to emulation them which are my flesh, and might save some of them:* a vicious example, on the contrary, is productive of vicious emulation; Prov. xxiii. 17. *let not thine heart envy sinners;* xxiv. 7. *be not thou envious against wicked men;* as well as of offences, by which the strong are scandalized, and the weaker brethren, if not absolutely led into sin, rendered more remiss in the performance of good works. 1 Cor. x. 32, 33. *give none offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the church of God; even as I please all men in all things, not seeking mine own profit, but the profit of many, that they may be saved.* Matt. xviii. 6, 7. *whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him,* &c. See also Mark ix. 42. Rom. xiv. 21. *it is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth, or offendeth, or is made weak.* In this sense a man is said to be a stumbling-block to himself, when he indulges himself in any vice to which his nature inclines him. Matt. v. 29, 30. *if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out,* &c. See also xviii. 7, 8.

Where however the offence does not proceed from any fault of ours, but from the frowardness or malignity of the other party, the guilt rests not with him who gives, but with him who takes the offence. Matt. xv. 12, 13. *knowest thou that the Pharisees were offended after they heard this saying? but he answered and said, Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up: let them alone, they be blind leaders of the blind.* Thus Christ did not break off his intercourse with the publicans through fear of scandalizing the Pharisees, but contented himself with giving reasons for his conduct: Matt. ix. 10, &c. *they that be whole need not a physician—.* Luke xix. 7, &c. *the Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost.* xx. 18. *whosoever shall fall upon that stone shall be broken, but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder.* See Book I. chap. xxvii. on Christian liberty.

As to what the Papists call works of supererogation, whereby more is done than the law prescribes, insomuch that some of the saints, through the superabundance of their works, have been enabled to purchase eternal life not only for themselves, but for others, such works are clearly impossible. For since we are commanded, under the gospel as well as under the law, to love and serve God with all our strength and with all our mind, and our neighbour as ourselves, and since, consequently, there can be no excess in piety and charity, it follows that no act which we are capable of performing can be of such excellence as to fulfil, still less to transcend the requisitions of duty. Luke xvii. 10. *when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants, we have done that which was our duty to do.* Those counsels of the gospel, therefore, which the Papists affirm to be of a higher nature than its precepts, insomuch that if a man follow them, not being compelled so to do, he performs a work of supererogation, are not in reality counsels, as distinguished from precepts, nor of a higher nature than the latter; but are to be considered as particular precepts, given, not to all mankind, but to certain individuals, for special reasons and under special circumstances. Thus we

are told, Matt. xix. 11. that it is good for those who have the gift of continence and can receive the saying, not to marry, whenever by remaining single they can more effectually promote the glory of God and the good of the church. Again, v. 21. whether the words of Christ are to be considered as precept or as simple counsel, it is certain that, had the young man to whom they were addressed fulfilled them in their utmost extent, he would have done nothing beyond what duty required, any more than Abraham when he led forth his son to sacrifice: for the commands of God, whether addressed to mankind in general, or to a particular class, or to an individual, are equally obligatory on the kind, or class, or individual to whom they are addressed. In the example just cited, obedience to the general precept of loving God above all things was singled out as an instance of duty to be required from the self-sufficient young man, for the purpose of exposing his folly and unfounded confidence, and of showing him how far he was from the perfection to which he pretended. For it was not the selling all he had, which has been done without charity, but the leaving his possessions and following Christ, which was to be the test of his perfection. With regard to the other instance of celibacy, 1 Cor. vii. this is neither made expressly a matter of precept nor of counsel, but is left free to the discretion of individuals, according to seasons and circumstances. To the above may be added, that, if there be any such works as are here described, those precepts must needs be imperfect, which require to be amended by supplementary admonitions. If, moreover, these latter are, as is alleged, of a higher order of excellence than the precepts themselves, who shall be sufficient to fulfil them? seeing that no one is able to perform entirely even the requisitions of the law. Not to mention, that the name of counsels is sometimes applied to precepts of universal application, and of the most imperative necessity; as Rev. iii. 18. *I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire.* Lastly, that prayer for forgiveness, which by Christ's command we all daily offer, is utterly irreconcileable with the vain boasting of works implied in this doctrine.

It is true that in matters of choice and Christian liberty, one work may be more perfect than another: 1 Cor. vii. 38. *he doeth well.... he doeth better.* 2 Cor. xi. 23. *are they ministers of Christ? I am more;* but it is not less the duty of every one to do whatever may most effectually promote the glory of God and the edification of his neighbour. Paul, had he so chosen, needed not have preached the gospel without charge, 1 Cor. ix. 7, &c. but believing, as he did, that a gratuitous service would be less open to suspicion, and tend more to the edification of the church, he did nothing more than his duty in preaching gratuitously. No work of supererogation was performed by Zaccheus, when he voluntarily gave half his goods to the poor, Luke xix. 8. nor by the poor widow, when she cast into the treasury all that she had, Mark xii. 42. nor by the disciples, when they sold their lands and divided the produce among the brethren, Acts iv. 34; those who did such actions only proved that they loved their neighbours, and especially the believing part of them, as themselves. They were not however under any absolute obligation to give such extraordinary proofs of their love, Acts v. 4. for although perfection is proposed to all men as the end of their endeavours, it is not required of all.

Hence may be easily discerned the vanity of human merits; seeing that, in the first place, our good actions are not our own, but of God working in us; secondly, that, were they our own, they would still be equally due; and, thirdly, that, in any point of view, there can be no proportion between our duty and the proposed reward. Rom. vi. 23. *the gift of God is eternal life.* viii. 18. *I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us.* Hence although Hezekiah asserts his uprightness in the sight of God, Isai. xxxviii. 3. *remember now, O Jehovah, I beseech thee, how I have walked before thee in truth, and with a perfect heart, and have done that which was good in thy sight,* he is so far from considering this as constituting any claim to reward, that he acknowledges himself indebted to the free mercy of God for the

pardon of his sins: v. 17. *thou hast in love to my soul delivered it from the pit of corruption, for thou hast cast all my sins behind my back.* So likewise Nehemiah, xiii. 22. *remember me, O my God, concerning this also, and spare me according to the greatness of thy mercy.* The declaration of God himself, Exod. xx. 6, is to the same purpose. Lastly, that of which God stands in no need, can deserve nothing of him.[7] Job xxii. 2, &c. *can a man be profitable with God?* xxxv. 7. *if thou be righteous, what givest thou him?* Luke xvii. 10. *we are unprofitable servants.* Rom. xi. 35. *who hath first given him—?* See Book I. chap. xxii. on Justification.

Opposed to good works are evil works; the vanity and bitterness of which are forcibly described by Isaiah, lix. 4, &c. *they conceive mischief, and bring forth iniquity; they hatch cockatrice' eggs—.* Prov. xi. 3. *the perverseness of transgressors shall destroy them.* v. 5. *the wicked shall fall by his own wickedness.* xiii. 15. *the way of transgressors is hard.* xxii. 5. *thorns and snares are in the way of the froward.*

A good man is known by his works. Matt. xii. 35. *a good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth good things.* 1 John iii. 7. *he that doeth righteousness is righteous, even as he is righteous.* He is described Job xxix. 11—25. *when the ear heard me, then it blessed me,* &c. and elsewhere.

Sometimes, however, certain temporary virtues, or semblances of virtues, are discernible even in the wicked; as in Saul, 1 Sam. xix, and in the Jews, Jer. xxxiv. An outward show of liberality, gratitude, and equity, with a regard for the interest of his subjects, are visible in the king of Sodom, Gen. xiv. 21. See also the instance of Eglon, Judges iii. and of Belshazzar, Dan. v. 29.

[7] ..... God doth not need
Either man's work or his own gifts. *Sonnet* XIX. 9.

The wicked man is described Psal. x. 3, &c. *the wicked boasteth of his heart's desire,* &c. xiv. 1, &c. *the fool hath said in his heart—.* Prov. i. 11, &c. *if they say, Come with us, let us lay wait for blood—.* iv. 14, &c. *enter not into the path of the wicked—.* xxviii. 5, &c. *evil men understand not judgement.*

CHAP. II.

Of
The proximate Causes of Good Works.

The primary efficient cause of good works, as has been stated above, is God.

The PROXIMATE CAUSES OF GOOD WORKS are naturally, in ordinary cases at least, good habits, or, as they are called, VIRTUES; in which is comprised the whole of our duty towards God and man. Philipp. iv. 8. *if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise.* 2 Pet. i. 5. *add to your faith virtue.* These are partly general, or such as pertain to the whole duty of man; and partly special, or such as apply to the particular branches of that duty.

The general virtues belong partly to the understanding, and partly to the will.

Those which belong to the understanding are WISDOM and PRUDENCE.

WISDOM IS THAT WHEREBY WE EARNESTLY SEARCH AFTER THE WILL OF GOD, LEARN IT WITH ALL DILIGENCE, AND GOVERN ALL OUR ACTIONS ACCORDING TO ITS RULE.

THE WILL OF GOD. Deut. iv. 6. *keep therefore and do them, for this is your wisdom—.* Psal. cxix. 66. *teach me good judgement and knowledge, for I have believed thy commandments.* v. 98—100. *thou through*

thy commandments hast made me wiser than mine enemies ..... than my teachers ..... than the ancients. Prov. xxviii. 5. *they that seek Jehovah, understand all things.* xxx. 5, 6. *every work of God is pure ..... add thou not unto his words, lest he reprove thee, and thou be found a liar.* Rom. xii. 2. *be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God.* xvi. 19. *I would have you wise unto that which is good, and simple concerning evil.* Eph. v. 15. *see that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise.* James iii. 13. *who is a wise man, and endued with knowledge among you? let him show out of a good conversation his works with meekness of wisdom.* v. 17. *the wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy.* 1 John ii. 3. *hereby we do know that we know him, if we keep his commandments.* Hence the fear of the Lord is called wisdom, Job xxviii. 28. Psal. xxv. 14. *the secret of Jehovah is with them that fear him.* cxi. 10. *the fear of Jehovah is the beginning of wisdom.* See also Prov. i. 7. Eccles. xii. 15. *let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter,* &c. So also Christ, 1 Cor. i. 30, *is made unto us wisdom.* Col. ii. 3. *in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom.*

Earnestly search. Prov. ii. 4, &c. *if thou seekest her as silver—.* James i. 5. *if any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him.* Wisdom is readily found of such as seek her, and discloses herself to them of her own accord. Prov. i. 20, &c. *wisdom crieth without, she uttereth her voice in the streets.* See also viii. 1, &c.

Wisdom is praised, Job xxviii. 15, &c. *it cannot be gotten for gold—.* Prov. iii. 13, &c. *happy is the man that findeth wisdom.* iv. 5, &c. *get wisdom—.* viii. 6, &c. *hear, for I will speak of excellent things.* Eccles. ix. 18. *wisdom is better than weapons of war.*

The treasures of wisdom are not to be rashly lavished on such as are incapable of appreciating them. Prov. xxiii. 9. *speak not in the ears*

of a fool, for he will despise the wisdom of thy words. Matt. vii. 6. *give not that which is holy unto the dogs.* Mark iv. 34. *without a parable spake he not unto them.* 1 Cor. ii. 6. *howbeit we speak wisdom among them that are perfect; yet not the wisdom of this world.*

To wisdom is opposed folly; which consists, first and chiefly, in an ignorance of the will of God. Isai. i. 3. *the ox knoweth its owner.* v. 13. *therefore my people are gone into captivity, because they have no knowledge.* Jer. v. 4. *they are foolish, for they know not the way of Jehovah, nor the judgement of their God.* viii. 7, &c. *yea, the stork in the heaven knoweth her appointed times—.* John xvi. 2, 3. *the time cometh that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service; and these things will they do unto you, because they have not known the Father, nor me.* xii. 10. *the chief priests consulted that they might put Lazarus also to death.* Eph. iv. 17, 18. *being alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them.* v. 17. *be ye not unwise, but understanding what the will of the Lord is.* 1 Cor. ii. 8. *had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.* 1 Tim. i. 13. *I did it ignorantly in unbelief.*

Secondly, in a false conceit of wisdom. Num. xv. 39. *that ye seek not after your own heart.* 1 Kings xviii. 17. *art thou he that troubleth Israel?* Prov. iii. 7. *be not wise in thine own eyes; fear Jehovah.* xiv. 6. *a scorner seeketh wisdom and findeth it not.* v. 12. *there is a way that seemeth right unto a man, but the end thereof are the ways of death.* xxi. 2. *every way of a man is right in his own eyes; but Jehovah pondereth the hearts.* xxvi. 12. *seest thou a man wise in his own conceit? there is more hope of a fool than of him.* xxviii. 26. *he that trusteth in his own way is a fool; but whoso walketh wisely he shall be delivered.* Isai. v. 21. *woe unto them that are wise in their own eyes.* John ix. 39. *that they which see not might see, and that they which see might be made blind.* Rom. i. 22. *professing themselves to be wise, they became fools.* 1 Cor. viii. 2. *if any man think that he knoweth anything, he knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know.* Yet folly cries aloud, and invites man-

kind to her instructions, as if she were the sole depositary of wisdom. Prov. ix. 16. *whoso is simple, let him turn in hither.*

Thirdly, in a prying into hidden things, after the example of our first parents, who sought after the knowledge of good and evil contrary to the command of God;[8] and of Lot's wife, Gen. xix. 26. xxxii. 29. *wherefore is it that thou dost ask after my name?* Exod. xix. 23. *set bounds about the mount—.* Deut. xxix. 29. *the secret things belong unto Jehovah our God.* 1 Sam. vi. 19. *he smote the men of Bethshemesh, because they had looked into the ark of Jehovah.* Acts i. 7. *it is not for you to know the times or the seasons.* xix. 19. *many of them also which used curious arts, brought their books together.* Rom. xii. 3. *not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think, but to think soberly, according as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith.*

Fourthly, in human or carnal wisdom. Job v. 12. *he disappointeth the devices of the crafty.* xii. 24. *he taketh away the heart of the chief of the people of the earth.* xxviii. 13, 14. *man knoweth not the price thereof..... the depth saith, It is not in me—.* Eccles. i. 17. *I gave my heart to know wisdom, and to know madness and folly; I perceived that this also is vexation of spirit.* vii. 29. *they have found out many inventions.* xii. 12. *of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh.* Isai. xix. 11, &c. *the princes of Zoan are fools ..... how say ye unto Pharaoh, I am the son of the wise, the son of ancient kings?* xxix. 14. *the wisdom of their wise men shall perish.* xxxiii. 11. *ye shall bring forth stubble.* lix. 15. *he that departeth from evil maketh himself a prey.* Mark iii. 21. *when his friends heard of it, they went out to lay hold on him; for they said, He is beside himself.* John x. 20. *he hath a devil, and is mad.* Acts xvii. 18. *certain philosophers of the Epicureans ..... encountered him; and some said, What will this babbler say?* v. 32. *when they heard*

[8] ..... Have my fill
Of knowledge, what this vessel can contain;
Beyond which was my folly to aspire. *Paradise Lost,* XII. 558.
See also VII. 120. VIII. 172.

of the resurrection from the dead, some mocked. xxvi. 24. *Paul, thou art beside thyself.* 1 Cor. i. 19, 20. *it is written, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise.* v. 23. *we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness; but unto them which are called,* &c. iii. 19. *the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God.* vi. 4. *if then ye have judgements of things pertaining to this life, set them to judge who are least esteemed in the church.* Col. ii. 8. *beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy.* Luke xii. 56, 57. *ye can discern the face of the sky, and of the earth ..... and why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right?* Hence we are frequently permitted to be deceived with false shows of human wisdom, in requital for our contempt of that which is true and divine. Psal. lxxxi. 11—13. *my people would not hearken to my voice ..... so I gave them up unto their own heart's lusts, and they walked in their own counsels.*

Prudence is that virtue by which we discern what is proper to be done under the various circumstances of time and place. Prov. xxix. 11. *a fool uttereth all his mind; but a wise man keepeth it in till afterwards.* Eccles. iii. 1. *to every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven.* v. 11. *he hath made every thing beautiful in his time.* Matt. x. 16, 17. *behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves; be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves: but beware of men—.* Philipp. i. 9, 10. *that your love may abound yet more and more, in knowledge and in all judgement, that ye may approve things that are excellent.* Heb. v. 14. *strong meat belongeth to them that are of full age, even those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil.* This quality is an indispensable seasoning to every virtue, as salt was to the ancient sacrifices. Mark ix. 49. *every one shall be salted with fire; and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt.*

Hence the maxim, 'of the evils of sin choose none, of those of punishment the least.' If this be true with regard to the evils of sin,

it is obvious how preposterously, they interpret the law, who hold that usury, divorce, polygamy, and the like, were conceded to the hard-heartedness of the Jews as venial infirmities, or as evils which were to be abated or regulated by law; whereas the law can no more concede or tolerate the smallest degree of moral evil, than a good man can voluntarily choose it.

Thus much of the general virtues which belong to the understanding; those which belong to the will are SINCERITY, PROMPTITUDE, and CONSTANCY.

SINCERITY, which is also called integrity, and a good conscience, consists in acting rightly on all occasions, with a sincere desire and a hearty mental determination. Gen. xvii. 1. *walk before me, and be thou perfect.* Deut. xviii. 13. *thou shalt be perfect with Jehovah thy God.* Job xxvii. 5, 6. *till I die I will not remove mine integrity from me.* Psal. xxvi. 1. *judge me, O Jehovah, for I have walked in mine integrity.* Prov. iv. 23. *keep thy heart with all diligence, for out of it are the issues of life.* Matt. xii. 35. *a good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth good things—.* Acts xxiii. 1. *I have lived in all good conscience before God until this day.* xxiv. 16. *to have always a conscience void of offence toward God and toward men.* 2 Tim. i. 3. *I thank God, whom I serve from my forefathers with pure conscience.* 1 Cor. iv. 4. *I know nothing of myself; yet am I not hereby justified: but he that judgeth me is the Lord.* Philipp. ii. 15. *that ye may be blameless and harmless, the sons of God, without rebuke, in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation.* Col. iii. 23. *whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men.* 1 Tim. i. 19. *holding faith, and a good conscience, which some having put away concerning faith have made shipwreck.* 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8. *I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course.* Heb. xiii. 18. *we trust we have a good conscience, in all things willing to live honestly.* 1 John iii. 19. *hereby we know that we are of the truth, and shall assure our hearts before him.* v. 21. *if our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence toward God.* Properly speaking, however,

a good conscience is not in itself sincerity, but rather an approving judgement of the mind respecting its own actions, formed according to the light which we have received either from nature or from grace, whereby we are satisfied of our inward sincerity. Rom. ii. 15. *which show the work of the law written in their hearts,* &c. This feeling is described Job xiii. 15, &c. *I will maintain mine own ways before him.* xxiii. 3, &c. *O that I knew where I might find him—!* xxxi. 6. *let me be weighed in an even balance, that God may know mine integrity.* v. 35. *O that one would hear me!* 2 Cor. i. 12. *our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world.*

The opposite to this is an evil conscience;[9] that is to say (allowing some latitude of signification to the word) the judgement of each individual mind concerning its own bad actions, and its consequent disapproval of them, according to the light enjoyed from nature or grace; which may be more properly called a consciousness of evil. Gen. xlii. 21. *we are verily guilty concerning our brother ..... therefore is this distress come upon us.* Hos. x. 8. *they shall say to the mountains, Cover us, and to the hills, Fall on us,* compared with Rev. vi. 16. *they said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth upon the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb.* Luke xx. 5, 6. *they reasoned with themselves, saying, If we shall say, From heaven, he will say, Why then believed ye him not?* Acts xxiv. 25. *as he reasoned of righteousness .... Felix trembled.* Rom. ii. 15. *their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another.* Heb. x. 22. *having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience.* John viii. 9. *being convicted by their own conscience.* Strictly speaking, however, an evil conscience is one which judges erroneously or with a wrong bias,

[9] 'I will begin somewhat higher, and speak of punishment; which as it is an evil, I esteem to be of two sorts, or rather two degrees only; a reprobate conscience in this life, and hell in the other world.' *Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty.* Prose Works, I. 132.

and not according to the light derived from nature or grace. 1 Cor. viii. 7. *their conscience being weak, is defiled.* 1 Tim. iv. 2. *having their conscience seared with a hot iron.* Tit. i. 15. *even their mind and conscience is defiled.*

Contrary to sincerity are, first, evil thoughts. Matt. v. 28. *he hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.* xv. 18, 19. *those things which proceed out of the mouth come forth from the heart, and they defile the man; for out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders—.* Secondly, hypocrisy; the deeds of which, though plausible, are not good, or if good, are not done with a good design. Matt. vi. 1, &c. *take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them, otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven.* xxiii. 25, 26. *woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup and the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess.*

Promptitude or alacrity is that which excites us to act with a ready and willing spirit. Psal. i. 2. *whose delight is in the law of Jehovah.* xl. 8. *I delight to do thy will, O my God; yea, thy law is within my heart.* cx. 3. *thy people shall be willing.* Prov. xxi. 15. *it is joy to the just to do judgement.* 2 Cor. viii. 12. *if there be first a willing mind, it is accepted according to that a man hath—.* ix. 7. *God loveth a chearful giver.*

Its opposites are, first, precipitancy. Matt. viii. 19. *I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest.*

Secondly, a forced and not spontaneous discharge of duty. Deut. xxviii. 47. *because thou servedst not Jehovah thy God with joyfulness, and with gladness of heart.* 2 Cor. ix. 7. *not grudgingly, or of necessity.* Gal. vi. 9. *let us not be weary in well doing, for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not.* 2 Thess. iii. 13. *be not weary in well doing.* Heb. v. 11. *ye are dull of hearing.* xii. 3. *consider him that endured*

such contradiction of sinners against himself, lest ye be wearied and faint in your minds. v. 12. *lift up the hands which hang down, and the feeble knees.* 1 Pet. v. 2. *not by constraint, but willingly.*

CONSTANCY is that virtue whereby we persevere in a determination to do right, from which nothing can divert us. Psal. cxix. 44, 45. *I shall keep thy law continually for ever and ever; and I will walk at liberty.* v. 51. *the proud have had me greatly in derision, yet have I not declined from thy law.* v. 61. *the bands of the wicked have robbed me, but I have not forgotten thy law.* v. 95. *the wicked have waited for me to destroy me, but I will consider thy testimonies.* v. 110. *the wicked have laid a snare for me, yet I erred not from thy precepts.* v. 112. *I have inclined mine heart to perform thy statutes alway, even unto the end.* v. 157. *many are my persecutors and mine enemies; yet do I not decline from thy testimonies.* Eccles. vii. 14. *in the day of prosperity be joyful; but in the day of adversity consider.* Matt. xxiv. 13. *he that shall endure to the end, the same shall be saved.* 2 Cor. vi. 4, &c. *in all things approving ourselves as the ministers of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses—.* viii. 11. *now therefore perform the doing of it, that as there was a readiness to will, so there may be a performance also out of that which ye have.*

The opposites of this are, first, inconstancy. Jer. xxxiv. 8, &c. *after that the king Zedekiah had made a covenant with all the people ..... to proclaim liberty unto them ..... afterward they turned and caused the servants and the handmaids whom they had let go free to return.* v. 15, 16. *ye were now turned and had done right in my sight ..... but ye turned and polluted my name.* Luke ix. 62. *no man having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.* Matt. xiii. 20—22. *he heareth the word ..... yet hath he not root in himself, but dureth for a while; for when tribulation or persecution ariseth because of the word, by and by he is offended .... he heareth the word, and the care of this world and the deceitfulness of riches choke the word.*

Secondly, obstinacy in error, or in a wrong purpose. Psal. xix. 13. *keep back thy servant also from presumptuous sins; let them not have dominion over me; then shall I be upright, and I shall be innocent from the great transgression.* Jer. ii. 35. *behold, I will plead with thee, because thou sayest, I have not sinned.* Acts vii. 51. *ye stiff-necked, and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost.*

CHAP. III.

Of

The Virtues belonging to the Service of God.

Special virtues are those which pertain only to a particular branch of our duty; namely, to our duty towards God, or towards man.

Our duty towards God relates to his immediate worship or service; which is either internal or external.

Internal worship consists mainly in the acknowledgement of the one true God, and in the cultivation of devout affections towards him. Deut. vi. 4. *hear, O Israel; Jehovah our God is one Jehovah;* as in the first book, on God.

Opposed to this is, first, atheism. Psal. xiv. 1. *the fool hath said in his heart, There is no God.* also liii. 1. See more on this subject in the first book, as above.

Secondly, polytheism, or the acknowledgement of more Gods than one, except in the sense authorized by Scripture itself. Gal. iv. 8. *when ye knew not God, ye did service unto them which by nature are no Gods.*

Devout affections towards God are love, trust, hope, gratitude, fear, humility, patience, obedience. Deut. x. 12, 13. *what doth Jehovah thy God require of thee, but to fear Jehovah*

thy God, to walk in all his ways, and to love him, and to serve Jehovah thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul; to keep the commandments of Jehovah and his statutes.

THE LOVE OF GOD is that by which we prefer him above all other objects of affection, and desire his glory. Deut. vi. 5. *thou shalt love Jehovah thy God with all thine heart—.* See also Matt. xxii. 37.

Desire his glory. Numb. xiv. 15, 16. *then the nations will speak, saying, Because Jehovah was not able to bring this people into the land—.* Josh. vii. 9. *what wilt thou do unto thy great name?*

Opposed to this is a hatred of God: John xv. 24. *they have hated both me and my Father;* and a love of the world or of created things. Luke xiv. 33. *whosoever he be of you that forsaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple.* 1 Cor. vii. 31. *they that use this world, as not abusing it.* Philipp. iii. 7, 8. *what things were gain to me, those I counted loss for Christ; yea doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord, for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but dung that I may win Christ.* James iv. 4. *know ye not that the friendship of the world is enmity with God? whosoever therefore will be a friend of the world is the enemy of God.* 1 John ii. 15. *love not the world.*

Of faith, in its primary sense, and as the instrumental cause of justification, I have spoken above; I now speak of TRUST IN GOD, considered as an effect of love, and as a part of internal worship, whereby we wholly repose on him. 2 Chron. xx. 20. *believe in Jehovah your God, so shall ye be established.* Psal. xviii. 2, 3, &c. *Jehovah is my rock and my fortress . . . . in whom I will trust, my buckler, and the horn of my salvation, and my high tower.* So also Psal. xxvii. xxviii. 7. xxxii. 10. xxxvii. 5. *commit thy way unto Jehovah, trust also in him, and he shall bring it to pass.* So also lxi. lxii. lxxiii. 26. lxxxiv. 12. cxii. 7. cxv. 9, &c. cxxiii. cxxx. 6. Prov. xiv. 26. *in the fear of Jehovah is strong confidence, and his*

children shall have a place of refuge. xvi. 3. *commit thy works unto Jehovah, and thy thoughts shall be established.* See also xviii. 10. xxx. 5. Isai. lix. 1. *behold, Jehovah's hand is not shortened, that it cannot save.* Jer. xvii. 7. *blessed is the man that trusteth in Jehovah, and whose hope Jehovah is.* Mal. iii. 16—18. *then shall ye return, and discern between the righteous and the wicked,* &c.

Opposed to this is, first, distrust of God. Gen. xii. 13. *say, I pray thee, thou art my sister—.* xxxii. 7. *then Jacob was greatly afraid and distressed.* Numb. xiv. 1, &c. *all the congregation lifted up their voice and cried—.* xx. 10, 11. *must we fetch you water out of this rock? ..... with his rod he smote the rock twice.* 2 Kings vii. 2. *if Jehovah would make windows in heaven, might this thing be?* Isai. vii. 12. *I will not ask, neither will I tempt Jehovah.*

Secondly, an overweening presumption. Numb. xiv. 44. *they presumed to go up unto the hill top.* xv. 30. *the soul that doeth ought presumptuously—.* Prov. xxvii. 1. *boast not thyself of to-morrow—.* Amos v. 18. *woe unto you that desire the day of Jehovah.* Mic. iii. 11. *the heads thereof judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money: yet will they lean upon Jehovah, and say, Is not Jehovah among us?* Matt. iii. 7. *O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?* iv. 6, 7. *thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.* Rom. ii. 4. *despisest thou the riches of his goodness—?*

Thirdly, carnal reliance. 2 Chron. xvi. 7. *because thou hast relied on the king of Syria—.* v. 12. *in his disease he sought not to Jehovah, but to the physicians.* Psal. xiv. 6. *ye have shamed the counsel of the poor, because Jehovah is his refuge.* See also cxviii. 8, 9. cxlvi. 3. *put not your trust in princes.* cxlvii. 10. *he delighteth not in the strength of the horse.* Prov. xxix. 26. *many seek the ruler's favour.* Isai. xxx. 2. *to strengthen themselves in the strength of Pharaoh,* &c. iii. 1. *the Lord doth take away.....the stay and the staff.* xxii. 8. *thou didst look*

in that day to the armour of the house of the forest. xxxi. 1. *woe to them that go down to Egypt for help—.* Jer. xvii. 5. *cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departeth from Jehovah.* Amos vi. 13. *ye which rejoice in a thing of nought.*

Fourthly, a trust in idols. 2 Kings i. 2. *go, enquire of Baal-zebub—.* More will be said on this subject hereafter, under the head of idolatry.

Hope is that by which we expect with certainty the fulfilment of God's promises. Job xiii. 15. *though he slay me, yet will I trust in him.* Psal. xxxi. 24. *be of good courage, and he shall strengthen your heart, all ye that hope in Jehovah.* xxvii. 14. *wait on Jehovah—.* cxix. 116. *let me not be ashamed of my hope.* Prov. x. 28. *the hope of the righteous shall be gladness.* Isai. xl. 31. *they that wait upon Jehovah shall renew their strength, they shall mount up with wings as eagles.* Rom. v. 4, 5. *experience worketh hope; and hope maketh not ashamed; because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts.*

Opposed to this virtue, as well as to faith, is doubt; to which even the pious are sometimes liable, at least for a time. 1 Sam. xxvii. 1. *David said in his heart, I shall now perish one day by the hand of Saul.* Matt. xiv. 31. *O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?* xxi. 21. *if ye have faith and doubt not—.* Mark xi. 23. *whosoever shall not doubt in his heart, but shall believe—.*

Secondly, despair; which takes place only in the reprobate. Gen. iv. 13. *Cain said unto Jehovah, My punishment is greater than I can bear.* Matt. xxvii. 5. *he cast down the pieces of silver in the temple, and departed, and went and hanged himself.* Acts i. 18. *falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst.*

Gratitude towards God is that whereby we acknowledge his goodness in conferring benefits upon creatures so unworthy as our-

selves. Psal. ciii. 2. *forget not all his benefits.* cxvi. 12. *what shall I render unto Jehovah—?* 1 Cor. vi. 20. *ye are bought with a price; therefore glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, which are God's.* Heb. xii. 28. *let us have grace whereby we may serve God acceptably with reverence and godly fear.* 1 Pet. ii. 9. *that ye should shew forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness—.* 1 John iv. 19. *we love him, because he first loved us.*

Opposed to this is, first, ingratitude towards God. Isai. i. 2. *I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me.* Hos. xiii. 6. *according to their pasture, so were they filled; they were filled, and their heart was exalted: therefore have they forgotten me.* Rom. i. 21. *when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful.*

Secondly, the bestowing on idols, or on created things, that gratitude which we owe to God. Jer. xliv. 17. *to burn incense unto the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink-offerings unto her ..... then had we plenty of victuals, and were well, and saw no evil.* Habak. i. 16. *they sacrifice unto their net, and burn incense unto their drag.*

The FEAR OF GOD is that whereby we reverence God as the supreme Father and Judge of all men, and dread offending him above all things. Deut. xxviii. 58. *that thou mayest fear this glorious and fearful name, Jehovah thy God.* Psal. ii. 11. *serve Jehovah with fear, and rejoice with trembling.* xxxiv. 11. *I will teach you the fear of Jehovah.* cxxx. 4. *there is forgiveness with him, that thou mayest be feared.* Prov. xix. 23. *the fear of Jehovah tendeth to life.* Mal. i. 6. *if I be a father, where is mine honour? if I be a master, where is my fear?* 1 Pet. i. 17. *if ye call on the Father, who without respect of persons judgeth according to every man's work, pass the time of your sojourning here in fear.* Matt. x. 28. *rather fear him which is able to destroy both body and soul in hell.* Philipp. ii. 12. *work out your own salvation with fear and trembling.*

Opposed to this is, first, carnal security. Job v. 3, &c. *I have seen the foolish taking root.* xxiv. 23, &c. *though it be given him to be in safety, whereon he resteth—.* xxxiv. 22. *there is no darkness, nor shadow of death, where the workers of iniquity may hide themselves.* Psal. x. 5, 6. *thy judgements are far above out of his sight.* xxx. 6. *in my prosperity I said, I shall never be moved.* lxxiii. 6. *therefore pride compasseth them about as a chain.* xciv. 7. *yet they say, Jah shall not see.* Eccles. viii. 11. *because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the heart of the sons of men is fully set in them to do evil.* Isai. v. 19. *that say, Let him make speed and hasten his work.* xxviii. 15. *because ye have said, We have made a covenant with death.* xxix. 15. *woe unto them that seek deep to hide their counsel from Jehovah.* Ezek. viii. 12. *Jehovah seeth us not, Jehovah hath forsaken the earth.* Amos vi. 1. *woe to them that are at ease.* Zeph. i. 12. *that say in their hearts, Jehovah will not do good, neither will he do evil.* Matt. xxv. *the foolish virgins.* Luke xii. 2, 3. *there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed—.* v. 19. *I will say to my soul,* &c. v. 45. *if that servant say in his heart,* &c. 1 Cor. xi. 31. *if we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged.*

Secondly, a slavish fear. 1 John iv. 18. *there is no fear in love; but perfect love casteth out fear, because fear hath torment: he that feareth is not made perfect in love.*

Thirdly, a fear of idols. 2 Kings xvii. 33. *they feared Jehovah, and served their own gods, after the manner of the nations whom they carried away from thence.*

And lastly, a fear of anything whatever except God. Matt. x. 28. *fear not them which kill the body.*

Humility is that whereby we acknowledge our unworthiness in the sight of God. Gen. xxxii. 10. *I am not worthy of the least of all the mercies,* &c. 1 Chron. xxix. 14. *who am I, and what is my people,*

that we should be able to offer so willingly after this sort? for all things come of thee, and of thine own have we given thee. Psal. li. 17. *the sacrifices of God are a broken spirit.* cxv. 1. *not unto us, O Jehovah, not unto us, but unto thy name give the praise.* Isai. lxvi. 2. *to this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word.* Matt. v. 3. *blessed are the poor in spirit.* Luke ix. 48. *he that is least among you all, the same shall be great.* 1 Pet. v. 5, 6. *submit yourselves,* &c. 1 Tim. i. 15. *Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief.*

To this is opposed, first, pride towards God. Job xv. 25. *he stretcheth out his hand against God.* Prov. iii. 34. *he scorneth the scorners; but he giveth grace unto the lowly.* See also James iv. 6. 1 Pet. v. 5. Prov. xvi. 5. *every one that is proud of heart is an abomination to Jehovah.* Acts xii. 23. *the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory.* Rev. iii. 17. *thou sayest, I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing; and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked.*

Secondly, a false or superstitious humility. Col. ii. 23. *which things have indeed a show of wisdom in will worship, and humility, and neglecting of the body; not in any honour to the satisfying of the flesh.*

Patience is that whereby we acquiesce in the promises of God, through a confident reliance on his divine providence, power, and goodness, and bear inevitable evils with equanimity, as the dispensation of the supreme Father, and sent for our good. Job i. 22. *in all this Job sinned not, nor charged God foolishly.* ii. 10. *shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?* 2 Sam. xvi. 10. *because Jehovah hath said unto him, Curse David, who shall then say, Wherefore hast thou done so?* Isai. xxviii. 16. *he that believeth shall not mistake.* Lam. iii. 29, &c. *he putteth his mouth in the dust, if so be there may be hope; he giveth his cheek to him that smiteth him.* Matt. xvi. 24. *let him take up his cross, and follow me.* Luke xxi. 19. *in your patience possess*

ye your souls. Rom. viii. 25. *if we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it.* xv. 4. *that we through patience and comfort of the scriptures might have hope.* 2 Cor. xii. 10. *therefore I take pleasure in infirmities, in reproaches, in necessities, in persecutions, in distresses for Christ's sake.* Coloss. i. 11. *unto all long-suffering.* 2 Thess. iii. 5. *the Lord direct your hearts into the love of God, and into the patient waiting for Christ.* Heb. x. 36. *ye have need of patience, that after ye have done the will of God, ye might receive the promise.* James v. 7, 8. *be patient unto the coming of the Lord; behold, the husbandman waiteth— ...be ye also patient, stablish your hearts, for the coming of the Lord draweth nigh.* 1 Pet. ii. 19, &c. *this is thank-worthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully ....if when ye do well and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God: for even hereunto were ye called; because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that ye should follow his steps ....who when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not; but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously.*

Opposed to this is impatience under the divine decrees; a temptation to which the saints themselves are at times liable. 1 Kings xix. 4. *he requested for himself that he might die.* Job iii. 2, &c. *let the day perish wherein I was born.* vii. 11. *therefore I will not refrain my mouth.* xix. 7. *behold, I cry out of wrong, but I am not heard; I cry aloud, but there is no judgement.* Eccles. vii. 7. *surely oppression maketh a wise man mad.* Jer. xx. 15. *cursed be the man who brought tidings to my father, saying—.* xlv. 5. *thou didst say, Woe is me now, for Jehovah hath added grief to my sorrow.* Jonah iv. 3. *it is better for me to die than to live.*

Obedience is that virtue whereby we propose to ourselves the will of God above all things as the rule of our conduct, and serve him alone. Thus Abraham, Gen. xii. 4. *departed from Canaan, as Jehovah had spoken unto him.* xxii. 3. *Abraham rose up early in the morning, and saddled his ass—.* 1 Sam. xv. 22. *hath Jehovah as great delight in burnt-*

offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of Jehovah? behold, to obey is better than sacrifice. Psal. lxxxi. 13, 14. *O that my people had hearkened unto me,* &c. Eccles. v. 1. *be more ready to hear than to give the sacrifice of fools.* Jer. vi. 19, 20. *because they have not hearkened unto my words.....your burnt-offerings are not acceptable.* vii. 22, 23. *I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices; but this thing commanded I them, saying, Obey my voice.* xxxv. 2. *go unto the house of the Rechabites—.* Matt. vi. 10. *thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven.* xxvi. 39. *not as I will, but as thou wilt.* v. 42. *thy will be done.* John xiv. 15. *if ye love me, keep my commandments.* See also v. 21, 23. Acts iv. 19. *whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye.* v. 29. *we ought to obey God, rather than men.* Eph. vi. 6, 7. *as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart, with good will doing service.* 1 John ii. 5. *whoso keepeth his word, in him verily is the love of God perfected.* v. 17. *he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever.* v. 3. *this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments; and his commandments are not grievous.*

Opposed to this is disobedience. 1 Sam. xv. 23. *rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry.* This was the error of the prophet of Judah, 1 Kings xiii. 22. Prov. xiii. 13. *whoso despiseth the word shall be destroyed.* xxviii. 9. *he that turneth away his ear....even his prayer shall be abomination.* Jer. vi. 16. *thus saith Jehovah, Stand ye in the ways...and walk therein...but they said, We will not walk therein.* v. 17. *they said, We will not hearken.* vii. 26. *they hearkened not unto me—.* xxii. 21. *this hath been thy manner from thy youth, that thou obeyedst not my voice.* xxxvi. 23, &c. *it came to pass that when Jehudi had read three or four leaves,* &c. xliv. 16. *as for the word that thou hast spoken unto us in the name of Jehovah, we will not hearken unto thee.* Even where it wears the disguise of humility: John xiii. 8. *thou shalt never wash my feet;* or of a righteousness beyond what is commanded: Deut. v. 32. *ye shall not turn aside to the right hand or to*

the left. See also xxviii. 14. Josh. i. 7. Deut. xii. 32. *thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it.* 1 Kings xx. 35. *the man refused to smite him.* Prov. xxx. 6. *add thou not unto his words, lest he reprove thee, and thou be found a liar.* 1 Cor. iv. 6. *that ye might learn in us not to think of man above that which is written.* Rev. xxii. 18, 19. *if any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues—.*

CHAP. IV.

Of

External Service.

THUS much of the internal service of God. We are now to speak of his external service, which is commonly denominated RELIGION; not that internal worship is not also religion, but that it is not usually called so, except as it manifests itself in outward actions. Although external worship is, for the convenience of definition, distinguished from internal, it is our duty to unite them in practice, nor are they ever separated, except by the fault of the wicked.

True religion is that by which God is worshipped with sincerity after the form and manner which himself has prescribed. Mic. vi. 6. *wherewith shall I come before Jehovah—?* Worship is expressed in Scripture by the verb λατρεύειν, Matt. iv. 10. and δουλεύειν, vi. 24. Gal. iv. 8. The Papists therefore err in explaining λατρεία of the worship paid to God, δουλεία of that paid to holy men and angels.[1]

Opposed to this is, first, superstition or will worship (ἐθελοθρησκεία), the offspring of man's invention. Thus Nadab and Abihu offered strange fire before Jehovah, for which they were forthwith punished with death, Levit. x. 1, 2. 1 Sam. xiii. 12. *I forced myself therefore, and offered a burnt-offering....thou hast done foolishly.* xv. 15, 16. *they have brought them.....to sacrifice unto Jehovah thy God....stay and I will tell thee what Jehovah hath said to me.* 1 Kings xii. 31, 32. *he made an house of high places.* 2 Kings xvi. 10. *he saw an altar that was at Damascus,* &c. 1 Chron. xv. 13, 15. *Jehovah our God made a breach upon us, for that we sought him not after the due order....so the children of the Levites*

[1] See Grotius and Wetstein on Matt. iv. 10. and Leigh's *Critica Sacra* on the words δουλεύω and δουλεία.

bare the ark of God....according to the word of Jehovah. Isai. xxix. 13. *their fear toward me is taught by the precept of men.* Mark vii. 7, 8. *in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.* Matt. xv. 3, &c. *why do ye also transgress the commandment of God—?* Gal. vi. 12. *as many as desire to make a fair show in the flesh, they constrain you to be circumcised.* Some of the early teachers of the church are chargeable with this grievous error, in that they, to facilitate the conversion of the heathen to Christianity,[2] retained the pagan rites with

[2] 'He (Constantine) gave and ministered occasion to bring in a deluge of ceremonies, thereby either to draw in the heathen by a resemblance of their rites, or to set a gloss upon the simplicity and plainness of Christianity, which, to the gorgeous solemnities of paganism, and the sense of the world's children, seemed but a homely and yeomanly religion.' *Of Reformation in England.* Prose Works, I. 18. 'This was that which made the old Christians paganize, while by their scandalous and base conforming to heathenism they did no more, when they had done their utmost, but bring some pagans to Christianize; for true Christians they neither were themselves, nor could make others in this fashion.' *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence. Ibid.* 171. For numerous instances of these corruptions, see the ecclesiastical historians and other authorities. The policy which led to what one of the most eloquent of living writers happily calls 'paganizing Christianity in order to christen paganism,' has found its supporters in Mosheim and Gibbon. The former says; 'in these early times it was both wise and necessary to show, in the establishment of outward forms of worship, some indulgence to the ancient opinions, manners and laws of the respective nations to whom the gospel was preached.....In a word, the external forms of worship used in the times of old must necessarily have been regulated and modified according to the character, genius, and manners of the different nations on which the light of the gospel arose.' *Ecclesiastical History,* I. p. 100. 'The bishops augmented the number of religious rites in the Christian worship, by way of accommodation to the infirmities and prejudices both of Jews and heathens, in order to facilitate thus their conversion to Christianity,' &c. *Ibid.* p. 162. 'After the conversion of the Imperial city, the Christians still continued in the month of February the annual celebration of the Lupercalia; to which they ascribed a secret and mysterious influence on the genial powers of the animal and vegetable world.' Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* chap. xxxvi. Barbeyrac (*Traité de la Morale des Pères,* Chap. v. Sect. 59, &c.) accuses Clemens Alexandrinus of having permitted the heathen converts to worship the sun, moon, and other heavenly bodies; but the passage alluded to, when candidly considered, seems to admit of a different construction. See *Strom.* Lib. VI. Cap. xiv. p. 795, 796. Edit. Oxon. The author of the life of Gregory Thaumaturgus mentions the following instance of a concession granted to the Christians of the second century. 'Cum animadvertisset (Gregorius) quod ob corporeas delectationes et voluptates simplex et imperitum vulgus in simulacrorum cultus errore permaneret.....permisit eis, ut in memoriam et recordationem sanctorum martyrum sese oblectarent, et in

a slight alteration of names or things, to the infinite detriment of religion, and in direct violation of the precept, Deut. xii. 30, 31. *take heed to thyself that thou be not snared by following them...and that thou inquire not after their gods, saying, How did these nations serve their gods? even so will I do likewise: thou shalt not do so unto Jehovah thy God.*

Secondly, an hypocritical worship, in which the external forms are duly observed, but without any accompanying affection of the mind; which is a high offence against God. Lev. xxvi. 31. *I will make your cities waste,* &c. 1 Sam. iv. 3. *let us fetch the ark of the covenant of Jehovah out of Shiloh unto us.* 2 Chron. xii. 9. *so Shishak...came up against Jerusalem, and took away the treasures of the house of Jehovah.* Thus Joash repaired the temple, xxiv. 4—6.; as did also Herod, although the enemy of Christ. xxxvi. 7. *Nebuchadnezzar carried of the vessels of the house of Jehovah, and put them in his temple at Babylon.* See also Ezra i. 7. Prov. xv. 8. *the sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to Jehovah.* See also xxi. 27. Isai. i. 11. *to what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me?* Jer. vii. 4. *trust ye not in lying words, saying, The temple of Jehovah...are these.* v. 12. *go ye now unto my place which was in Shiloh.* See also v. 14. Isai. xxix. 13. *forasmuch as this people draw near me with their mouth, and with their lips do honour me, but have removed their heart far from me.* See also Matt. xv. 8, 9. Isai. xlviii. 1. *hear ye this, O house of Jacob, which are called by the name of Israel.* lxvi. 3. *he that killeth an ox,* &c. Jer. xviii. 18. *come and let us devise devices against*

et in lætitiam effunderentur, quod successu temporis aliquando futurum esset ut sua sponte ad honestiorem et accuratiorem vitæ rationem transirent.' In the sixth century, Gregory the First, Bishop of Rome, even went so far as to rebuke Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles, for breaking the images placed in churches, stating that he was desirous of conciliating the affections of the people by permitting the use of them, as pieces of history to instruct their minds in the leading facts of Christianity. See Milner's *Church History,* III. 55. Acting on the same principle, he also wrote to Mellitus, a missionary proceeding to Britain, recommending certain concessions to the early converts among our own countrymen, who had been accustomed to propitiate demons, and to indulge in sacrificial feasts. *Ibid.* p. 79. Tertullian seems to have formed a better judgement respecting the spirit of Christianity. See the treatise *De Creatione,* where he complains of the unnecessary introduction of additional rites into the church, borrowed from the enemies of the true religion.

Jeremiah, for the law shall not perish from the priest. Ezek. xxxiii. 30—32. *they sit before thee as my people....but their heart goeth after covetousness.* Amos v. 21. *I hate, I despise your feast days.* vi. 5. *that chaunt to the sound of the viol, and invent to themselves instruments of music, like David.* Mic. vi. 7, &c. *will Jehovah be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? he hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth Jehovah require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?* Matt. xii. 44. *he findeth it empty, swept, and garnished.* xxi. 30, &c. *he answered and said, I go, sir; and went not.* xxiii. 3. *they say and do not.* v. 15. *woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites—.* Luke xi. 40, 42. *ye fools, did not he that made that which is without, make that which is within also?* Philipp. i. 15, 16. *some indeed preach Christ even of envy and strife.*

The Shechemites, (Gen. xxxiv.) were punished with slaughter and destruction for having adopted a new religion inconsiderately, and from secular motives.

On the contrary, internal worship, or the worship of the heart, is accepted of God, even where external forms are not in all respects duly observed.[3] 1 Kings iii. 3. *Solomon loved Jehovah.....only he sacrificed and burnt incense in high places.* 2 Chron. xxx. 18—20. *a multitude of the people....had not cleansed themselves, yet did they eat the passover.....but Hezekiah prayed for them, saying, The good Jehovah pardon every one that prepareth his heart to seek God, Jehovah God of his fathers, though he be not cleansed according to the purification of the sanctuary: and Jehovah hearkened to Hezekiah, and healed the people.* John vii. 14. *now about the midst of the feast, Jesus went up into the temple and taught.*

[3] This said unanimous, and other rites
Observing none, but adoration pure
Which God likes best. *Paradise Lost,* IV. 736.

The parts and circumstances of true religion, or of the worship of God, are next to be considered.

THE PARTS into which RELIGION is divided, are THE INVOCATION or ADORATION OF GOD, and THE SANCTIFICATION OF HIS NAME IN ALL THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF LIFE.

Under INVOCATION are included, first, SUPPLICATION and THANKSGIVING; secondly, OATHS and THE CASTING OF LOTS.

SUPPLICATION is that act whereby UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT WE REVERENTLY ASK OF GOD THINGS LAWFUL, EITHER FOR OURSELVES OR OTHERS, THROUGH FAITH IN CHRIST. Psal. l. 15. *call upon me in the day of trouble; I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me.* lxxxvi. 4, 5. *unto thee, O Jehovah, do I lift up my soul; for thou, Jehovah, art good and ready to forgive, and plenteous in mercy unto all them that call upon thee.* Matt. vii. 7—10. *ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you.* Philipp. iv. 6. *be careful for nothing, but in every thing by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your request be made known unto God.*

THROUGH FAITH. Mark xi. 24. *what things soever ye desire, when ye pray, believe that ye receive them, and ye shall have them.* Rom. x. 14. *how then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed?* 1 Tim. ii. 8. *without doubting.* James i. 6, 7. *let him ask in faith, nothing wavering; for he that wavereth,* &c.

IN CHRIST. John xiv. 13, 14. *whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son.* xvi. 23. *whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you.* Rev. v. 8. *having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints.* viii. 3, 4. *there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints*

upon the golden altar which was before the throne; and the smoke of the incense, which came with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God.

THINGS LAWFUL; and above all, the best things. 1 Kings iii. 11, 12. *because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thyself long life, neither hast asked riches for thyself, nor hast asked the life of thine enemies, but hast asked for thyself understanding to discern judgement; behold, I have done according to thy words.* Matt. vi. 33. *seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you.*

UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT. Zech. xii. 10. *I will pour upon the house of David and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem the spirit of grace and of supplications.* Rom. viii. 26, 27. *likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities, for we know not what we should pray for as we ought.* Eph. vi. 18. *praying always.....in the Spirit.* Jude 20. *praying in the Holy Ghost;* that is, quickening and calling into action, as much as possible, the gift of the Holy Ghost within us.

The Lord's Prayer was intended rather as a model of supplication, than as a form to be repeated verbatim by the apostles, or by Christian churches at the present day.[4] Hence the superfluousness of set forms of worship; seeing that, with Christ for our master, and the Holy Spirit for our assistant in prayer, we can have no need of any human aid in either respect.[5]

[4] 'If the Lord's Prayer had been "the warrant or pattern of set liturgies," as is here affirmed, why was neither that prayer, nor any other set form ever after used, or so much as mentioned by the apostles, much less commended to our use?' *Answer to Eikon Basilike.* Prose Works, III. 37.

[5] Conformably with his opinions on this subject, Milton ascribes extemporaneous effusions to our first parents:

> Lowly they bow'd adoring, and began
> Their orisons, each morning duly paid
> In various style; for neither various style

Nor

Reverently. Reverence comprehends, first, the internal affection of the mind, and secondly, the voice and outward deportment of the body.

Under the former is included, first, that we ask every thing aright, that is to say, to a right end. James iv. 3. *ye ask, and receive not, because ye ask amiss, that ye may consume it upon your lusts.* Secondly, that our supplications proceed from a pure and penitent heart. Hence 2 Sam. xxii. 42. *they looked, but there was none to save; even unto Jehovah, but he answered them not.* Psal. lxvi. 18. *if I regard iniquity in my heart, Jehovah will not hear me.* Isai. i. 16—18. *wash you, make you clean....come now, and let us reason together—.* Ezek. viii. 18. *though they cry in mine ears with a loud voice, yet will I not hear them.* xx. 30, 31. *are ye polluted, after the manner of your fathers?.....and shall I be inquired of by you?* John ix. 31. *God heareth not sinners.* Thirdly, that we pray in a spirit of kindness and forgiveness towards our brethren. Matt. v. 24. *leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother—.* vi. 12. *forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.* See also xviii. 23. the parable of the two debtors. 1 Tim. ii. 8. *I will therefore that men pray every where, lifting up holy hands, without wrath and doubting.* Fourthly, that we seek the Lord early. Prov. i. 24—28. *because I have called, and ye refused..... they shall call upon me, but I will not answer.* Psal. xxxii. 6. *for this shall every one that is godly pray unto thee in a time when thou*

> Nor holy rapture wanted they to praise
> Their Maker, in fit strains pronounc'd, or sung
> Unmeditated. *Paradise Lost,* V. 144.

'It is not the goodness of matter, therefore, which is not, nor can be, owed to the liturgy, that will bear it out, if the form, which is the essence of it, be fantastic and superstitious, the end sinister, and the imposition violent.' *Animadversions on the Remonstrant's Defence.* Prose Works, I. 173. 'Neither can any true Christian find a reason why liturgy should be at all admitted, a prescription not imposed or practised by those first founders of the church, who alone had that authority, &c.' *Answer to Eikon Basilike,* III. 36. Compare also the whole of the chapter entitled 'On the Ordinance against the Common Prayer Book,' from which the last quotation is taken.

mayest be found. Isai. lv. 6. *seek ye Jehovah, while he may be found.* Fifthly, that we pray with all humility. Luke xviii. 9, &c. *standing afar off..... saying, God be merciful to me a sinner.* Sixthly, that we pray earnestly; see the parable of the man who came to borrow bread of his friend, Luke xi. 5. and of the unjust judge, xviii. 2, &c. Lastly, that we persevere in prayer. Coloss. iv. 2. *continue in prayer.*

It is not necessary that our prayers should be always audible; the silent supplication of the mind, whispers, even groans and inarticulate exclamations in private prayer, are available.[6] Exod. xiv. 15. *Jehovah said unto Moses, Wherefore criest thou unto me?* though he was saying nothing with his lips, and only praying inwardly. 1 Sam. i. 13. *now Hannah, she spake in her heart; only her lips moved, but her voice was not heard.* Thus, too, our devotions will be less conspicuous; according to the command, Matt. vi. 6.

Prayer may be offered either alone, or in company. Christ appears seldom to have prayed in conjunction with his disciples, or even in their presence, but either wholly alone, or at some distance from them. It is moreover evident that the precepts, Matt. vi. have reference to private prayer alone. When however he inculcated on his disciples the duty of prayer in general, he gave no specific direction whether

[6] ..... Sighs now breath'd
Unutterable, which the spirit of prayer
Inspir'd, and wing'd for heav'n with speedier flight
Than loudest oratory. *Paradise Lost,* XI. 5.

..... Now therefore bend thine ear
To supplication, hear his sighs though mute,
Unskilful with what words to pray. *Ibid.* 30.

..... This will prayer,
Or one short sigh of human breath, upborne
Ev'n to the seat of God. *Ibid.* 146.

'Though we know not what to pray as we ought, yet he with sighs unutterable by any words, much less by a stinted liturgy, dwelling in us makes intercession for us.' *Answer to Eikon Basilike.* Prose Works, III. 39.

they should pray alone, or with others. It is certain that they were in the frequent practice of praying in assemblies; and that either individually, each framing within himself his own particular petition relative to some subject on which they had agreed in common, Matt. xviii. 19. or by the mouth of one chosen from their number, who spoke in the name of the rest; both which modes of prayer appear to have been used indiscriminately by the primitive Christians. Acts ii. 42. *in breaking of bread and in prayers.* iv. 24. *they lifted up their voice to God with one accord, and said—.* xii. 12. *where many were gathered together praying.* xvi. 13. *by a river side, where prayer was wont to be made.* xx. 36. *he kneeled down and prayed with them all.* xxi. 5. *we kneeled down on the shore and prayed.* 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 16. *I will pray with the understanding.....how shall he ..... say Amen at thy giving of thanks?*

Hence the impropriety of offering up public prayer in an unknown tongue, 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 16, as above; inasmuch as in public prayer consent is necessary.[7] Matt. xviii. 19. *if two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them.*

Both in private and in public prayer, vain repetitions and empty words are to be avoided. Matt. vi. 7. Eccles. v. 2. *be not rash with thy mouth, and let not thine heart be hasty to utter anything before God, for God is in heaven, and thou upon earth, therefore let thy words be few.* Such repetitions, however, as proceed from vehement emotion of mind, are not to be accounted vain.[8] Mark xiv. 39. *again he went away and prayed, and spake the same words.*

[7] 'It is his promise also that where two or three gathered together in his name shall agree to ask him anything, it shall be granted, for he is there in the midst of them.' *Answer to Eikon Basilike.* Prose Works, III. 39.

[8] 'There is a large difference in the repetition of some pathetical ejaculation raised out of the sudden earnestness and vigour of the inflamed soul, (such as was that of Christ in the garden) from the continual rehearsal of our daily orisons; which if a man shall kneel down in a morning, and say over, and presently in another part of the room kneel down again, and in other words ask but still for the same things as it were out of one inventory, I cannot

No particular posture of the body in prayer was enjoined, even under the law.[9] 2 Sam. vii. 18. *then went king David in, and sat before Jehovah, and he said*—. xii. 16. *he lay all night upon the earth.* Psal. xcv. 6. *O come, let us worship and bow down, let us kneel before Jehovah our maker.* cxlix. 5. *let them sing aloud upon their beds.* 1 Kings viii. 22. *Solomon stood before the altar of Jehovah.* v. 54. *he arose from kneeling on his knees.* See also 2 Chron. vi. 12, 13. xx. 5. *Jehoshaphat stood in the congregation of Judah*—. v. 13. *all Judah stood before Jehovah.* Dan. vi. 10. *he kneeled upon his knees and prayed.* Luke xviii. 13. *the publican standing afar off.*

Connected with the posture of the body, is the deportment to be observed in prayer. On this subject Paul says, 1 Cor. xi. 4. *every man praying or prophesying having his head covered, dishonoureth his head; but every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered dishonoureth her head.* Why was this? Because at that time covering the head was, with both sexes alike,[1] a token of subjection; on

I cannot see how he will escape that heathenish tautology of multiplying words, which Christ himself, that has the putting up of our prayers, told us would not be acceptable in heaven.' *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence.* I. 166.

[9] Adam and Eve are represented in Paradise Lost as praying, sometimes in a standing posture, sometimes kneeling, sometimes prostrate:

> Thus they, in lowliest plight repentant stood,
> Praying. XI. 1,

where all the commentators have mistaken the true import of the phrase.

> .....Since I sought
> By prayer th' offended Deity to appease,
> Kneel'd, and before him humbled all my heart—. *Ibid.* 148.
> .....They forthwith to the place
> Repairing where he judg'd them, prostrate fell
> Before him reverent, and both confess'd
> Humbly their faults, and pardon begg'd. X. 1098.

[1] She *as a veil* down to the slender waist
Her unadorned golden tresses wore
.....
.....which implied
Subjection. IV. 304.

See 1 Cor. xi. 15. *her hair is given her for a covering,* where the marginal reading is *for a veil.*

which account it was usual for men to pray or prophesy with their heads uncovered. Now, on the contrary, since the covering the head has become a token of authority, and the uncovering it of submission, it is the custom with most churches, especially those of Europe, in compliance not so much with the letter as with the spirit of the law (which is always to be preferred) to worship God uncovered, as being the mark of reverence prescribed by modern custom; but to prophesy covered, in token of the authority with which the speaker is invested; and likewise to listen to his instructions covered, as the deportment most emblematic, according to modern ideas, of our freedom and maturity as sons of God.[2] On the other hand, it will be easily inferred from hence, that in countries where the cold is intense, as Livonia or Russia, or where custom will not allow the head to be uncovered without great impropriety, as in Asia or Africa, it is allowable to pray covered; as has been shown by Cappellus in a learned note on this passage,[3] and by other commentators.

With regard to the place of prayer, all are equally suitable.[4] 1 Tim. ii. 8. *I will therefore that men pray every where.* For private prayer, a retired place is most proper. Matt. vi. 6. *enter into thy closet.* xiv. 23. *he went up into a mountain apart to pray.* To offer private prayer in public is hypocritical. Matt. vi. 5. *they love to pray standing in the synagogues, and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men.* It was

[2] ..... Sanctitude severe and pure,
Severe, but in true filial freedom plac'd. *Paradise Lost,* IV. 293.

[3] 'Si forte in Livonia, Norvegia, Suedia, Moscovia, &c. hyberno tempore, capite adeoque et manibus tectis orant, ratio est manifesta; natura nempe cœli, ob aëris inclementiam, non patitur ut sint tum aperto capite: itaque etsi tum adversus τὸ ῥητὸν hujus canonis forte faciunt, non faciunt tamen adversus ejus mentem, et rationem qua nititur, consuetudinem nimirum civilem: nam tum apud eos ne supplices quidem caput forte aperire solent, aut inferiores coram superioribus, ob cœli, uti dixi, inclementiam stare.' Lud. Cappelli *Spicilegium in* 1 Cor. xi. 4. Compare however the whole passage, Sect. 1—15.

[4] To teach thee that God attributes to place
No sanctity, if none be thither brought
By men who there frequent, or therein dwell. *Paradise Lost,* XI. 836.

lawful however to offer private prayer in the sanctuary, and afterwards in the temple at Jerusalem, as in the instances of Hannah, David, and others, quoted above. Neither is there any time at which prayer may not be properly offered. Psal. cxix. 55. *I have remembered thy name, O Jehovah, in the night.* v. 62. *at midnight I will rise to give thanks unto thee.* v. 164. *seven times a day do I praise thee, because of thy righteous judgements.* Luke xviii. 1. *men ought always to pray, and not to faint.* Eph. vi. 18. *praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto—.* Col. iv. 12. *always labouring fervently for you in prayers.* 1 Thess. v. 17. *pray without ceasing.* The seasons most appropriate for prayer, however, are evening, morning, and noon-day. Psal. lv. 17. *evening and morning and at noon will I pray, and cry aloud, and he shall hear my voice.* v. 3. *my voice shalt thou hear in the morning, O Jehovah; in the morning will I direct my prayer unto thee.* lxxxviii. 13. *in the morning shall my prayer prevent thee.* xcii. 1, 2. *it is a good thing to give thanks unto Jehovah .... to show forth thy loving-kindness in the morning, and thy faithfulness every night.* cxix. 147. *I prevented the dawning of the morning, and cried.* v. 148. *mine eyes prevent the night watches, that I might meditate in thy word.* Dan. vi. 10. *he kneeled upon his knees three times a day.* Mark i. 35. *in the morning, rising up a great while before day, he went out and departed into a solitary place, and there prayed.* Acts x. 9. *Peter went up on the house-top to pray about the sixth hour.*

For ourselves or others; inasmuch as we are commanded not to pray for ourselves only, but for all mankind. 1 Tim. ii. 1—3. *I exhort therefore that first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all men.* Particularly for the universal church and its ministers. Psal. xxviii. 9. *save thy people, and bless thine inheritance.* See also iii. 8.[5] li. 18. *do good in thy good pleasure unto Zion.* lxxiv. 2, &c. *remember thy congregation.* cii. 13. *thou shalt arise, and have mercy upon Zion; for the time to favour her, yea, the set time is*

[5] *Super populum tuum sit benedictio tua maxime.* Tremell. The precatory form is not preserved in our authorized translation: *thy blessing is upon thy people.*

come. cxxii. 6. *pray for the peace of Jerusalem.* Matt. ix. 38. *pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he will send forth labourers into his harvest.* Eph. vi. 18, 19. *with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit ..for all saints, and for me, that,* &c.—. Col. iv. 3. *withal praying also for us, that God would open unto us a door of utterance, to speak the mystery of Christ.* For all magistrates; especially with a view to the peace of the church. Psal. lxxii. 1. *give the king thy judgements*—. Jer. xxix. 7. *seek the peace of the city whither I have caused you to be carried away captives, and pray unto Jehovah for it; for in the peace thereof ye shall have peace.* 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2. *for kings, and for all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.* Even for our enemies. Matt. v. 44. *pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you.* Luke xxiii. 34. *Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.* Acts vii. 60. *Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.* Much more for the brethren. Rom. i. 8—10. *without ceasing I make mention of you always in my prayers*—. If however there be any whom we know certainly to be past remedy, we are not to pray for them. Jer. vii. 16. *pray not thou for this people*—. See also xiv. 11, 12. John xvii. 9. *I pray not for the world.* 1 John v. 16. *there is a sin unto death; I do not say that he shall pray for it.*

We are even commanded to call down curses publicly on the enemies of God and the church; as also on false brethren, and on such as are guilty of any grievous offence against God, or even against ourselves. The same may be lawfully done in private prayer, after the example of some of the holiest of men. Gen. ix. 25. *cursed be Canaan.* Deut. xxvii. 13—26. *these shall stand upon mount Ebal to curse*—. Judges v. 23. *curse ye Meroz, said the angel of Jehovah.* Psal. v. 10. *destroy thou them, O God.* cix. 6, &c. *set thou a wicked man over him, and let Satan stand at his right hand.* cxl. 10. *let burning coals fall upon them.* Similar imprecations occur in many other Psalms. 2 Kings ii. 24. *he cursed them in the name of Jehovah.* Jer. xviii. 19, &c. ....*deliver up their children to the famine ....for they have digged a pit to take me*—. Neh. iv. 4, &c.

give them for a prey in the land of captivity. vi. 14. *think thou upon Tobiah and Sanballat according to these their works.* xiii. 25. *I contended with them, and cursed them.* Acts viii. 20. *thy money perish with thee.* Gal. v. 12. *I would they were even cut off that trouble you.* 2 Tim. iv. 14. *the Lord reward him according to his works.*

It is expressly promised that supplications offered in a spirit of faith and obedience shall be heard. Psal. cxlv. 18. *Jehovah is nigh unto all them that call upon him, to all that call upon him in truth.* Isai. lix. 1, 2. *neither his ear heavy, that it cannot hear; but..... your sins have hid his face from you, that he will not hear.* lxv. 24. *it shall come to pass, that before they call, I will answer, and while they are yet speaking, I will hear.* Dan. ix. 20, &c. *whiles I was speaking and praying....even the man Gabriel....touched me,* &c.—. x. 12. *from the first day that thou didst set thine heart to understand...thy words were heard.* John ix. 31. *if any man be a worshipper of God, and doeth his will, him he heareth.*

Hence our knowledge of God's will, or of his providence in the government of the world, ought not to render us less earnest in deprecating evil and desiring good, but the contrary. Exod. xxxii. 10. *now therefore let me alone, that my wrath may wax hot against them, and that I may consume them; and I will make of thee a great nation: and Moses besought Jehovah his God, and said—.* 1 Chron. xvii. 25, 26. *thou, O my God, hast told thy servant that thou wilt build him an house; therefore thy servant hath found in his heart to pray before thee.* John xvii. 1. *Father, the hour is come; glorify thy Son.* v. 5. *O Father, glorify thou me.*

It frequently happens, however, that believers are not heard in all that they ask for themselves or others; namely, when they seek what is contrary to their own good, or to the glory of God. Deut. iii. 25, 26. *I pray thee, let me go over and see....but Jehovah said unto me, Let it suffice thee, speak no more unto me of this matter.* 1 Sam. xv. 11. *it grieved Samuel,*

and he cried unto Jehovah all night. 2 Sam. xii. 16—18. *David besought God for the child—.* 1 Kings xix. 4. *he requested for himself that he might die.* Ezek. xiv. 14. *though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it,* &c.—. Matt. xx. 22. *ye know not what ye ask.* 2 Cor. xii. 8, 9. *for this thing I besought the Lord thrice, that it might depart from me; and he said unto me, My grace is sufficient for thee.*

The prayers even of unbelievers sometimes prevail with God, to the obtaining of bodily comforts or worldly advantages; for he is kind to all, and *maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good,* Matt. v. 45. Hence he occasionally grants the requests even of devils. Job i. 11, 12. *put forth thy hand now ..... and Jehovah said unto Satan, Behold, all that he hath is in thy power.* See also ii. 5, 6. Matt. viii. 31, 32. *the devils besought him, saying, If thou cast us out, suffer us to go away into the herd of swine; and he said unto them, Go.* See also Mark v. 10—13.

Sometimes he complies with our prayers in anger; as when the Israelites asked flesh, Num. xi. 18, &c. *ye shall eat flesh, for ye have wept in the ears of Jehovah, saying,* &c. ..... *ye shall eat .... until it come out at your nostrils.* See also Psal. lxxviii. 30. So likewise when they asked a king, Hos. xiii. 11.[6]

Among errors under the head of prayer may be classed rash imprecations, whereby we invoke God or the devil to destroy any particular person or thing: Rom. xii. 14. *bless and curse not;* an intemperance to which even the pious are occasionally liable; Job iii. 2, 3. *let the day perish wherein I was born—.* Jer. xx. 14. *cursed be the day wherein I was born.* Undeserved curses, however, are of no force, and therefore not to be dreaded. Gen. xii. 3. *I will curse him that curseth thee.* Numb. xxiii. 8. *how shall I curse whom God hath not cursed?*

[6] 'If God afterward gave or permitted this insurrection of episcopacy, it is to be feared he did it in his wrath, as he gave the Israelites a king.' *Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty.* Prose Works, I. 101.

Prov. xxvi. 2. *as the bird by wandering, as the swallow by flying, so the curse causeless shall not come.* Psal. cix. 28. *let them curse, but bless thou.*

Prayer is assisted by fasting and vows. Matt. ix. 15. *the days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall they fast.*

A religious fast is that whereby a man abstains, not so much from eating and drinking, as from sin, that he may be enabled to devote himself more closely to prayer, for the obtaining some good, or deprecating some evil. Isai. lviii. 5, 6. *is it such a fast that I have chosen? a day for a man to afflict his soul? is it to bow down his head as a bulrush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day unto Jehovah? is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burthens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?* Joel ii. 12, 13. *turn ye even to me with all your heart, and with fasting, and with weeping, and mourning; and rend your heart, and not your garments—.* Jonah iii. 6—9. *word came unto the king of Nineveh, and he arose from his throne, and he laid his robe from him..... saying, Let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock taste anything..... but let them cry mightily unto God; yea, let them turn every one from his evil way, and from the violence that is in their hands.* Zech. vii. 5. *when ye fasted and mourned in the fifth and seventh month, did ye at all fast unto me, even unto me?*

Religious fasts are either private or public.

A private fast is one imposed by an individual on himself or his family, for private reasons. 2 Sam. xii. 16. *David besought God for the child; and David fasted, and went in, and lay all night upon the earth.* Psal. xxxv. 13. *as for me, when they were sick, my clothing was sackcloth; I humbled my soul with fasting.* Neh. i. 4. *it came to pass when I heard these words that I sat down and wept, and mourned certain days, and fasted, and prayed before the God of heaven.* Dan. ix. 3. *I set my face unto the Lord God to seek by prayer and supplica-*

tions, with fasting and sackcloth and ashes. x. 2, 3. *in those days I Daniel was mourning full three weeks; I ate no pleasant bread, neither came flesh nor wine in my mouth, neither did I anoint myself at all.* Luke ii. 37. *she served God with fastings and prayers night and day.* 1 Cor. vii. 5. *except it be with consent for a time, that ye may give yourselves to fasting and prayer.* To this head belongs the precept, Matt. vi. 16—18. *when ye fast, be not as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance; for they disfigure their faces that they may appear unto men to fast: verily I say unto you, They have their reward: but thou, when thou fastest, anoint thine head, and wash thy face; that thou appear not unto men to fast.*

A public fast is that which is proclaimed by the church or civil power for public reasons. Lev. xvi. 29. *this shall be a statute for ever unto you, that in the seventh month, on the tenth day of the month, ye shall afflict your souls, and do no work at all—.* 1 Sam. vii. 6. *they fasted on that day, and said there, We have sinned against Jehovah.* xxxi. 13. *they took their bones, and buried them under a tree at Jabesh, and fasted seven days.* Ezra viii. 21. *then I proclaimed a fast there at the river of Ahava, that we might afflict ourselves before our God, to seek of him—.* Esther iv. 3, 15, 16. *there was great mourning among the Jews, and fasting, and weeping, and wailing, and many lay in sackcloth and ashes ..... then Esther bade them return Mordecai this answer; Go, gather together all the Jews that are present in Shushan, and fast ye for me, and neither eat nor drink three days, night nor day; I also and my maidens will fast likewise.* ix. 31, 32. *to confirm those days of Purim in their time appointed ..... the matters of the fastings and their cry;* to which allusion is made Zech. vii. 5. viii. 19. Joel ii. 15, 16. *blow the trumpet in Zion, sanctify a fast.* Acts xiii. 2, 3. *as they ministered to the Lord, and fasted—.* xiv. 23. *when they had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord.*

To fasting were anciently added various inflictions for the mortification of the body, conformably to the customs of those nations. Compare Ezra ix. 3. Jonah iii. 6. and the passages quoted above.

Even outward fasting sometimes averts the anger of God for a season. 1 Kings xxvii. 29. *because he humbleth himself before me, I will not bring the evil in his days.*

There is also a fasting which works miracles. Matt. xvii. 21. *this kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting.*

A vow is a promise respecting some lawful matter, solemnly made to God, sometimes with the sanction of an oath, and by which we testify our readiness and hearty resolution to serve God, or the gratitude with which we shall receive the fulfilment of our prayers. Gen. xxviii. 20. *Jacob vowed a vow, saying—.* 1 Sam. i. 11. *she vowed a vow, and said—.* Psal. cxix. 106. *I have sworn, and I will perform it, that I will keep thy righteous judgements.* Neh. x. 29. *they entered into a curse and into an oath to walk in God's law.*

Vows are general or special.

General vows relate to things which God has commanded; and are either public or private.

A public vow is one which is vowed by the whole church; and is usually called in Scripture a covenant. Josh. xxiv. 22, 23. *ye are witnesses against yourselves, that you have chosen you Jehovah to serve him; and they said, We are witnesses.* 2 Chron. xv. 12—14. *they entered into a covenant to seek Jehovah God of their fathers ..... and they sware unto Jehovah.* Ezra x. 5. *he made the chief priests, the Levites, and all Israel to swear that they should do according to this word.*

A private vow is one which is vowed by an individual; as for instance the baptismal vow.

Special vows relate to things lawful, but not expressly commanded; and are undertaken for special reasons. Acts xviii. 18. *having shorn*

his head in Cenchrea; for he had a vow, xxi. 23. *we have four men which have a vow on them.*

We must be careful, however, not to interdict ourselves or others from those things which God intended for our use, as meat or drink; except in cases where the exercise of our liberty may be a stumbling-block to any of the brethren. Matt. xv. 17, 18. *do not ye yet understand that whatsoever entereth in at the mouth goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the draught?* Mark vii. 15, 16. *there is nothing from without a man that entering into him can defile him,* &c. The reason is given v. 19. *because it entereth not into his heart, but into his belly,* &c. Rom. xiv. 14. *I am persuaded by the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing unclean of itself.* v. 17. *for the kingdom of God is not meat and drink—.* 1 Cor. vi. 13. *meats for the belly, and the belly for meats; but God shall destroy both it and them.* viii. 8. *meat commendeth us not to God; for neither if we eat, are we the better, neither if we eat not, are we the worse.* Coloss. ii. 20, &c. *if ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why as though living in the world are ye subject to ordinances? touch not, taste not, handle not; which all are to perish with the using—.* 1 Tim. iv. 3, 4. *forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth; for every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused.* Heb. xiii. 9. *not with meats, which have not profited them that have been occupied therein.* Acts x. 13. *rise, Peter, kill and eat.* v. 15. *what God hath cleansed, that call not thou common.* The same rule applies to marriage: Matt. xix. 11. *all men cannot receive this saying, save them to whom it is given.* 1 Cor. vii. 9. *but if they cannot contain, let them marry.* v. 26. *I suppose therefore that this is good for the present distress.* v. 36, 37. *if any man think that he behaveth himself uncomely towards his virgin,* &c. 1 Tim. iv. 3. *forbidding to marry;* and to other subjects of a similar nature. 1 Tim. iv. 8. *bodily exercise profiteth little; but godliness is profitable unto all things.*

Vows of voluntary poverty are also to be accounted superstitious: Prov. xxx. 8. *give me neither poverty nor riches;* inasmuch as poverty is enumerated among the greatest evils: Deut. xxviii. 48. *in hunger, and in thirst, and in nakedness, and in want of all things.* Acts xx. 35. *it is more blessed to give than to receive.* Eph. iv. 28. *rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth.*

No one can make a special vow who is not his own master, and exempt from subjection to any other authority; as a son or a daughter to a parent, a wife to her husband, a male or female servant to their lord. See Num. vi. and xxx. 13. *every vow, and every binding oath to afflict the soul, her husband may establish it, or her husband may make it void.* Neither can a general or special vow be made by one who has not yet arrived at the full use of his judgement. Considering how generally this rule is received among divines, it is strange that they should so far forget their own doctrine, as to require the special vow of baptism from infants.

Any one, who is in these respects qualified, may bind himself by a special vow; when once made, however, he is not at liberty to recal it, but must fulfil it at all hazards. Deut. xxiii. 20. *when thou shalt vow a vow unto Jehovah thy God, thou shalt not slack to pay it; for Jehovah thy God will surely require it of thee, and it would be sin in thee.* Num. xxx. 2. *if a man vow a vow unto Jehovah ..... he shall not break his word, he shall do according to all that proceedeth out of his mouth.* Eccles. v. 4, 5. *when thou vowest a vow unto God, defer not to pay it; for he hath no pleasure in fools: pay that which thou hast vowed: better is it that thou shouldest not vow, than that thou shouldest vow and not pay.*

An impious vow, however, is not binding, any more than an unjust oath. Matt. xv. 5. *ye say, Whosoever shall say to his father or his mother, It is a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by*

me; and honour not his father or his mother, he shall be free. Here that which ought to have been applied to the support of the parents, had been vowed as a gift to God; so that either the vow could not be fulfilled, or the support of the parents must be withdrawn. Christ therefore decides that the parents are to be supported, and that the impious vow is of no force.

The opposite of a vow is sacrilege; which consists in the non-performance of a vow, or in the appropriation to private uses of things dedicated to God.[7] Josh. vii. 11. *they have even taken of the accursed thing, and have also stolen, and dissembled also.* Prov. xx. 25. *it is a snare to the man who devoureth that which is holy, and after vows to make enquiry.* Mal. iii. 8, &c. *will a man rob God? yet ye have robbed me: but ye say, Wherein have we robbed thee? in tithes and offerings: ye are cursed with a curse, for ye have robbed me, even this whole nation.* i. 8. *if ye offer the blind for sacrifice, is it not evil?*

Thus far of prayer and its auxiliaries.

Thanksgiving consists in returning thanks with gladness for the divine benefits. Job i. 21. *Jehovah gave, and Jehovah hath taken away; blessed be the name of Jehovah.* Eph. v. 20. *giving thanks always for all things unto God and the Father in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

Addresses to God, and particularly thanksgivings, are frequently accompanied by singing, and hymns in honour of the divine name.[8]

[7] Yet, sacrilegious, to himself would take
That which to God alone of right belongs. *Paradise Regained,* III. 140.

[8] In the hymn of our first parents, when
.....prompt eloquence
Flow'd from their lips, in prose or numerous verse,
Milton says of the angels extolling their Maker,
.....ye behold him, and with songs
And choral symphonies, day without night,
Circle his throne rejoicing. *Paradise Lost,* V. 161.

Mark xiv. 26. *when they had sung an hymn*—. Eph. v. 19, 20. *speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord; giving thanks always.* Col. iii. 16. *teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs.* James v. 13. *is any merry? let him sing psalms.*

CHAP. V.

Of

Oaths and the Lot.

Another species of Invocation consists in Oaths, and in the Casting of the Lot.

An Oath is that whereby we call God to witness the truth of what we say, with a curse upon ourselves, either implied or expressed, should it prove false. Ruth i. 17. *Jehovah do so to me and more also.* See also 1 Kings ii. 23, 24. 2 Cor. i. 23. *I call God for a record upon my soul.* See also Philipp. i. 8.

The lawfulness of oaths is evident from the express commandment, as well as example of God. Deut. vi. 13. *thou shalt fear Jehovah thy God, and serve him, and shalt swear by his name.* See also x. 20. Isai. lxv. 16. *he that sweareth in the earth shall swear by the God of truth.* Jer. xii. 16. *if they will diligently learn the ways of my people, to swear by my name.* Gen. xxii. 16. *by myself have I sworn, saith Jehovah.* Exod. vi. 8. *concerning the which I did swear to give it.* Deut. xxxii. 40. *I lift up my hand to heaven and say, I live for ever.* Psal. xcv. 11. *unto whom I sware in my wrath—.* cx. 4. *Jehovah hath sworn, and will not repent.* Heb. vi. 13. *because he could swear by no greater, he sware by himself.*

Agreeable to this is the practice of angels and holy men. Dan. xii. 7. *he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever.* Rev. x. 5, 6. *the angel sware by him*

that liveth for ever and ever. Gen. xiv. 22, 23. *I have lift up mine hand unto Jehovah.....that I will not take from a thread,* &c. xxxi. 53. *Jacob sware by the fear of his father Isaac;* that is, by God.

It is only in important matters, however, that recourse should be had to the solemnity of an oath. Exod. xx. 7. *thou shalt not take the name of Jehovah thy God in vain.* Heb. vi. 16. *men verily swear by the greater, and an oath for confirmation is to them the end of all strife.*

An oath involving a promise is to be observed, even contrary to our interest, provided the promise itself be not unlawful. Josh. ix. 19. *we have sworn unto them by Jehovah God of Israel; now therefore we may not touch them.* Judges xxi. 7. *how shall we do for wives for them that remain, seeing we have sworn by Jehovah that we will not give them of our daughters to wives?* Psal. xv. 4. *he that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not.*

In connexion with this subject, it has been made matter of discussion whether an oath sworn to a robber for the observance of secrecy, or for the payment of a stipulated ransom, is binding. Some answer, that the oath only which relates to ransom is to be observed, not that which relates to secrecy; inasmuch as every man is bound by a prior obligation to the civil magistrate to denounce any known robber, and that this obligation is of more force than the subsequent one of secrecy can possibly be. They conclude, therefore, that it is the duty of such person to give information to the magistrate, and to consider his compulsory oath as annulled by his prior engagement, the weaker obligation yielding to the stronger.[9] If however this be just, why does it not

[9] ..... Thou know'st the magistrates
And princes of my country came in person,
Solicited, commanded, threaten'd, urg'd,
Adjur'd by all the bonds of civil duty
And of religion, press'd how just it was,
How honourable, how glorious to intrap
A common enemy, who had destroy'd

Such

apply equally to the oath respecting ransom? seeing that it is the positive duty of every good man not to support robbers with his substance, and that no one can be compelled to do a dishonourable action, even though bound by oath to its performance. This seems to be implied in the word *jusjurandum* itself, which is derived from *jus*. Considering the robber, therefore, as one with whom (at least while in the act of robbery) we can be under no engagement either of religious obligation, or civil right, or private duty, it is clear that no agreement can be lawfully entered into with one thus circumstanced. If then under the influence of compulsion we have sworn to perform any such act as that above described, we have only committed a single offence; but if from religious scruples we observe an oath extorted under such circumstances, the sin is doubled, and instead of giving honour to God, and acquitting ourselves of an obligation which we ought never to have incurred, we are only entangling ourselves more deeply in the bonds of iniquity. Hence, if we fail to perform such agreement, it ought not to be imputed to us as a crime that we deceive one who is himself guilty of deceit or violence towards us, and refuse to ratify an unlawful compact.[1] If, therefore, a man has allowed himself to be involved in such an engagement, the point for consideration is, not whether a bond of faith extorted by a robber ought in conscience to be observed, but how he may best effect his escape.

To the fulfilment of oaths is opposed, first, a superstitious denial

> Such numbers of our nation .....
> .....
> ..... At length that grounded maxim
> So ripe and celebrated in the mouths
> Of wisest men, that to the public good
> Private respects must yield, with grave authority
> Took full possession of me, and prevail'd;
> Virtue, as I thought, truth, duty so enjoin'd. *Samson Agonistes,* 850.

[1] ..... How soon
Would height recall high thoughts, how soon unsay
What feign'd submission swore? ease would recant
Vows made in pain, as violent and void. *Paradise Lost,* IV. 94.

of their legality. For the precept of Christ, Matt. v. 33, &c. *swear not at all, neither by heaven,* &c. does not prohibit us from swearing by the name of God, any more than the passage James v. 12. (inasmuch as it was foretold that even under the gospel *every tongue should swear by the God of truth,* Isai. xlv. 22, 23. and lxv. 16.) We are only commanded not to swear by heaven or by earth, or by Jerusalem, or by the head of any individual. Besides, the prohibition does not apply to serious subjects, but to our daily conversation, in which nothing can occur of such importance as to be worthy the attestation of God. Lastly, Christ's desire was that the conversation and manners of his disciples should bear such a stamp of truth and good faith, that their simple asseveration should be considered as equivalent to the oath of others.

Secondly, perjury; which consists in swearing to what we know to be false with the view of deceiving our neighbour, or in making a lawful promise under the sanction of an oath, without intending to perform it, or at least without actually performing it. Lev. xix. 12. *ye shall not swear by my name falsely, neither shalt thou profane the name of thy God.* Peter was betrayed into this offence, Matt. xxvi. 72, 74.

I have said *our neighbour,* with reference to the question discussed above. For as it would be a crime to make a sworn promise to a robber or assassin, who in committing the act has forfeited his title to the rights of social life, so to observe the oath would not be to repair the original offence, but to incur a second; at any rate, there can be nothing wrong in refusing to ratify the promise. Cases however may occur in which a contrary decision shall be necessary, owing to the degree of solemnity in the form of the oath, or to other accompanying circumstances. An instance of this occurs in the three kings, Hoshea, Hezekiah, and Zedekiah. 2 Kings xvii. 4. *the king of Assyria found conspiracy in Hoshea ..... therefore the king of Assyria shut him up, and bound him in prison.* xviii. 7. *Jehovah was with Hezekiah, and he prospered whithersoever he went forth, and he rebelled against*

the king of Assyria, and served him not. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 13. *Zedekiah also rebelled against king Nebuchadnezzar, who had made him swear by God.* The fault of Hoshea seems to have been not so much his rebellion, as his reliance on So king of Egypt. In Hezekiah it was considered meritorious and praiseworthy that he trusted in the Lord, rather than in his enemy. To Zedekiah, on the contrary, it was objected, first, that his defection from the enemy was not accompanied by a return to the protection of God, and secondly, that he acted in opposition to God's special command, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 13, and Jer. xxvii. 6. *now have I given all these lands into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar.* There is, however, this difference between a robber and a national enemy, that with the one the laws of war are to be observed, whereas the other is excluded from all rights, whether of war or of social life.

Thirdly, common swearing. Lev. v. 4, 5. *if a soul swear, pronouncing with his lips to do evil or to do good, whatsoever it be that a man shall pronounce with an oath, and it be hid from him, when he knoweth of it then he shall be guilty in one of these: and it shall be, when he shall be guilty in one of these things, that he shall confess that he hath sinned in that thing.* To this may be added rash swearing. 1 Sam. xiv. 39. *though it be in Jonathan my son, he shall surely die.* v. 44. *God do so and more also, for thou shalt surely die, Jonathan.*

Fourthly, unlawful oaths; that is to say, oaths of which the purport is unlawful, or which are exacted from us by one to whom they cannot be lawfully taken. Of the former kind was the oath of David respecting the destruction of the house of Nabal, 1 Sam. xxv. 22. from which example we may also learn that the breach of such oaths is better than the performance, v. 33, 34. a rule disregarded by Herod, when he beheaded John for his oath's sake. Of the latter David's oath to Shimei is an instance, 2 Sam. xix. 23. *the king sware unto him.* Hence, although David himself did not violate his oath, he forbad his son to observe it, 1 Kings ii. 8, 9. *he cursed me with a grievous curse...*

and I sware to him..... now therefore hold him not guiltless, for thou art a wise man, and knowest what thou oughtest to do unto him. Solomon therefore committed no breach of faith in punishing Shimei with death, of which the latter was doubly deserving, as being himself guilty of perjury: 1 Kings ii. 36, 37. compared with v. 42, &c.

Fifthly, an idolatrous oath; which consists in swearing, not by God, but by some other object, contrary to the prohibition Matt. v. 33. and James v. 12.

Next in solemnity to an oath is a grave asseveration, as Gen. xlii. 15, 16. *by the life of Pharaoh;* or 1 Sam. i. 26. *as thy soul liveth, my lord;* that is, as surely as thou livest, or as I wish that thou mayest live. Such also is the expression of Christ, *verily, verily, I say unto you;* and that of Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 31. *νὴ τὴν ἡμετέραν καύχησιν, I protest by your rejoicing;* although, strictly speaking, the particle *νὴ* has the force of an oath.

To the same head belongs what is commonly called adjuration; that is to say, the charging any one in the name of God, by oath or solemn asseveration, to speak the truth to the best of his knowledge respecting the subject of inquiry. Thus Joshua adjured Achan, vii. 19. *my son, give, I pray thee, glory to Jehovah God of Israel, and make confession unto him.* Gen. xxiv. 3. *I will make thee swear by Jehovah, God of heaven.* Numb. v. 21. *then the priest shall charge the woman with an oath of cursing.* Ezra x. 5. *then Ezra made the chief priests to swear,* &c. Neh. xiii. 25. *I made them swear by God, saying, Ye shall not give your daughters unto their sons,* &c.—. 1 Thess. v. 27. *I charge you by the Lord that this epistle be read—.* There is no impropriety in adjuring even our dearest and most faithful friends. Gen. xlvii. 29. *put, I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh.*

Adjurations are to be complied with, in matters not contrary to religion or equity. Thus Christ, Matt. xxvi. 63, 64. on the adjuration

even of the impious high-priest Caiaphas, no longer kept silence, but confessed openly that he was the Christ.

Opposed to this are magical adjurations, and the superstitious or mercenary practice of exorcism. Acts xix. 13, &c. *certain of the vagabond Jews, exorcists, took upon them,* &c.

Thus far of oaths. IN THE CASTING OF THE LOT WE APPEAL TO THE DEITY FOR THE EXPLANATION OF DOUBTS, AND THE DECISION OF CONTROVERTED QUESTIONS. Lev. xvi. 8. *Aaron shall cast lots upon the two goats.* Josh. vii. 14. *it shall be, that the tribe which Jehovah taketh, shall come according to the families thereof.* 1 Sam. x. 20. *when Samuel had caused all the tribes of Israel to come near, the tribe of Benjamin was taken.* Prov. xvi. 33. *the lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposing thereof is of Jehovah.* xviii. 18. *the lot causeth contentions to cease, and parteth between the mighty.* 1 Chron. xxvi. 13, 14. *they cast lots, as well the small as the great.* Neh. x. 34. *we cast the lots among the priests, the Levites, and the people.* Luke i. 9. *according to the custom of the priest's office, his lot was to burn incense.* Acts i. 24, 26. *they prayed, and said, Thou Lord, which knowest the hearts of all men, show whether of these two thou hast chosen.....and the lot fell upon Matthias.*

Against the use of the lot it has been urged, that on successive repetitions the result is not invariably the same, and that therefore it must be considered as a matter of chance. This objection is of no force, inasmuch as the Deity, even in his direct verbal communications with the prophets of old, did not uniformly return the same answer, when tempted by importunate inquiries; as in the instance of Balaam, Num. xxii. 12, 20. *thou shalt not go with them.....rise up and go with them.*

To this is opposed the casting of lots in jest, or with a superstitious or fraudulent purpose.

To the invocation or adoration of the Deity are opposed IDOLATRY, and INVOCATION OF ANGELS OR SAINTS.

IDOLATRY consists in THE MAKING, WORSHIPPING, OR TRUSTING IN IDOLS, WHETHER CONSIDERED AS REPRESENTATIONS OF THE TRUE GOD, OR OF A FALSE ONE. Exod. xx. 4, 5. *thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth; thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them.* See also Lev. xxvi. 1. Deut. xvi. 21, 22. *thou shalt not plant thee a grove of any trees near unto the altar of Jehovah ..... neither shalt thou set thee up any image, which Jehovah thy God hateth.* xxvii. 15. *cursed be the man that maketh any graven or molten image.* Isai. ii. 8. *their land also is full of idols.* xvii. 8. *he shall not look to the altars, the work of his hands—.* Acts xvii. 16. *his spirit was stirred in him, when he saw the city wholly given to idolatry.* 1 Cor. viii. 4. *we know that an idol is nothing in the world.* x. 6, 7, 14. *neither be ye idolaters,* &c. 2 Cor. v. 16. *though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more.* Gal. v. 19, 20. *the works of the flesh.....are these, adultery .... idolatry, witchcraft .... they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.* See also 1 John v. 21. Rev. ix. 20. *that they should not worship devils and idols of gold.* Idolatry is described, Isai. lvii. 5. *enflaming yourselves with idols under every green tree.* Jer. vii. 31. *they have built the high places of Tophet.* xi. 13. *according to the number of thy cities were thy gods—.* xxxii. 29. *they shall burn it with the houses upon whose roofs they have offered incense unto Baal.* Ezek. viii. 5, &c. *behold northward at the gate of the altar this image of jealousy—.* Hos. iv. 13. *they sacrifice upon the tops of the mountains.*

WHETHER OF THE TRUE GOD—. Exod. xxxii. 5. *when Aaron saw it, he built an altar before it, and Aaron made proclamation, and said, To-morrow is a feast to Jehovah;* compared with Psal. cvi. 19, 20. *they made a calf in Horeb,....thus they changed their glory into the similitude of an ox.* Deut. iv. 15, 16. *take ye therefore good heed unto yourselves,*

for ye saw no manner of similitude on the day that Jehovah spake unto you in Horeb, out of the midst of the fire; lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image, the similitude of any figure, the likeness of male or female. It is indeed said, Exod. xxiv. 10. that Moses and the elders *saw the God of Israel, and there was under his feet as it were a paved work of a sapphire stone, and as it were the body of heaven in his clearness;* and v. 11. *they saw God;* and v. 17. *the sight of the glory of Jehovah was like devouring fire on the top of the mount in the eyes of the children of Israel;* but it is clear, from the passage of Deuteronomy quoted above, that they saw the likeness of no living thing whatever. So Ezek. i. 27, 28. *I saw...from the appearance of his loins even upward, and from the appearance of his loins even downward;* where no mention is made of his face. Judges xvii. 4. *the founder made thereof a graven image and a molten image, and they were in the house of Micah;* compared with v. 13. *then said Micah, Now know I that Jehovah will do me good, seeing I have a Levite to my priest.* 2 Kings xvii. 28. *then one of the priests whom they had carried away from Samaria, came and dwelt in Bethel, and taught them how they should fear Jehovah.* Isai. xl. 18. *to whom then will ye liken God, or what likeness will ye compare unto him?* xliv. 10. *who hath formed a god, or molten a graven image that is profitable for nothing?* xlvi. 5, 6. *to whom will ye liken me, and make me equal?.....they hire a goldsmith, and he maketh it a god: they fall down, yea, they worship.* Jer. ii. 11, &c. *hath a nation changed their gods which are yet no gods? but my people have changed their glory for that which doth not profit.* Acts xvii. 29. *forasmuch then as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and man's device.* Rom. i. 23, 24. *they changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like unto corruptible man.* Hence to worship the true God under the form of an idol was considered as criminal as to worship devils. 2 Chron. xi. 15. *he ordained him priests for the high places, and for the devils, and for the calves that he had made;* although Jeroboam doubtless imagined that he was appointing priests to Jehovah, while he was in reality officiating in the rites of those which were not Gods.

Or of a false god. Num. xxxiii. 52. *then shall ye destroy all their pictures, and destroy all their molten images, and quite pluck down all their high places.* See also Deut. vii. 5, 25. xii. 2, 3. In pursuance of these injunctions, pious rulers in all ages have opposed idolatry;[2] Moses, Asa, 2 Chron. xiv. 3. xv. 8, &c. Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Josiah, 2 Kings xxiii. 1—25. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 4, &c. the whole people, 2 Chron. xxiii. 17. and xxxi. 1.

The cherubic images over the ark are not to be accounted idols; first, as being representations not of false gods, but of the ministering spirits of Jehovah, and consequently not objects of worship; secondly, as being made by the special command of God himself.

Even the brazen serpent, the type of Christ, was commanded to be demolished, as soon as it became an object of religious worship, 2 Kings xviii. 4. *he brake in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made.*

Hence the Papists err in calling idols the laymen's books;[3] their real nature whether considered as books or teachers, appears from Psal. cxv. 5, &c. *they have mouths, but they speak not.... they that make them are like unto them, so is every one that trusteth in them.* Isai. xliv. 18.

[2] See the treatise *Of true Religion,* where after describing the twofold power, ecclesiastical and political, claimed by the Roman Catholics, Milton proceeds thus: 'Whether therefore it be fit or reasonable to tolerate men thus principled in religion towards the state, I submit it to the consideration of all magistrates, who are best able to provide for their own and the public safety. As for tolerating the exercise of their religion, supposing their state-activities not to be dangerous, I answer, that toleration is either public or private; and the exercise of their religion, as far as it is idolatrous, can be tolerated neither way: not publicly, without grievous and unsufferable scandal given to all conscientious beholders; not privately, without great offence to God, declared against all kind of idolatry, though secret. Ezek. viii. 7, 8..... Having shown thus, that popery, as being idolatrous, is not to be tolerated either in public or in private, it must now be thought how to remove it,' &c. &c. Prose Works, IV. 264.

[3] 'They will not go about to prove their idolatries by the word of God, but turn to shifts and evasions, and frivolous distinctions; idols they say are laymen's books, and a great means to stir up pious thoughts and devotion in the learnedest.' *Ibid.* IV. 266.

they have not known nor understood; for he hath shut their eyes—. Jer. x. 8, 14, 15. *every man is brutish in his knowledge; every founder is confounded by the graven image; for his molten image is falsehood, and there is no breath in them; they are vanity and the work of errors; in the time of their visitation they shall perish.* Habak. ii. 18, 19. *what profiteth the graven image, that the graver thereof hath graven it; the molten image and a teacher of lies, that the maker of his work trusteth therein, to make dumb idols? woe unto him that saith to the wood, Awake; to the dumb stone, Arise, it shall teach; behold, it is laid over with gold and silver, and there is no breath at all in the midst of it.*

We are commanded to abstain, not only from idolatrous worship itself, but from all things and persons connected with it. Acts xv. 20. *that they abstain from pollutions of idols, and from fornication.* v. 29. *from meats offered to idols ..... and from fornication.* Rev. ii. 14. *who taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication.* v. 20. *to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols.* From a comparison of these passages, it would appear that the fornication here prohibited was a part of idolatrous worship. 1 Cor. viii. 10. *if any man see thee which hast knowledge sit at meat in the idol's temple, shall not the conscience of him that is weak be emboldened to eat,* &c. x. 14. *flee from idolatry.* v. 20, &c. *they sacrifice to devils, and not to God; and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils.* 2 Cor. vi. 16. *what agreement hath the temple of God with idols?* 1 Thess. i. 9. *ye turned to God from idols, to serve the living and true God.* 1 Pet. iv. 3. *we walked in lasciviousness....and abominable idolatries.* 1 John v. 21. *little children, keep yourselves from idols.*

A question here arises, whether it be lawful for a professor of the true religion to be present at idol-worship, in cases where his attendance is necessary for the discharge of some civil duty. The affirmative seems to be established by the example of Naaman the Syrian, 2 Kings v. 17—19. who was permitted, as an additional mark of the divine appro-

bation, to construct for himself a private altar of Israelitish earth, although, as a Gentile, he was uncircumcised.[4] It is however safer and more consistent with the fear of God, to avoid, as far as possible, duties of this kind, even of a civil nature, or to relinquish them altogether.

The invocation of saints and angels is forbidden. Acts x. 26. *stand up; I myself also am a man.* xiv. 15. *sirs, why do ye these things? we also are men of like passions with you—.* Col. ii. 18. *let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels.* Rev. xix. 10. *I fell at his feet to worship him; and he said unto me, See thou do it not, I am thy fellow-servant.* See also xxii. 8, 9. The reason is, that God is kinder and more favourable to us than any saint or angel either is, or has power to be. Psal. lxxiii. 25. *whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire beside thee.* Isai. lxiii. 16. *doubtless thou art our father, though Abraham be ignorant of us, and Israel acknowledge us not; thou, O Jehovah, art our father, our redeemer.* Further, the charge of absurdity and folly which the prophets uniformly bring against the worshippers of idols, applies equally to those who worship images of saints or angels. Isai. xlvi. 6, 7, &c. *they lavish gold out of the bag,* &c. *....and hire a goldsmith...they bear him upon the shoulder,* &c. See also other passages.

The subterfuges by which the Papists defend the worship of saints and angels, are truly frivolous. They allege Gen. xlviii. 15, 16. *the angel which redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads.* Jacob here was not praying, but conferring his benediction on the sons of Joseph; no one therefore will contend that the words are to be taken as an invocation, but simply as an expression of hope that God, and the redeeming angel as his minister, should bless the lads. Some indeed contend that the angel here spoken of was not a created being; but whether this be

[4] ... That he may dispense with me, or thee,
Present in temples at idolatrous rites,
For some important cause, thou need'st not doubt. *Samson Agonistes,* 1377.

true, or whether it entered into the mind of Jacob or not, involves another and a far more difficult controversy. They urge also Job v. 1. *to which of the saints wilt thou turn?* which however may as properly be understood of living saints, as in James v. 14. *let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him;* where it is not recommended that the dead should be invoked, but that those who are living and present should be entreated to pray for us.

Another opposite to invocation is the tempting of God. Exod. xvii. 7. *they tempted Jehovah, saying, Is Jehovah among us or not?* Psal. lxxviii. 18, 19. *they tempted God in their heart by asking meat for their lust; yea, they spake against God; they said, Can God furnish a table in the wilderness?* v. 41. *they tempted God, and limited the Holy One of Israel.* xciv. 7. *yet they say, Jah shall not see, neither shall the God of Jacob regard it.* xcv. 7—9. *as in the day of temptation in the wilderness, when your fathers tempted me, proved me, and saw my works.* Matt. iv. 7. *thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.* 1 Cor. x. 22. *do we provoke the Lord to jealousy? are we stronger than he?*

A third consists in the invocation of devils, and the practice of magical arts. Exod. xxii. 18. *thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.* Lev. xix. 26. *neither shall ye use enchantment, nor observe times.* xx. 27. *a man also or a woman that hath a familiar spirit, or that is a wizard, shall surely be put to death; they shall stone them with stones, their blood shall be upon them.* v. 6. *the soul that turneth after such as have familiar spirits, and after wizards, to go a whoring after them, I will even set my face against that soul, and will cut him off from among his people.* xix. 31. *neither seek after wizards, to be defiled with them.* Num. xxiii. 23. *surely there is no enchantment against Jacob, neither is there any divination against Israel.* Deut. xviii. 10—12. *there shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer; for all that do these things are*

an abomination unto Jehovah. 2 Kings xxi. 6. *he made his son pass through the fire, and observed times, and used enchantments, and dealt with familiar spirits and wizards.* Isai. viii. 19. *when they shall say unto you, Seek unto them that have familiar spirits, and unto wizards that peep and that mutter; should not a people seek unto their God? for the living to the dead?* xliv. 25. *I am he that frustrateth the tokens of the liars, and maketh diviners mad.* xlvii. 13, 14. *let now the astrologers, the stargazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee: behold, they shall be as stubble.* Jer. x. 2. *be not dismayed at the signs of heaven; for the heathen are dismayed at them.*[5] Mic. v. 12. *I will cut off witchcrafts out of thine hand, and thou shalt have no more soothsayers.*

All study of the heavenly bodies, however, is not unlawful or unprofitable; as appears from the journey of the wise men, and still more from the star itself, divinely appointed to announce the birth of Christ, Matt. ii. 1, 2.

[5] Thus our Saviour in Paradise Regained, IV. 486.

> ..... what they can do as signs
> Betok'ning, or ill boding, I contemn
> As false portents, not sent from God, but thee:

compared with the words of Satan, v. 379, &c.

> Now contrary, if I read aught in heav'n,
> Or heav'n write aught of fate, by what the stars
> Voluminous, or single characters,
> In their conjunction met, give me to spell,
> Sorrows and labours, opposition, hate,
> Attends thee, scorns, reproaches, injuries,
> Violence and stripes, and lastly cruel death.
> A kingdom they portend thee, but what kingdom,
> Real or allegoric, I discern not.

These last words probably allude to the star, mentioned below, by which the birth of Christ, as 'King of the Jews,' was announced to the wise men.

CHAP. VI.

Of Zeal.

We have treated of the first part of true religion, the invocation or adoration of the Deity; we proceed to the remaining part, THE SANCTIFICATION OF THE DIVINE NAME UNDER ALL CIRCUMSTANCES.

An ardent desire of hallowing the name of God, together with an indignation against whatever tends to the violation or contempt of religion, is called ZEAL. Psal. lxix. 8, 9. *I am become a stranger unto my brethren.....for the zeal of thine house hath eaten me up.* cxix. 139. *my zeal hath consumed me, because mine enemies have forgotten thy words.* Rom. xii. 11. *not slothful in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord.*

Examples of this virtue are seen in Lot, 2 Pet. ii. 7, 8. in Moses, Exod. xxxii. 19. in Phinehas, Num. xxv. 7. in Elijah, 1 Kings xix. 10. in Jeremiah, Jer. xxiii. 9—11. *mine heart within me is broken.... for the land is full of adulterers;* in Christ, Matt. xii. 30. John ii. 14, &c. in Stephen, Acts vii. 51, &c. in Paul and Barnabas, xiv. 14. and xvii. 16, 17.

Its opposites are, first, lukewarmness, as exemplified in Eli, 1 Sam. ii. 29. and iii. 13. in the chief rulers of the Jews, John xii. 43. in the Laodiceans, Rev. iii. 15, 16.

Secondly, an ignorant and imprudent zeal. 2 Sam. xxi. 1, 3. *because he slew the Gibeonites...Saul sought to slay them in his zeal to the children of Israel and Judah.* Rom. x. 2. *I bear them record that they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge.*

Thirdly, a too fiery zeal. Jonah iv. 1—3. Luke ix. 54. *wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven?*

Fourthly, an hypocritical and boastful zeal, as that of Jehu, 2 Kings x. 16. *come with me, and see my zeal for Jehovah.*

The name of God is to be hallowed in word as well as in deed. To hallow it in word, is never to name it but with a religious purpose, and to make an open profession of the true faith, whenever it is necessary.

The holy or reverential mention of God is inculcated Exod. xx. 7. *thou shalt not take the name of Jehovah thy God in vain.*

To this is opposed an impious or reproachful mention of God, or, as it is commonly called, blasphemy, from the Greek βλασφημία, as in the Hebrew בְּרוּבָּה with the root כִּדֵּו, and הְלָלָה with the root קִלֵּל. This was the crime of the Israelitish woman's son, Levit. xxiv. 11. who *blasphemed* (or *expressly named*) *the name of Jehovah, and cursed* (or *spake impiously*). v. 14. *bring forth him that hath cursed without the camp.* Such also was that of Rabshakeh and the other Assyrians, 2 Kings xix. 6. *be not afraid of the words which thou hast heard, with which the servants of the king of Assyria have blasphemed me;* of the scribes, Mark iii. 22. *they said, He hath Beelzebub,* compared with v. 29. *he that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost—,* for the scribes had said that the deeds of the Father working in Christ were the deeds of Beelzebub; of those whom Paul before his conversion compelled to blaspheme, Acts xxvi. 11. of the Jews at Corinth, xviii. 6. when they *opposed themselves and blasphemed—;* of Paul himself in his unconverted state, 1 Tim. i. 13. *who was before a blasphemer and a persecutor;* of Hymenæus and Alexander, v. 19, 20. *that they may learn not to blaspheme,* inasmuch as *having put away a good conscience concerning faith, they had made shipwreck;* of those profane persons mentioned in James ii. 7. *do not they blaspheme that worthy name by the which ye are called?* of the beast, Rev. xiii. 5, 6. *there was given*

unto him a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies; of the followers of the beast, xvi. 11. *they blasphemed the God of heaven, because of their pains and their sores.*

Considering, however, that all the Greek writers, sacred as well as profane, use the word *blasphemy* in a general sense, as implying any kind of reproach against any person whatever, which is also the received usage of the corresponding word in Hebrew, Isai. xliii. 28. *I have given Israel to reproaches.* li. 7. *neither be ye afraid of their revilings;* Ezek. v. 15. *so it shall be a reproach and a taunt,* that is, to the Jews; Zeph. ii. 8. *the revilings of the children of Ammon, whereby they have reproached my people;* in all which passages the same word is used, being that which we translate blasphemy: so also Matt. xv. 19. *false witness, blasphemies.* (Compare Mark vii. 22.) 1 Tim. vi. 1. *that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed.* (Compare Tit. ii. 5.) 2 Pet. ii. 10. *they are not afraid to speak evil of dignities* (βλασφημοῦντες Gr.); v. 11. *whereas angels.....bring not railing accusation against them before the Lord* (βλάσφημον κρίσιν Gr.): considering, I say, that such is the meaning invariably attached to the Greek word even by the sacred writers, I am of opinion that those who introduced this foreign term into the Latin language, did wrong in restricting it to the single sense of speaking evil of God; especially since, at the same time that they narrowed its meaning in one direction, they expanded it in another to an almost indefinite vagueness; insomuch that, presuming on the general ignorance as to the true signification of the word, they have not scrupled to brand as blasphemy every opinion differing from their own on the subject of God or religion.[6] This is to resemble the scribes,

[6] 'Some are ready to cry out, what shall then be done to blasphemy? Them I would first exhort not thus to terrify and pose the people with a Greek word; but to teach them better what it is, being a most usual and common word in that language to signify any slander, any malicious or evil speaking, whether against God or man, or any thing to good belonging. Blasphemy, or evil speaking against God maliciously, is far from conscience in religion.' *Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes.* Prose Works, III. 324. 'Id esse blasphemiam quo tu pacto evincis? nisi si forte theologorum dictatis quibusvis contradicere, nunc primum blasphemia est credenda.' *Auctoris pro se Defensio.* Prose Works, V. 285.

Matt. ix. 3. who when Christ had simply said, v. 2. *thy sins be forgiven thee*, immediately *said within themselves, This man blasphemeth;* whereas blasphemy, as is evident from the foregoing examples, consists solely in uttering reproaches against God openly, and with a high hand, Numb. xv. 30. Matt. xv. 19. *out of the heart proceed blasphemies*, and that whether against God or men. This sin therefore is not to be imputed to those, who in sincerity of heart, and with no contentious purpose, promulgate or defend their conscientious persuasions respecting God, founded, as appears to them, on the Scriptures. If on the other hand blasphemy is interpreted according to the Hebrew sense, it will comprehend too much; for in this sense every obstinate sinner will be a blasphemer, and as such, according to those who regard the law of Moses on this subject as still in force, punishable with death.[7] Numb. xv. 30. *the soul that doeth ought presumptuously.....the same reproacheth* (or *blasphemeth*) *Jehovah; and that soul shall be cut off from among his people.* Ezek. xx. 27, 28. *yet in this your fathers have blasphemed me, in that they have committed a trespass against me; for when I had brought them into the land.....then they saw every high hill*, &c.

A second opposite is irreverent or jesting mention of the name of God, or of religious subjects.

The most solemn mention of the name of God consists in dedicating to his glory whatever is intended for the use of man. 1 Cor. x. 31. *whether ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God.* 1 Tim. iv. 4, 5. *nothing is to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving; for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer.* Acts xxvii. 35. *he took bread, and gave thanks to God in presence of them all.* 1 Cor. vii. 14. *the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife.*

[7] 'Such as these, indeed, were capitally punished by the law of Moses, as the only true heretics, idolaters, plain and open deserters of God and his known law.' *Treatise of Civil Power*, &c. III. 326.

Opposed to this are superstitious consecrations, such as are common among the Papists.

Thus far of the solemn and reverential mention of the name of God. We are next to consider the duty of making a consistent, and, when necessary, an open profession of his true worship. This is enjoined Matt. x. 32, 33. *whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven; but whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.* Psal. cxix. 46. *I will speak of thy testimonies also before kings, and will not be ashamed.* Luke ix. 26. *whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he shall come—.* Rom. x. 10. *with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.* 2 Cor. iv. 13. *it is written, I believed, and therefore have I spoken; we also believe, and therefore speak.* 1 Tim. vi. 12—14. *thou hast professed a good profession before many witnesses; I give thee charge in the sight of God, who quickeneth all things, and before Christ Jesus, who before Pontius Pilate witnessed a good confession, that thou keep this commandment.* 2 Tim. i. 16. *he was not ashamed of my chain.* ii. 12. *if we deny him, he also will deny us.* 1 Pet. iii. 15. *be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you.* Heb. x. 35. *cast not away therefore your confidence.*

This profession, when it leads to death, or imprisonment, or torments, or disgrace, is called MARTYRDOM. Matt. v. 11. *blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake.* Philipp. i. 20. *with all boldness, as always, so now also Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether it be by life, or by death.* v. 29. *for unto you it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake.* Heb. xi. 36, &c. *others had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea moreover of bonds and imprisonment—.* 1 Pet. iii. 14. *but and if ye suffer for righteousness' sake, happy are ye.*

It is generally through the means of martyrdom that the spread of the gospel is effected. Philipp. i. 14. *many of the brethren in the Lord, waxing confident by my bonds, are much more bold to speak the word without fear.*

Opposed to this is, first, the concealment of our religion. This was the fault of Nicodemus, John iii. 2. *the same came to Jesus by night.* xii. 42. *nevertheless among the chief rulers also many believed on him, but because of the Pharisees they did not confess him, lest they should be put out of the synagogue.* Isai. lix. 4. *none calleth for justice, nor any pleadeth for truth.*

Secondly, apostasy. 2 Chron. xxviii. 6. *he slew in Judah an hundred and twenty thousand in one day, which were all valiant men, because they had forsaken Jehovah God of their fathers.* John vi. 66. *from that time many of his disciples went back and walked no more with him.* 1 Tim. iv. 1, &c. *in the latter times some shall depart from the faith,* &c. Heb. vi. 4, &c. *it is impossible for those who were once enlightened.....if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance.* x. 29. *of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God.*

Thirdly, an unseasonable profession. Matt. vii. 6. *give not that which is holy unto the dogs.....lest they turn again and rend you.* xvi. 20. *then charged he his disciples that they should tell no man that he was Jesus the Christ.*

Such are the means by which the name of God is hallowed in word. It is hallowed in deed, when our actions correspond with our religious profession. Matt. v. 16. *let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.*

Opposed to this, is a neglect to act conformably to our profession. Thus Moses and Aaron are said, contrary to their usual custom,

not to have sanctified God in the eyes of the people, Numb. xx. 12. and David, a man otherwise holy, gave occasion to the Gentiles to think and speak ill of God, by reason of his adultery, 2 Sam. xii. 14. So also the Jews, of whom St. Paul writes, Rom. ii. 24. *the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles through you, as it is written;* alluding to Isai. lii. 5. Ezek. xxxvi. 20. *when they entered unto the heathen, whither they went, they profaned my holy name, when they said to them, These are the people of Jehovah, and are gone forth out of his land.*

CHAP. VII.

ON

THE TIME FOR DIVINE WORSHIP;

WHEREIN ARE CONSIDERED

THE SABBATH, LORD'S DAY, AND FESTIVALS.

THUS far of the parts of divine worship. We are now to consider its circumstances.

The circumstances of worship are the same as of all things natural, place and time.[8]

Public worship, previously to the law of Moses, was not confined to any definite place; under the law it took place partly in the synagogues and partly in the temple; under the gospel any convenient place is proper. John iv. 21, 23. *ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father; but the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth;* as Malachi had also prophesied, i. 11. *in every place incense shall be offered unto my name.*

With regard to the time of public worship, what this was before the law does not appear. Under the law it was the

[8] .... 'that the body,' with all the circumstances of place and time, were purified by the affections of the regenerate soul.' *Of Reformation in England,* Prose Works, I. 1. 'Tertius modus est adjunctorum quæ recipiuntur ad subjectum; quæ vulgo circumstantiæ nuncupantur, quia extra subjectum sunt. Huc tempus refertur.' *Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio,* IV. 224.

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

Sabbath, that is, the seventh day, which was consecrated to God from the beginning of the world, Gen. ii. 2, 3. but which (as stated above, Book I. chap. x.) was not, so far as we can learn, observed, or commanded to be observed, till the second month of the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, Exod. xvi. 1, 23, 25, 29. when it was enforced with severe prohibitions: v. 23. *to-morrow is the rest of the holy sabbath unto Jehovah; bake that which ye will bake to-day, and seethe that which ye will seethe; and that which remaineth over lay up for you to be kept until the morning.* xx. 8, &c. *remember the sabbath-day, to keep it holy;* that is, remember it according to the previous commandment in the sixteenth chapter, referred to above; or it may be an emphatic manner of admonition. xxxi. 14. *ye shall keep the sabbath-day therefore, for it is holy unto you: every one that defileth it shall surely be put to death.* xxxiv. 21. *in earing time and in harvest thou shalt rest.* xxxv. 2, 3. *a sabbath of rest to Jehovah..... ye shall kindle no fire throughout your habitations on the sabbath-day.* Lev. xxiii. 3. *six days shall work be done, but the seventh day is the sabbath of rest, an holy convocation.* Num. xv. 32, &c. *they found a man that gathered sticks on the sabbath-day.* 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20, 21. *them that had escaped from the sword he carried away to Babylon.....until the land had enjoyed her sabbaths.* Jer. xvii. 21, 22. *bear no burthen on the sabbath-day.* Nehem. x. 31. *if the people of the land bring ware or any victuals on the sabbath-day to sell, that we would not buy it of them—.* xiii. 15, &c. *in those days saw I in Judah some treading wine presses on the sabbath.*

The command to observe the Sabbath was given to the Israelites for a variety of reasons, mostly peculiar to themselves, and which are recorded in different parts of the Mosaic law. First, as a memorial of God's having completed the work of creation on the seventh day. Exod. xx. 11. xxxi. 15—17. *wherefore the children of Israel shall keep the sabbath, to observe the sabbath throughout their generations, for a perpetual covenant .....for in six days Jehovah made heaven and earth, and on the seventh day he rested and was refreshed.* Here

although the reason given for the celebration of the Sabbath applies equally to all other nations, the Israelites alone are enjoined to observe it; as is also the case with the command to abstain from creeping things, Levit. xi. 44. *ye shall therefore sanctify yourselves, and ye shall be holy, for I am holy; neither shall ye defile yourselves with any manner of creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth;* with the law against disfiguring the body, and other similar commands, Deut. xiv. 1, &c. *ye are the children of God;* for the reasons on which these precepts are founded apply equally to believers in general, and to all ages, although the precepts themselves are no longer obligatory. This has been remarked by our countryman Ames.[9] 'Non est catholicæ veritatis illa regula interpretandi scripturas quæ tradi solet a quibusdam, officia illa omnia esse moralia et immutabilia quæ rationes morales et immutabiles habent sibi annexas; nisi sic intelligatur

[9] Dr. William Ames, a Puritan divine in the time of James and Charles the First, and Professor of Divinity in the University of Franeker, a town of the Netherlands, in Friesland. It was partly from the work quoted above, and partly from *The Abridgement of Christian Divinitie* by Wollebius, that Milton, according to Phillips, compiled for the use of his pupils a system of divinity, which they wrote on Sundays at his dictation. An English translation of Ames's treatise was published by order of the House of Commons in 1642, under the title of *The Marrow of Sacred Divinity, drawne out of the Holy Scriptures and the Interpreters thereof, and brought into method.* It is divided into two books, of which the first, entitled On Faith in God, contains forty-one chapters, and the second, On Observance toward God, twenty-two. It is quite evident that Milton has frequently availed himself of this volume, both in the distribution of his subject and arrangement of the chapters, which frequently coincides with that of Ames, and in particular passages and applications of Scripture; though their opinions differ materially on several important points. The translation is very badly executed, as the version of the passage quoted in the text will show. "That rule therefore of interpreting the Scriptures which is wont to be delivered by some, is not universally true; that all those duties [are] morall and immutable, which have morall and immutable reasons joyned to them; except it be thus understood, that those duties doe follow upon those reasons, no speciall command coming betweene." Milton quotes in his Tetrachordon the definition of marriage given by Ames, and passes a just censure on it. See Prose Works, II. 141. The Treatise of Wollebius is also divided into two parts, On the Knowledge and On the Worship of God, the first comprised in thirty-six, and the second in fourteen chapters. The plan of the latter division is very similar to the corresponding portion of Milton's work, and not only the arguments, but even whole sentences are sometimes almost identically the same.

ut illa officia sequantur ex illis rationibus, nullo singulari Dei præcepto intercedente.' Ames, *Medull. Theol.* lib. ii. c. 13. This however cannot be said either of the precepts above-mentioned, or of the Sabbath.

Secondly, because God was pleased by this distinguishing mark to separate the Israelites from other nations. Exod. xxxi. 13, &c. *it is a sign between me and you throughout your generations, that ye may know that I am Jehovah that doth sanctify you; ye shall keep the sabbath therefore, for it is holy unto you.* Ezek. xx. 12. *to be a sign between me and them, that they might know that I am Jehovah that sanctify them.* See also v. 20.

Thirdly, that the slaves and cattle might enjoy a respite from labour. Exod. xxiii. 12. *that thine ox and thine ass may rest, and the son of thine handmaid and the stranger may be refreshed.* Deut. v. 12, 14. *keep the sabbath-day.....that thy man-servant and thy maid-servant may rest as well as thou.* This reason applies only where servants are in a state of slavery, and subject to severe labour; the condition of hired servants, who are now generally employed, being much easier than that of purchased slaves in old time.

Fourthly, in remembrance of their liberation from Egypt. Deut. v. 15. *remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that Jehovah thy God brought thee out thence through a mighty hand and by a stretched out arm; therefore Jehovah thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath-day.*

Fifthly, as a shadow or type of things to come. Col. ii. 16, 17. *in respect of an holy-day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath-days; which are a shadow of things to come: but the body is of Christ.* Of what things to come the sabbaths are a shadow, we are taught Heb. iv. 9, 10. namely, of that sabbatical rest or eternal peace in heaven, of which all believers are commanded to strive to be partakers through faith and obedience, following the example of Christ.

Works of charity and mercy were not forbidden on the Sabbath, upon the authority of Christ himself. Mark ii. 27. *the sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath.* iii. 4. *is it lawful to do good on the sabbath-days, or to do evil? to save life, or to kill?* Luke xiii. 15, 16. *doth not each one of you on the sabbath loose his ox—? .... ought not this woman to be loosed from this bond on the sabbath-day?* xiv. 5. *which of you shall have an ox or an ass fallen into a pit,* &c. John vii. 23. *are ye angry at me because I have made a man every whit whole on the sabbath-day?* Even for a man to take up his bed, v. 11. although consonant to the spirit of the law, was contrary to its letter, Jer. xvii. 21, 22.

Since then the Sabbath was originally an ordinance of the Mosaic law, since it was given to the Israelites alone, and that for the express purpose of distinguishing them from other nations, it follows that, if (as was shown in the former book) those who live under the gospel are emancipated from the ordinances of the law in general, least of all can they be considered as bound by that of the Sabbath, the distinction being abolished which was the special cause of its institution.[1] It was for asserting this in precept, and enforcing it by example, that Christ incurred the heavy censure of the Pharisees, John ix. 16. *this man is not of God, because he keepeth not the sabbath-day.* Gal. iv. 9, 10. *how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage? ye observe days, and months, and times, and years.* Col. ii. 16, 17. *let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holy-day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath-days.* If it be contended, that it is only the septennial, and not the seventh day sabbath which is said by Paul to be abrogated, I reply, first, that no exception is here made; and, secondly, that it may as well be contended that baptism is not meant Heb.

[1] See Book I. Chap. xxvii. and the note in p. 412. To what is there said may be added the following passage from *A brief History of Moscovia.* Milton is speaking of the Russian church. 'They hold the ten commandments not to concern them, saying that God gave them under the law, which Christ by his death on the cross hath abrogated.' Prose Works, IV. 280.

vi. 2. on account of the plural noun *baptisms*. Besides, it is certain that the words *sabbath* and *sabbaths* are used indiscriminately of the seventh day; Exod. xxxi. 13, 14. Isai. lvi. 2, 4, 6. Whoever therefore denies that under the words of the apostle, *in respect of an holy-day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath-days*, the Sabbath of the fourth commandment is comprehended, may as well deny that it is spoken of 2 Chron. ii. 4. or viii. 13. or xxxi. 3. from which passages the words of Paul seem to be taken.

The law of the Sabbath being thus repealed, that no particular day of worship has been appointed in its place, is evident from the same apostle, Rom. xiv. 5. *one man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth every day alike: let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.* For since, as was observed above, no particular place is designated under the gospel for the public worship of God, there seems no reason why time, the other circumstance of worship, should be more defined. If Paul had not intended to intimate the abolition of all sabbaths whatever, and of all sanctification of one day above another, he would not have added in the following verse, *he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it.*[2] For how does he *not regard the day to the Lord*, if there be any commandment still in force by which a particular day, whether the Sabbath or any other, is to be observed?

It remains to be seen on what they ground their opinion, who maintain that the Lord's day is to be observed as set apart for public worship by divine institution, in the nature of a new sabbath. It is urged, first, that God rested on the seventh day. This is true; and with reason, inasmuch as he had finished a great work, the creation

[2] 'What but a vain shadow else is the abolition of those ordinances, that hand-writing nailed to the cross? What great purchase is this Christian liberty which Paul so often boasts of? His doctrine is, that he who eats or eats not, regards a day or regards it not, may do either to the Lord.' *Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing.* Prose Works, I. 327.

of heaven and earth: if then we are bound to imitate him in his rest, without any command to that effect, (and none has yet been produced,) we are equally bound to imitate his work, according to the fable of Prometheus of old;[3] for rest implies previous labour. They rejoin, that God hallowed that day. Doubtless he hallowed it, as touching himself, for *on the seventh day he rested and was refreshed*, Exod. xxxi. 17. but not as touching us, unless he had added an express commandment to that effect; for it is by the precepts, not by the example, even of God himself, that we are bound.[4] They affirm again, that the Sabbath was observed previously to the Mosaic law. This is asserted with more confidence than probability; even if it were so, however, (a point as to which we are altogether ignorant) it is equally certain that sacrificial rites, and distinctions between things clean and unclean, and other similar observances, were in force during the same period, which nevertheless are not classed among moral duties.

They urge, however, that the celebration of the Sabbath was subsequently ordained by the fourth commandment. This is true, as regards the seventh day; but how does this apply to the first day? If, on the plea of a divine command, they impose upon us the observance of a particular day, how do they presume, without the authority of a divine command, to substitute another day in its place? or in other words to pronounce, that not merely the seventh day, which was appointed for the observation of the Israelites alone, but any one of the seven may, even on the authority of the fourth commandment itself, be kept holy; and that this is to be accounted an article of moral duty among all nations.

[3] 'It would be helpful to us if we might borrow such authority as the rhetoricians by patent may give us, with a kind of Promethean skill to shape and fashion this outward man into the similitude of a body.' *Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty.* Prose Works, I. 133. 'Malui abs te decerpta transcribere, quæ tu Aristoteli, ut ignem Jovi Prometheus, ad eversionem monarcharum, [et perniciem ipsius tuam, surripuisti.' *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio,* V. 115.

[4] 'They ought to know, or to remember, that not examples, but express commands oblige our obedience to God or man.' *The likeliest Means to remove Hirelings,* &c. III. 357.

In the first place, I do not see how this assertion can be established, for it is impossible to extort such a sense from the words of the commandment; seeing that the reason for which the command itself was originally given, namely, as a memorial of God's having rested from the creation of the world, cannot be transferred from the seventh day to the first; nor can any new motive be substituted in its place, whether the resurrection of our Lord, or any other, without the sanction of a divine commandment. Since then it is evident from more than one passage of Scripture, that the original Sabbath is abrogated, and since we are nowhere told that it has been transferred from one day to another, nor is any reason given why it should be so transferred, the church, when she sanctioned a change in this matter, evinced, not her obedience to God's command (inasmuch as the command existed no longer) but her own rightful liberty; for in any other view it can only be termed folly. To make any change whatever in a commandment of God, whether we believe that commandment to be still in force or not, is equally dangerous, and equally reprehensible; inasmuch as in so doing we are either annulling what is not yet repealed, or re-enacting what is obsolete. It ought also to be shown what essential principle of morality is involved in the number seven; and why, when released from the obligation of the Sabbath, we should still be bound to respect a particular number, possessing no inherent virtue or efficacy. The only moral sabbatical rest which remains for us under the gospel, is spiritual and eternal, pertaining to another life rather than in the present. Heb. iv. 9—11. *there remaineth therefore a rest to the people of God; for he that hath entered into his rest, he also hath ceased from his own works, as God did from his; let us labour therefore to enter into that rest, lest any man fall after the same example of unbelief.* If then the commandment of the Sabbath was given to those alone whom God had *brought out of the land of Egypt, and out of the house of bondage,* it is evidently inapplicable to us as Christians; or if, as is contended, it is applicable to us inasmuch as we have been brought out of the slavery of a spiritual Egypt, the Sabbath ought to be such as the deliverance, spiritual and evangelical, not bodily and

legal; above all, it ought to be a voluntary, not a constrained observance,[5] lest we should be merely substituting one Egyptian bondage for another;[6] for the Spirit cannot be forced. To contend therefore that what, under the new dispensation, ought to be our daily employment, has been enjoined as the business of the Sabbath exclusively, is to disparage the gospel worship, and to frustrate rather than enforce the commandments of God.

It is urged, however, that it is on the fourth commandment that the church relies as its perpetual authority for the observance of public worship. That public worship is commended, and inculcated as a voluntary duty, even under the gospel, I allow; but that it is a matter of compulsory enactment, binding on believers from the authority of this commandment, or of any Sinaitical precept whatever, I deny. With regard to the doctrine of those who consider the decalogue as a code of universal morality, I am at a loss to understand how such an opinion should ever have prevailed; these commandments being evidently nothing more than a summary of the whole Mosaic law, as the fourth in particular is of the whole ceremonial law; which therefore can contain nothing applicable to the gospel worship.

Whether the festival of *the Lord's day* (an expression which occurs only once in Scripture, Rev. i. 10.) was weekly or annual, cannot be pronounced with certainty, inasmuch as there is not (as in the case of the Lord's Supper) any account of its institution, or command for its celebration, to be found in Scripture. If it was the day of his resurrection, why, we may ask, should this be considered as the Lord's day in any higher sense than that of his birth, or death, or ascension?

[5] 'God delights not to make a drudge of virtue, whose actions must be all elective and unconstrained.' *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce.* Prose Works, II. 51.

[6] 'What would ye say now, grave fathers, if you should wake and see unworthy bishops, or rather no bishops, but Egyptian task-masters of ceremonies, thrust purposely upon the groaning church, to the affliction and vexation of God's people?' *Of Reformation in England,* I. 13.

why should it be held in higher consideration than the day of the descent of the Holy Spirit? and why should the celebration of the one recur weekly, whereas the commemoration of the others is not necessarily even annual, but remains at the discretion of each believer?

Neither can the circumstance of Christ's having appeared twice to his disciples on this day (if indeed the words *after eight days,* John xx. 26. are rightly interpreted the eighth day after) be safely adduced in proof of the divine institution of a new sabbath; inasmuch as there can be no doubt that he appeared on other days also, Luke xxiv. 36. and John xxi. 3, 4. *Peter saith unto them, I go a fishing,* which was not lawful on the Sabbath; so that the day following, on the morning of which Christ appeared, could not have been the first day of the week. Even supposing, however, that it had been so, still the assigning this as a reason for the institution of a new sabbath is matter solely of human inference; since no commandment on this subject, nor any reason for such institution, is found in all Scripture.

From commandments, of which we have proved the non-existence, we pass to examples; although no example can weaken the force of a contrary precept. We shall proceed, however, to prove, that what are adduced as examples are not such in reality. First then, with regard to Acts xx. 7. where it is related that the disciples dwelling at Troas *came together to break bread upon the first day of the week,* who shall determine with certainty whether this was a periodical meeting, or only held occasionally, and of their own accord; whether it was a religious festival, or a fraternal meal; whether a special assembly convoked on that particular day, or a daily meeting like those recorded in chap. ii. 42. compared with v. 46; lastly, whether this meeting was held by order of the apostles, or whether it was merely permitted by them in compliance with the popular custom, according to their frequent practice on other occasions?

The inference deduced from 1 Cor. xvi. 2. is equally unsatisfactory; for what the apostle is here enjoining, is not the celebration of the

Lord's day, but that *on the first day of the week* (if this be the true interpretation of κατὰ μίαν σαββάτων, *per unam sabbathorum*) each should *lay by him* (that is, at home) for the relief of the poor; no mention being made of any public assembly, or of any collection at such assembly, on that day. He was perhaps led to select the first day of the week, from the idea that our alms ought to be set aside as a kind of first-fruits to God, previous to satisfying other demands; or because the first day of the week was most convenient for the arrangement of the family accounts. Granting, however, that the Corinthians were accustomed to assemble on that day for religious purposes, it no more follows that we are bound to keep it holy in conformity with their practice, without a divine command to that effect, than that we are bound to observe the Jewish sabbath in conformity with the practice of the Philippians, or of Paul himself, Acts xvi. 13. *on the sabbath we went out of the city by a river side, where prayer was wont to be made.* xvii. 2. *Paul, as his manner was, went in unto them, and three sabbath-days reasoned with them out of the scripture.* xviii. 3, 4. *he abode with them and wrought ... and he reasoned in the synagogue every sabbath;* following his own occupation at home, as we have reason to believe, during the six remaining days.

Those therefore, who on the authority of an expression occurring only once in Scripture, keep holy a sabbath-day, for the consecration of which no divine command can be alleged, ought to consider the dangerous tendency of such an example, and the consequences with which it is likely to be followed in the interpretation of Scripture.

Hence we arrive at the following conclusions; first, that under the gospel no one day is appointed for divine worship in preference to another, except such as the church may set apart of its own authority for the voluntary assembling of its members, wherein, relinquishing all worldly affairs, we may dedicate ourselves wholly to religious services, so far as is consistent with the duties of charity; and, secondly, that this may conveniently take place once every seven days, and particu-

larly on the first day of the week;[7] provided always that it be observed in compliance with the authority of the church, and not in obedience to the edicts of the magistrate; and likewise that a snare be not laid for the conscience by the allegation of a divine commandment, borrowed from the decalogue; an error against which Paul diligently cautions us, Col. ii. 16. *let no man therefore judge you*, &c. For if we under the gospel are to regulate the time of our public worship by the prescriptions of the decalogue, it will surely be far safer to observe the seventh day, according to the express commandment of God, than on the authority of mere human conjecture to adopt the first. I perceive also that several of the best divines as BUCER, CALVIN, PETER MARTYR, MUSCULUS, URSINUS, GOMARUS, and others, concur in the opinions above expressed.[8]

[7] 'As therefore the seventh day is not moral, but a convenient recourse of worship in fit season, whether seventh or other number—.' *The likeliest Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church.* Prose Works, III. 367.

[8] Several of these divines are elsewhere mentioned by Milton in terms of commendation. 'Bucer (whom our famous Dr. Rainolds was wont to prefer before Calvin) in his comment on Matthew, and in his second book of the kingdom of Christ.....This book he wrote here in England, where he lived the greatest admired man.' *Tetrachordon.* Prose Works, II. 232. See also the address to the Parliament, prefixed to the Judgement of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce, 68—78. Peter Martyr is twice quoted with reference to the same subjects. *Ibid.* 67, 233. Musculus is also called 'a divine of no mean fame.' *Ibid.* 233. In proof of Milton's assertion that these divines agree with him on the subject of the sabbath, the following passages may be cited from their respective works. 'Sic de sabbatho. Quod septimo die, illa quæ a Judæis observatur numeratione, ab omni opere servili vacandum erat, præceptum legis externum fuit, solis Judæis, quibus datum exstitit, observandum, &c. .... Hæc ergo ad nos pertinent, illa Judæis recte relinquuntur.' BUCER. *in sacra quatuor Evangelia Enarrat. Perpet.* ad Matt. x. 9. 'Cæterum non dubium quin Domini Christi adventu, quod cæremoniale hic [in sabbatho] erat, abolitum fuerit. Ipse enim veritas est, cujus præsentia figuræ omnes evanescunt ..... Ideo sublatam umbram fuisse rei futuræ alibi scribit apostolus; corpus exstare in Christo, hoc est, solidam veritatis substantiam, quam illo loco bene explicavit. Ea non uno die contenta est, sed toto vitæ nostræ cursu, donec penitus nobismetipsis mortui, Dei vita impleamur. A Christianis ergo abesse debet superstitiosa dierum observatio,' &c. &c. CALVIN. *Instit. Christian.* cap. viii. Sect. 31. See also *Comment. in quinque libros Mosis,* nearly at the end of the preface to the remarks on the Mosaic law. 'Deinde quod locum Pauli Heb. iii. et iv. concernit, notandum est illud *hodie* non esse alligandum septimo diei, sed exigere a nobis perpetuam obedientiam

verbo Dei præstandam. Est enim nobis perpetuus sabbathismus, quo coram Deo in spiritu comparentes, majestatem illius celebramus, cum adoratione invocamus, ac vocem illius audimus; verum hic sensus et modus iste mystici sabbathismi non excludit ecclesiasticorum conventuum usum, sicut hodie fanatici quidam homines somniant, ac seipsos una cum aliis ab ecclesiæ conventibus abducunt.' Musculus, *Comment. in Psalm.* xcv. 8. 'Cum igitur sabbathum septimani diei typus fuerit, admonens populum et de suo officio, sive de pietate erga Deum, et de beneficio Dei erga populum per Christum præstando, una cum aliis cæremoniis, adventu Christi, per quem est impletum quod illa significabant, abrogatum est. Quod etiam Paulus testatur Col. ii.' &c. &c. Ursinus, *Tractat. Theolog. in expositione Quarti Præcepti.* 'Christiani respondent Judæis ..... sabbathum abrogatum ratione cæremoniæ et geminæ circumstantiæ, &c. ... deinde observatione septimi illius diei definiti. Quo modo appendix erat legis moralis, ad populum Judaicum solum pertinens.' Gomarus, *Oper. Theolog. in Explicatione Ep. ad Colossenses,* cap. ii. Peter Martyr, however, seems to hold a different opinion. 'Qui autem robustiori fide erant præditi, illi omnes dies perinde habuerunt. Dominicam tamen diem excipimus; pertinet enim ad decalogum, ut ex hebdomada integra unus dies divino cultui consecretur,' &c. *Comment. in Ep. ad Romanos,* cap. xiv.

CHAP. VIII.

OF

OUR DUTIES TOWARDS MEN;

AND

THE GENERAL VIRTUES BELONGING THERETO.

HITHERTO we have treated of the virtues comprehended in our DUTY TOWARDS GOD; we are next to speak of those which belong to our DUTY TOWARDS MEN; although even in these we may be considered as serving God, so long as they are done in obedience to the divine command. Matt. vii. 12. *all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets.* Col. iii. 23. *whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men.* James i. 26, 27. *if any man among you seem to be religious, and bridleth not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, this man's religion is vain: pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world.* 1 John iv. 20. *if a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar; for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?*

Inasmuch therefore as God is best served by internal worship, whereas man stands more in need of outward attention, the external service even of God is sometimes to be postponed to our duties towards men. Prov. xxi. 3. *to do justice and judgement is more accept-*

able to Jehovah than sacrifice. Jer. vii. 4, 5. *trust ye not in lying words, saying, The temple of Jehovah, the temple of Jehovah, the temple of Jehovah are these: for if ye throughly amend your ways and your doings—.* Matt. xii. 1, &c. *Jesus went on the sabbath-day through the corn; and his disciples were an hungred—.* v. 7. *I will have mercy, and not sacrifice.* xv. 5. *ye say, Whosoever shall say to his father or his mother, It is a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me, and honour not his father or his mother, he shall be free.* See also Mark vii. 11, 12. and ii. 27. *the sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath.*

The virtues connected with our duty towards man, are partly those which each individual owes to himself, and partly those which we owe to our neighbours. Lev. xix. 18. *thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.* See also Matt. xix. 19.

These virtues, like those relating to God, are either general or special.

The general virtues are LOVE and RIGHTEOUSNESS. In the first book I treated of love generally, and in its wider sense as identified with holiness; I now proceed to define it more particularly, with reference to its object, as follows. LOVE IS A GENERAL VIRTUE, INFUSED INTO BELIEVERS BY GOD THE FATHER IN CHRIST THROUGH THE SPIRIT, AND COMPREHENDING THE WHOLE DUTY OF LOVE OWING FROM EACH INDIVIDUAL TO HIMSELF AND HIS NEIGHBOUR. It is nowhere more fully described than in the whole thirteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, to which we shall have frequently to refer. Compare also 1 John iii. 18, 19. *my little children, let us not love in word, neither in tongue, but in deed and in truth: and hereby we know that we are of the truth, and shall assure our hearts before him.*

BY GOD, &c. 1 John iii. 10. *in this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil; whosoever doeth not righteousness*

..... neither he that loveth not his brother. iv. 7. *love is of God, and every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God.* Gal. v. 22. *the fruit of the Spirit is love.*

INTO BELIEVERS. Gal. v. 6. *faith that worketh by love.*

The opposite of this is uncharitableness; which renders all our other qualities and actions, however excellent in appearance, of no account. 1 Cor. xiii. 1, &c. *though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or as a tinkling cymbal.*

The other general virtue belonging to the regenerate is RIGHTEOUSNESS, whereby we render to each his due, whether to ourselves, or to our neighbour. Prov. xvi. 8. *better is a little with righteousness, than great revenues without right.* Isai. lxi. 8. *I Jehovah love judgement; I hate robbery for burnt-offering.* Matt. vii. 12. *all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.* Rom. xiii. 7. *render therefore to all their dues.*

Belonging to the regenerate. 1 John iii. 10. *in this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil; whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God.* Hence under righteousness is frequently included the observance of the whole law.

Opposed to this is, first, unrighteousness, which excludes from the kingdom of heaven. 1 Cor. vi. 9. *know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God?* Jer. xvii. 11. *as the partridge sitteth on eggs, and hatcheth them not, so he that getteth riches, and not by right, shall leave them in the midst of his days, and at his end shall be a fool.*

Secondly, a pharisaical righteousness. Matt. v. 20. *except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven.*

Both these general virtues, as has been stated above, are exercised partly towards ourselves, and partly towards our neighbour.

The love of man towards himself consists in loving himself next to God, and in seeking his own temporal and eternal good. Prov. xi. 17. *the merciful man doeth good to his own soul, but he that is cruel troubleth his own flesh.* xix. 8. *he that getteth wisdom loveth his own soul.* Eph. v. 29. *no man ever yet hated his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it.* Philipp. ii. 12. *work out your own salvation.* 1 Tim. v. 23. *drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake, and thine often infirmities.*

Opposed to this is, first, a perverse hatred of self.[9] Eph. v. 29. as above. In this class are to be reckoned those who lay violent hands on themselves, (who nevertheless are not excluded from decent burial, 2 Sam. xvii. 23.) and all who are guilty of presumptuous sin. Prov. viii. 36. *he that sinneth against me hateth his own soul; all they that hate me love death.* xxix. 24. *whoso is partner with a thief hateth his own soul.*

Secondly, a preposterous self-love, whereby a man loves himself more than God, or despises his neighbour in comparison of himself.

[9] Be penitent, and for thy fault contrite;
But act not in thy own affliction, son;
Repent the sin; but if the punishment
Thou canst avoid, self-preservation bids:
Or th' execution leave to high disposal,
And let another hand, not thine, exact
Thy penal forfeit from thyself: perhaps
God will relent, and quit thee all his debt;
Who ever more approves, and more accepts,
(Best pleas'd with humble and filial submission)
Him who, imploring mercy, sues for life,
Than who, self-rigorous, chooses death as due;
Which argues over-just, and self-displeas'd
For self-offence, more than for God offended. *Samson Agonistes*, 502.

In allusion to the former species of self-love Christ says, John xii. 25. *he that loveth his life shall lose it.* Respecting the latter see 2 Tim. iii. 2, &c. *men shall be lovers of themselves—.* On the contrary, those are commended, Rev. xii. 11. *who loved not their lives unto the death.* Matt. x. 39. *he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it.* See also Mark viii. 35, &c. Matt. xvi. 23. *he said unto Peter, Get thee behind me, Satan, thou art an offence unto me; for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men.*

Righteousness towards ourselves consists in a proper method of self-government. 1 Cor. ix. 27. *I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection.* From this, as from a fountain, the special virtues in general derive their origin; inasmuch as under the head of righteousness towards ourselves are included, first, the entire regulation of the internal affections; secondly, the discriminating pursuit of external good, and the resistance to, or patient endurance of, external evil.

The regulation of the affections. Prov. xxv. 28. *he that hath no rule over his own spirit is like a city that is broken down and hath no walls.* Gal. v. 16, 17. *the flesh lusteth against the Spirit....so that ye cannot do the things that ye would.* v. 24. *they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts.* Col. iii. 5. *mortify therefore your members that are upon the earth.* 1 Thess. iv. 4, 5. *that every one of you should know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour.* James i, 14, 15. *every man is tempted, when he is drawn away of his own lust, and enticed.* 1 Pet. iv. 2. *that he no longer should live the rest of his time in the flesh to the lusts of men, but to the will of God.*

The affections are love, hatred; joy, sorrow; hope, fear; and anger.

Love is to be so regulated, that our highest affections may be placed on the objects most worthy of them; in like manner, hatred is to be proportioned to the intrinsic hatefulness of the object. Gen. vi. 2. *the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair, and they*

took them—. 1 Sam. xvi. 7, 8. *look not on his countenance, or on the height of his stature.* Esth. ii. 15. *Esther obtained favour in the sight of all them that looked upon her.* Prov. vi. 25. *lust not after her beauty in thy heart.* xi. 22. *as a jewel of gold in a swine's snout, so is a fair woman which is without discretion.* Rom. xii. 9. *abhor that which is evil; cleave to that which is good.* 1 Cor. x. 6. *we should not lust after evil things.*

Our joy ought to be so regulated, that we may delight in things essentially good in proportion to their excellence, and in things indifferent so far only as is consistent with reason. The same rule is to be observed with regard to sorrow. Deut. xii. 7. *there shall ye eat before Jehovah your God, and ye shall rejoice—.* See also v. 12, 18. xxvi. 11. *thou shalt rejoice in every good thing which Jehovah thy God hath given unto thee.* Job xxii. 19. *the righteous see it, and are glad; and the innocent laugh them to scorn.* Psal. iv. 6—8. *lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us: thou hast put gladness in my heart more than in the time that their corn and their wine increased.* xxx. 11, 12. *thou hast turned for me my mourning into dancing.* lviii. 10. *the righteous shall rejoice when he seeth the vengeance; he shall wash his feet in the blood of the wicked.* cxxvi. 2. *then was our mouth filled with laughter.* Luke ii. 10. *I bring you good tidings of great joy.* xxiv. 52. *they returned to Jerusalem with great joy;* and to the same effect in many other passages. Prov. x. 23. *it is as sport to a fool to do mischief; but a man of understanding hath wisdom.* xv. 21. *folly is joy to him that is destitute of wisdom; but a man of understanding walketh uprightly.* xvii. 5. *whoso mocketh the poor, reproacheth his maker.* v. 22. *a merry heart doeth good like a medicine; but a broken spirit drieth the bones.* See also xviii. 14. xxvi. 19. *so is the man that deceiveth his neighbour, and saith, Am not I in sport?* Eccles. ii. 2. *I said of laughter, It is mad; and of mirth, What doeth it?* vii. 2—4. *it is better to go to the house of mourning, than to go to the house of feasting: for that is the end of all men.* Isai. xxii. 12, &c. *in that day did the Lord God of hosts call to weeping and to mourning . . . . . and behold joy and gladness—.*

Jer. xxxi. 4. *thou shalt again be adorned with thy tabrets, and shalt go forth in the dances of them that make merry.* v. 13. *then shall the virgin rejoice in the dance, both young men and old together, for I will turn their mourning into joy.* Lam. v. 15. *the joy of our heart is ceased, our dance is turned into mourning.* Amos vi. 6. *that drink wine in bowls .... but they are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph.* There are occasions on which tears are not unbecoming even a wise man. Gen. xlii. 24. *Joseph turned himself about from them, and wept.* Psal. cxix. 136. *rivers of waters run down mine eyes, because they keep not thy law.*

In the proper regulation of hope and fear, the cause, the object, and the degree of excitation are chiefly to be considered. Concerning hope, see above; concerning fear, Matt. x. 28. *fear not them which kill the body.* Isai. viii. 12, 13. compared with 1 Pet. iii. 14. *be not afraid of their terror.* Even the bravest may occasionally be influenced by fear. Gen. xxxii. 7. *then Jacob was greatly afraid.* Exod. ii. 14. *Moses feared.* 1 Kings xix. 3. *when he saw that, he arose and went for his life.* Psal. lv. 5—7. *because of the voice of the enemy ....fearfulness and trembling are come upon me.* 2 Chron. xx. 3. *Jehoshaphat feared.* Nehem. ii. 2. *then I was very sore afraid.*

In anger, we are to consider the motive for the passion, its degree, and duration. Prov. xvi. 32. *he that is slow to anger is better than the mighty, and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city.* xix. 11. *the discretion of a man deferreth his anger, and it is his glory to pass over a transgression.* Mark iii. 5. *when he had looked round upon them with anger, being grieved for the hardness of their hearts—.* Eph. iv. 2. *with long-suffering.* v. 26. *be ye angry, and sin not; let not the sun go down upon your wrath.* Col. i. 11. *unto all patience and long-suffering.*

The excess of anger is irascibility. Prov. xii. 16. *a fool's wrath is presently known.* xiv. 17. *he that is soon angry dealeth foolishly, and a man of wicked devices is hated.* xxii. 24, 25. *make no friendship with*

an angry man—. xxvii. 3. *a stone is heavy .... but a fool's wrath is heavier.* xxix. 22. *an angry man stirreth up strife.* Eccles. vii. 9. *be not hasty in thy spirit to be angry; for anger resteth in the bosom of fools.* Matt. v. 22. *whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause, shall be in danger of the judgement.* Eph. iv. 31. *let all wrath and anger.... be put away from you.* From this infirmity even the best of men are not always exempt. Acts xv. 38, 39. *the contention was so sharp between them, that,* &c.—.

From well-regulated affections proceeds the proper government of the tongue. Prov. xi. 9. *an hypocrite with his mouth destroyeth his neighbour; but through knowledge shall the just be delivered.* v. 11. *by the blessing of the upright the city is exalted; but it is overthrown by the mouth of the wicked.* xii. 14. *a man shall be satisfied with good by the fruit of his mouth.* xiii. 2. *a man shall eat good by the fruit of his mouth; but the soul of the transgressors shall eat violence.* xv. 2, 4, 7. *the tongue of the wise useth knowledge aright; but the mouth of fools poureth out foolishness.* v. 23. *a man hath joy by the answer of his mouth, and a word spoken in due season how good is it!* v. 28. *the heart of the righteous studieth to answer: but the mouth of the wicked poureth out evil things.* xvi. 1. *the answer of the tongue is from Jehovah.* v. 23, 27. *the heart of the wise teacheth his mouth, and addeth learning to his lips.* xviii. 13. *he that answereth a matter before he heareth it, it is folly and shame unto him.* xix. 28. *an ungodly witness scorneth judgement, and the mouth of the wicked devoureth iniquity.* xxix. 20. *seest thou a man that is hasty in his words? there is more hope of a fool than of him.* Matt. xii. 34, 36, 37. *how can ye, being evil, speak good things? for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.* James iii. 2, &c. *if any man offend not in word, the same is a perfect man.* Psal. cxli. 3. *set a watch, O Jehovah, before my mouth; keep the door of my lips.* Prov. xviii. 21. *death and life are in the power of the tongue.* xxi. 23. *whoso keepeth his mouth and his tongue, keepeth his soul from troubles.*

CHAP. IX.

OF THE FIRST CLASS OF SPECIAL VIRTUES CONNECTED WITH THE DUTY OF MAN TOWARDS HIMSELF.

THE SPECIAL VIRTUES which regulate our desire of external advantages, have reference either to bodily gratifications, or to the possessions which enrich and adorn life.

The virtue which prescribes bounds to the desire of bodily gratification, is called TEMPERANCE. Tit. ii. 11, 12. *the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared unto all men, teaching us that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world.* 1 Pet. ii. 11. *as strangers and pilgrims, abstain from fleshly lusts which war against the soul.* 2 Pet. ii. 9. *the Lord knoweth how ..... to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgement to be punished; but chiefly them that walk after the flesh in the lust of uncleanness.*

Under temperance are comprehended sobriety and chastity, modesty and decency.

SOBRIETY consists in abstinence from immoderate eating and drinking.[1] 1 Thess. v. 8. *let us, who are of the day, be sober.* 1 Pet. i. 13.

[1] Abstinence in diet, says a biographer of Milton, was one of his favourite virtues, which he practised invariably through life, and availed himself of every opportunity to recommend in his writings. He is reported to have partaken rarely of wine or of any strong liquors.

In

wherefore gird up the loins of your mind, be sober. iv. 7. *the end of all things is at hand; be ye therefore sober, and watch unto prayer.* v. 8. *be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about seeking whom he may devour.* Esther i. 8. *the drinking was according to law; none did compel: for so the king had appointed to all the officers of his house, that they should do according to every man's pleasure.*

The opposites of this virtue are drunkenness and gluttony; instances of which may be seen in Noah, Gen. ix. Lot, Gen. xix. and Benhadad, 1 Kings xx. 16. Prov. xx. 1. *wine is a mocker.* xxi. 17. *he that loveth wine.....shall not be rich.* xxiii. 3, &c. *be not desirous of his dainties, for they are deceitful meat.* v. 20, 21. *be not among wine-bibbers, among riotous eaters of flesh—.* v. 29—32. *who hath woe? who hath sorrow? who hath contentions? who hath babbling? who hath wounds without cause? who hath redness of eyes? they that tarry long at the wine.* Isai. v. 11, 12. *woe unto them that rise up early in the morning, that they may follow strong drink.....but they regard not the work of Jehovah.* v. 22. *woe unto them that are mighty to drink wine.* xxviii. 1, 3, 7, 8. *woe to the crown of pride, to the drunkards of Ephraim—.*

In his *Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing,* the following passage occurs: 'How great a virtue is temperance, how much of moment through the whole life of man! Yet God commits the managing so great a trust, without particular law or prescription, wholly to the demeanour of every grown man.' Prose Works, I. 298. Again, in *Paradise Lost:*

> ..... well observe
> The rule of *Not too much,* by temperance taught,
> In what thou eat'st and drink'st, seeking from thence
> Due nourishment, not gluttonous delight,
> Till many years over thy head return. XI. 530.

See also *Samson Agonistes,* 542, &c. and the second elegy to Deodati. In the *Apology for Smectymnuus,* he vindicates himself with some indignation against the charge of being a sack-drinker, which one of his opponents had brought against him. He concludes his defence with the following sentence. 'For the readers [of the book in which the accusation appeared], if they can believe me, principally for those reasons which I have alleged, to be of life and purpose neither dishonest nor unchaste, they will be easily induced to think me sober both of wine and of word; but if I have been already successless in persuading them, all that I can further say will be but vain; and it will be better thrift to save two tedious labours, mine of excusing, and theirs of needless hearing.' Prose Works, I. 126.

Ezek. xvi. 49. *behold, this was the iniquity of thy sister Sodom, pride, fulness of bread.* Luke xxi. 34. *take heed to yourselves, lest at any time your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting, and drunkenness, and cares of this life, and so that day come upon you unawares.* Rom. xiii. 13. *let us walk honestly, as in the day; not in rioting and drunkenness.* 1 Cor. vi. 10. *nor drunkards.....shall inherit the kingdom of God.* Gal. v. 21. *drunkenness, revellings, and such like.....shall not inherit the kingdom of God.* Hos. iv. 10. *they shall eat, and not have enough.* vii. 5. *in the day of our king the princes have made him sick with bottles of wine.* Habak. ii. 15. *woe unto him that giveth his neighbour drink.* Eph. v. 18. *be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess; but—.* 1 Pet. iv. 3, 4. *the time past of our lives may suffice us ..... when we walked in lasciviousness, lusts, excess of wine, revellings, banquetings ..... wherein they think it strange that ye run not with them to the same excess of riot.*

Allied to sobriety is watchfulness. Matt. xxiv. 42. *watch therefore; for ye know not what hour your lord doth come.* See also xxv. 13. xxvi. 41. Mark xiii. 35. v. 37. *what I say unto you, I say unto all, Watch.* Luke xii. 37. *blessed are those servants, whom the lord when he cometh shall find watching.* xxi. 36. *watch ye therefore and pray always, that ye may be accounted worthy to escape all these things that shall come to pass.* Col. iv. 2. *continue in prayer, and watch—.* 1 Thess. v. 6. *therefore let us not sleep, as do others; but let us watch and be sober.* 1 Pet. v. 8. *be sober, be vigilant.* Rev. iii. 3. *if therefore thou shalt not watch, I will come upon thee as a thief in the night.* xvi. 15. *blessed is he that watcheth, and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked.* In most of these passages it appears that the watchfulness spoken of refers less to the sleep of the body, than to the lethargy of the mind.

The opposite to this is an excessive love of sleep.[2] Prov. xx. 13. *love not sleep, lest thou come to poverty.*

[2] Milton's habit of early rising is mentioned by all his biographers. In summer he rose at four, in winter at five; or if he remained in bed beyond these hours, he employed a person to read to him from the time of his awaking. He has left the following account of

CHASTITY consists in temperance as regards the unlawful lusts of the flesh; which is also called sanctification. 1 Thess. iv. 3. *this is the will of God, even your sanctification, that ye should abstain from fornication.* Rev. xiv. 4. *these are they which were not defiled with women, for they are virgins: these are they which follow the Lamb.*

To chastity are opposed all kinds of impurity; effeminacy, sodomy, bestiality, &c. which are offences against ourselves in the first instance, and tending to our own especial injury.[3] 1 Cor. vi. 15, 16. *know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ? shall I then take,* &c.—*? what, know ye not that he which is joined to an harlot is one body?*—.

of his mode of living during his early years in the *Apology for Smectymnuus.* 'Those morning haunts are where they should be, at home; not sleeping, or concocting the surfeits of an irregular feast, but up and stirring, in winter often ere the sound of any bell awake men to labour or devotion; in summer as oft with the bird that first rouses, or not much tardier, to read good authors or cause them to be read, till the attention be weary, or memory have its full fraught: then with useful and generous labours preserving the body's health and hardiness to render lightsome, clear, and not lumpish obedience to the mind, to the cause of religion, and our country's liberty, when it shall require firm hearts in sound bodies to stand and cover their stations, rather than to see the ruin of our protestation, and the inforcement of a slavish life.' Prose Works, I. 220.

[3] The same enemy of Milton who was alluded to in a preceding page as charging him with intemperance in drinking, also accuses him of licentiousness, and of frequenting 'play-houses and the bordelloes.' The imputation is thus repelled: 'Having had the doctrine of Holy Scripture, unfolding those chaste and high mysteries, with timeliest care infused, that *the body is for the Lord, and the Lord for the body,* thus also I argued to myself, that if unchastity in a woman, whom St. Paul terms the glory of man, be such a scandal and dishonour, then certainly in a man, who is both the image and glory of God, it must, though commonly not so thought, be much more deflowering and dishonourable; in that he sins both against his own body, which is the perfecter sex, and his own glory, which is in the woman; and that which is worst, against the image and glory of God, which is in himself. Nor did I slumber over that place expressing such high rewards of ever accompanying the Lamb, with those celestial songs to others inapprehensible, but not to those who were not defiled with women, which doubtless means fornication, for marriage must not be called a defilement. Thus large I have purposely been, that if I have been justly taxed with this crime, it may come upon me, after all this my confession, with a tenfold shame; but if I have hitherto deserved no such opprobrious word or suspicion, I may hereby engage myself now openly to the faithful observation of what I have professed.' *Apology for Smectymnuus.* Prose Works, I. 226. See also the noble passage in *Comus,* 418—475.

v. 18. *flee fornication: every sin that man doeth is without the body; but he that committeth fornication, sinneth against his own body.* See also Prov. vi. 24, &c. Gen. xxxviii. 9, 10. *the thing which he did displeased the Lord.* Exod. xxii. 19. *whosoever lieth with a beast shall surely be put to death.* Lev. xviii. 22, 23. *thou shalt not lie with mankind.* Deut. xxiii. 17. *there shall be no whore of the daughters of Israel, nor,* &c. xxvii. 21. *cursed is he that lieth with any manner of beast.* Prov. ii. 16. *to deliver thee from the strange woman.* v. 3, &c. *the lips of a strange woman drop as an honeycomb.* vi. 24. *to keep thee from the evil woman.* See also v. 32. vii. 25. *let not thine heart decline to her ways.* ix. 18. *he knoweth not that the dead are there—.* xxii. 14. *the mouth of strange women is a deep pit.* See also xxiii. 26, 27. xxx. 20. *such is the way of an adulterous woman; she eateth, and wipeth her mouth, and saith, I have done no wickedness.* 1 Kings xiv. 24. *there were also sodomites in the land.* Rom. xiii. 13. *not in chambering and wantonness.* 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10. *be not deceived; neither fornicators... nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind ... shall inherit the kingdom of God.* v. 13, &c. *the body is not for fornication, but for the Lord, and the Lord for the body.* Eph. v. 3—5. *fornication and all uncleanness...let it not be once named among you, as becometh saints..... nor filthiness....which are not convenient...for this ye know, that no whoremonger, nor unclean person .... hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God.*

Modesty consists in refraining from all obscenity of language or action, in short, from whatever is inconsistent with the strictest decency of behaviour in reference to sex or person. Deut. xxv. 11, 12. *when men strive together,* &c. Job xxxi. 1. *I made a covenant with mine eyes,* &c. 1 Cor. xi. 10. *for this cause ought the woman to have power on her head, because of the angels.* Heb. xii. 28. *we may serve God acceptably, with reverence and godly fear.* 2 Kings iv. 15. *when he had called her, she stood in the door.* The same ideas of womanly decorum existed even among the Gentiles. Thus Homer introduces Penelope:

... στῆ ῥα παρὰ σταθμὸν τέγεος πύκα ποιητοῖο. *Odyss.* ά. 333.

She . . . . . beneath
The portal of her stately mansion stood. I. 414. *Cowper's Translation.*

Opposed to this are obscene conversation, and filthy and licentious gestures. Isai. iii. 16, &c. *therefore Jehovah will smite with a scab the crown of the head of the daughters of Zion, and Jehovah will discover their secret parts.* Matt. v. 28. *whosoever looketh on a woman,* &c. Eph. v. 4. *neither filthiness, nor foolish talking, nor jesting, which are not convenient.* 2 Pet. ii. 14. *having eyes full of adultery.*

Decency consists in refraining from indecorum or lasciviousness in dress or personal appearance. Exod. xx. 26. *neither shalt thou go up by steps unto mine altar, that thy nakedness be not discovered thereon.* Deut. xxii. 5. *the woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment; for all that do so are abomination unto Jehovah thy God.* Zeph. i. 8. *it shall come to pass....that I will punish all such as are clothed in strange apparel.* Matt. xi. 8. *they that wear soft clothing are in kings' houses.* 1 Tim. ii. 9. *in like manner also that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety, not with broidered hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array.* 1 Pet. iii. 3. *whose adorning let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel.* 2 Kings ix. 30. *she painted her face,* &c.

Moderation in the enjoyment of temporal possessions manifests itself in the virtues of contentment, frugality, industry, and a liberal spirit.

Contentment is that virtue whereby a man is inwardly satisfied with the lot assigned him by divine providence. Prov. x. 22. *the blessing of Jehovah, it maketh rich.* xxx. 8. *give me neither poverty nor riches; feed me with food convenient for me.* Eccles. iii. 12, 13. *I know that there is no good in them, but for a man to rejoice and to do good in his life; and also that every man should eat and drink, and enjoy the good of all his labour, it is the gift of God.* v. 18, &c. *behold*

that which I have seen; it is good and comely for one to eat and to drink, and to enjoy the good of all the labour that he taketh under the sun all the days of his life which God giveth him, for it is his portion; every man also to whom God hath given riches and wealth, and hath given him power to eat thereof, and to take his portion and rejoice in his labour; this is the gift of God: for he shall not much remember the days of his life; because God answereth him in the joy of his heart. vi. 1, 2. *there is an evil which I have seen under the sun, and it is common among men; a man to whom God hath given riches, wealth, and honour, so that he wanteth nothing for his soul of all that he desireth, yet God giveth him not power to eat thereof, but a stranger eateth it.* ix. 9, 10. *live joyfully with the wife whom thou lovest—.* Zech. ix. 16, 17. *how great is his goodness, and how great is his beauty!—.* Philipp. iv. 11, 12. *not that I speak in respect of want; for I have learned in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content: I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound; every where, and in all things, I am instructed both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need.* 1 Tim. vi. 6, 7. *godliness with contentment is great gain; for we brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out: and having food and raiment let us therewith be content.* Heb. xiii. 5. *be content with such things as ye have.* Even in poverty. Psal. xxiii. 1, 2. *Jehovah is my shepherd; I shall not want.* xxxiv. 9, &c. *there is no want to them that fear him; the young lions do lack and suffer hunger—.* xxxvii. 16, 18, 19. *a little that a righteous man hath is better,* &c.... *they shall not be ashamed in the evil time, and in the days of famine they shall be satisfied.* xl. 17. *I am poor and needy, yet Jehovah thinketh upon me—.* lxviii. 10. *thou hast prepared of thy goodness for the poor.* Prov. x. 3. *Jehovah will not suffer the soul of the righteous to famish.* Hence poverty is not to be accounted a disgrace. Prov. xvii. 5. *whoso mocketh the poor, reproacheth his maker.* xix. 1. *better is the poor that walketh in his integrity, than he that is perverse in his lips.* xxviii. 6. *better is the poor that walketh in his uprightness, than he that is perverse in his ways, though he be rich.* v. 11. *the rich man is wise in his own conceit, but the poor that hath understanding searcheth him out.* We are forbidden to glory in riches, or

to put our confidence in them. Prov. xi. 28. *he that trusteth in his riches shall fall.* Eccles. vi. 11. *seeing there be many things that multiply vanity—.* Mark x. 23—25. *how hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God!.....it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle—.* 1 Tim. vi. 17, 18. *charge them that are rich in this world that they be not high-minded, nor trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God.* 2 Kings xx. 13, 14. *Hezekiah hearkened unto them, and showed them all the house of his precious things.*

Opposed to this are, first, anxiety respecting the necessaries of life. Matt. vi. 25, &c. *take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on.* v. 33. *seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you.*

Secondly, covetousness. Job xx. 15. *he hath swallowed down riches, and he shall vomit them up again.* Josh. vii. 21. *when I saw among the spoils,* &c..... *then I coveted them and took them.* Psal. cxix. 36. *incline my heart unto thy testimonies, and not to covetousness.* Prov. i. 19. *so are the ways of every one that is greedy of gain, which taketh away the life of the owners thereof.* xv. 27. *he that is greedy of gain troubleth his own house.* xx. 21. *an inheritance may be gotten hastily at the beginning, but the end thereof shall not be blessed.* Eccles. ii. 26. *to the sinner he giveth travail, to gather and to heap up, that he may give to him that is good before God.* iv. 8. *there is one alone, and there is not a second; yea, he hath neither child nor brother, yet is there no end of all his labour, neither is his eye satisfied with riches.* v. 10. *he that loveth silver, shall not be satisfied with silver.* Isai. lvii. 17. *for the iniquity of his covetousness was I wroth, and smote him.* Matt. vi. 19. *lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt.* xxvii. 5. *he cast down the pieces of silver,* &c. Luke xii. 15. *take heed and beware of covetousness: for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things that he possesseth.* 1 Tim. vi. 9, &c. *they that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts.* Heb. xiii. 5. *let your*

conversation be without covetousness. For covetousness is idolatry. Matt. vi. 24. *ye cannot serve God and mammon.* Eph. v. 5. *nor covetous man, who is an idolater.* Col. iii. 5. *covetousness, which is idolatry.* It is likewise styled the root of all evil. 1 Tim. vi. 10. *the love of money is the root of all evil; which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith.*

Thirdly, a murmuring against the wisdom of God in making provision for the wants of this life. Jude 16. *these are murmurers, complainers, walking after their own lusts, and their mouth speaketh great swelling words, having men's persons in admiration because of advantage.*

FRUGALITY consists in avoiding expense, so far as is seemly, and in wasting nothing which is capable of being applied to an useful purpose. John vi. 12. *gather up the fragments that remain.*

The opposite of this is penuriousness. 1 Sam. xxv. 3. *the man was churlish.* v. 11. *shall I then take my bread, and my water....and give it unto men?* Eccles. vi. 2. *a man to whom God hath given riches, wealth, and honour, so that he wanteth nothing for his soul of all that he desireth, yet God giveth him not power to eat thereof, but a stranger eateth it.*

INDUSTRY is that by which we honestly provide for ourselves the means of comfortable living. Gen. ii. 15. *to dress it and to keep it.* iii. 19. *in the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread.* Prov. x. 4. *he becometh poor that dealeth with a slack hand.* v. 5. *he that gathereth in summer is a wise son.* xii. 11. *he that tilleth his land shall be satisfied with bread.* xiv. 23. *in all labour there is profit.* xxi. 5. *the thoughts of the diligent tend only to plenteousness, but of every one that is hasty only to want.* xxii. 29. *seest thou a man diligent in his business? he shall stand before kings.* 1 Thess. iv. 11, 12. *work with your own hands, as we commanded you; that ye may walk honestly toward them that are without, and that ye may have lack of nothing.* 2 Thess. iii. 12. *we exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and eat their own bread.*

The opposite of this is remissness in making provision for the necessaries of life. Prov. vi. 6. *go to the ant, thou sluggard.* x. 5. *he that sleepeth in harvest is a son that causeth shame.* xiii. 4. *the soul of the sluggard desireth, and hath nothing.* xix. 24. *a slothful man hideth his hand in his bosom.* xx. 4. *the sluggard will not plow by reason of the cold; therefore shall he beg in harvest and have nothing.* xxi. 25. *the desire of the slothful killeth him, for his hands refuse to labour.* xxii. 13. *the slothful man says, There is a lion in the streets.* xxiv. 30. *I went by the field of the slothful.* xxvi. 14. *as the door turneth upon his hinges,* &c. xxviii. 19. *he that followeth after vain persons shall have poverty enough.* Eccles. iv. 5, 6. *the fool foldeth his hands together, and eateth his own flesh: better is an handful with quietness, than both the hands full with travail and vexation of spirit.* 2 Thess. iii. 10. *if any would not work, neither should he eat.*

LIBERALITY is a temperate use of our honest acquisitions in the provision of food and raiment, and of the elegancies of life.

In the provision of food. Gen. xxi. 8. *Abraham made a great feast.* Job i. 5. *it was so, when the days of their feasting were gone about, that Job sent and sanctified them.* Psal. xxiii. 5. *thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies; thou anointest mine head with oil; my cup runneth over.* civ. 15. *wine that maketh glad the heart of man, and oil to make his face to shine—.* Prov. xxxi. 6. *give strong drink unto him that is ready to perish.* Dan. x. 3. *I ate no pleasant bread.* Luke v. 29. *Levi made him a great feast.* John xii. 2, 3. *there they made him a supper ..... then took Mary a pound of ointment of spikenard, very costly.* Acts xiv. 17. *filling our hearts with food and gladness.*

Of the elegancies of life. Gen. xxiv. 22. *the man took a golden ear-ring of half a shekel weight—.* 2 Sam. i. 24. *who clothed you in scarlet, with other delights, who put on ornaments of gold upon your apparel.* Prov. xiv. 24. *the crown of the wise is their riches.* xxxi.

22, 25. *she maketh herself coverings of tapestry—.* Eccles. ix. 8. *let thy garments be always white, and let thy head lack no ointment.*

The opposite of this is luxury. Prov. xxi. 17. *he that loveth pleasure shall be a poor man; he that loveth wine and oil shall not be rich.* Luke xvi. 19. *there was a certain rich man which was clothed in purple and fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day.*

The virtues more peculiarly appropriate to a high station are lowliness of mind and magnanimity.

Lowliness of mind consists in thinking humbly of ourselves, and in abstaining from self-commendation, except where occasion requires it. Exod. iii. 11. *who am I, that I should go unto Pharaoh?* Psal. cxxxi. 1. *my heart is not haughty, nor mine eyes lofty, neither do I exercise myself in great matters, or in things too high for me.* Prov. xi. 2. *with the lowly is wisdom.* xii. 9. *a man that is despised and hath a servant, is better than he that honoureth himself.* xv. 33. *before honour is humility.* See also xviii. 12. xvi. 19. *better is it to be of an humble spirit with the lowly, than to divide the spoil with the proud.* xxix. 23. *honour shall uphold the humble in spirit.* Jer. i. 6, 7. *ah Lord..... I am a child.* Dan. ii. 31. *this secret is not revealed to me for any wisdom that I have more than any living.* Matt. xxiii. 12. *he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.* Rom. xii. 10. *in honour preferring one another.* 2 Cor. x. 13. *we will not boast of things without our measure, but according to the measure of the rule,* &c. v. 15. *not boasting of things without our measure—.* Eph. iii. 8. *unto me who am less than the least of all saints—.* v. 21. *submitting yourselves one to another in the fear of God.* Philipp. ii. 3. *in lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than themselves.*

In abstaining from self-commendation, except where occasion requires it. Job xii. 3. *I have understanding as well as you, I am not inferior to you.* xiii. 2. *what ye know, the same do I know also.* xxix. 8, &c. *the young men saw me, and hid themselves, and the aged*

arose and stood up. Judges v. 7. *until I Deborah arose, that I arose a mother in Israel.* Eccles. i. 16. *lo, I am come to great estate, and have gotten more wisdom than all they that have been before me.*

Opposed to this are, first, arrogance. Prov. xx. 6. *most men will proclaim every one his own goodness.* xxvi. 16. *the sluggard is wiser in his own conceit, than seven men that can render a reason.* James iii. 1. *be not many masters, knowing that we shall receive the greater condemnation.*

Secondly, a desire of vain glory. Matt. xxiii. 12. *whosoever shall exalt himself shall be abased.* John v. 41. *I receive not honour from men.* v. 44. *how can ye believe, which receive honour one of another?* xii. 42, 43. *they loved the praise of men more than the praise of God.* Gal. v. 26. *let us not be desirous of vain glory.* 1 Thess. ii. 6. *nor of men sought we glory, neither of you, nor yet of others.*

Thirdly, boasting. Prov. xxv. 14. *whoso boasteth himself of a false gift, is like clouds and wind without rain.*

Fourthly, a crafty or hypocritical extenuation of our own merits, for the purpose of extorting greater praises.

Fifthly, a glorying in iniquity and misdeeds. Psal. lii. 1. *why boastest thou thyself in mischief, O thou mighty man?* Isai. iii. 9. *they declare their sin as Sodom, they hide it not; woe unto their soul, for they have rewarded evil unto themselves.*

Allied to lowliness is the love of an unspotted reputation, and of the praises of good men, with a proportionate contempt for those of the wicked. Psal. cxix. 22. *remove from me reproach and contempt; for I have kept thy testimonies.* v. 39. *turn away my reproach, which I fear.* Prov. xxii. 1. *a good name is rather to be chosen than great riches, and loving favour rather than silver and gold.* Eccles. vii. 1;

a good name is better than precious ointment. 1 Kings xviii. 13. *was it not told my lord what I did, when Jezebel slew the prophets of Jehovah?* Neh. v. 14, 15. *so did not I, because of the fear of God.* Matt. v. 11. *blessed are ye when men.....shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake.* 2 Cor. vi. 8. *by honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report, as deceivers and yet true.* Heb. xi. 24—26. *esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures in Egypt.* xiii. 13. *let us go forth therefore unto him without the camp, bearing his reproach.*

Opposed to this is a shameless disregard of reputation. Luke xviii. 2. *which feared not God, neither regarded man.*

Secondly, an excessive and indiscriminate passion for esteem and praise, from whatever quarter. Prov. xxvii. 2. *let another man praise thee, and not thine own mouth.* Matt. xxiii. 5. *all their works they do for to be seen of men.* Luke vi. 26. *woe unto you, when all men shall speak well of you.*

Magnanimity is shown, when in the seeking or avoiding, the acceptance or refusal of riches, advantages, or honours, we are actuated by a regard to our own dignity, rightly understood. Thus Abraham did not refuse the gifts of the king of Egypt, Gen. xii. 13. xx. 14. though he rejected those of the king of Sodom, xiv. 22, 23. and though he declined to accept the field offered him by Ephron the Hittite, except on payment of its full value, xxiii. 13. Thus also Job, although restored to his former health and prosperity, did not disdain the congratulatory offerings of his friends, xlii. 11. In this spirit Gideon refused the kingdom, Judges viii. 23. The same disposition accompanied Joseph in his exaltation from a prison to the first honours of the empire, Gen. xli. So also Daniel ii. 48, 49. *then the king made Daniel a great man, and gave him many great gifts.* On the other hand, chap. v. 17. *he answered and said before the king, Let thy gifts be to thyself, and give thy rewards to another;* but v. 29. *Belshazzar commanded, and*

they clothed Daniel with scarlet. He was actuated by the same temper in refusing and in accepting dignities. vi. 2. *over these were three presidents, of whom Daniel was first.* Such was also the spirit of Nehemiah in asking honours, ii. 5. *I said unto the king, If it please the king, and if thy servant hath found favour in thy sight, that thou wouldest send me into Judah;* of Samuel in laying down his authority, 1 Sam. x. 1. *then Samuel took a vial of oil, and poured it upon his head, and kissed him, and said, Is it not because Jehovah hath anointed thee—?* of Elisha in refusing a reward for the cure he had wrought, 2 Kings v. 15, 16. *as Jehovah liveth, before whom I stand, I will receive none;* of Christ in rejecting the empire of the world, Matt. iv. 9. *all these things will I give thee, if,* &c. Luke iv. 6. John vi. 15. *when Jesus therefore perceived that they would come and take him by force to make him a king, he departed—;* in despising riches, 2 Cor. viii. 9. *though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor;* in accepting honours, Matt. xxi. 7, &c. *they brought the ass, and the colt..... and they set him thereon.* Such, finally, is the spirit by which every true Christian is guided in his estimate of himself. James i. 9, 10. *let the brother of low degree rejoice in that he is exalted; but the rich in that he is made low.*

Allied to this is indignation at the unfounded praises or undeserved prosperity of the wicked. Prov. xxx. 21, &c. *for three things the earth is disquieted, and for four which it cannot bear; for a servant when he reigneth, and a fool when he is filled with meat; for an odious woman when she is married, and an handmaid that is heir to her mistress.* When however this feeling exceeds due bounds, it ceases to be praiseworthy. Psal. xxxvii. 1. *fret not thyself because of evil doers.* v. 7, 8. *fret not thyself because of him who prospereth in his way, because of the man who bringeth wicked devices to pass.* Prov. iii. 31. *envy thou not the oppressor, and choose none of his ways.* The language of indignation is used, Job xxx. 1, &c. Psal. xv. 4. *in whose eyes a vile person is contemned, but he honoureth them that fear Jehovah.* The vehemence of its expression sometimes borders on indecency. See Ezek. xvi. 25, 36.

Opposed to magnanimity are, first, an ambitious spirit. Numb. xii. 2. *hath Jehovah indeed spoken only by Moses? hath he not spoken also by us?* xvi. 3. *seeing all the congregation are holy, every one of them, and Jehovah is among them: wherefore then lift ye up yourselves above the congregation of Jehovah?* Judges ix. 1, 2. *Abimelech went to Shechem.... and communed with them..... saying, Speak, I pray you, in the ears of all the men of Shechem,* &c. 2 Sam. xv. 2. *Absalom rose up early, and stood beside the way of the gate—.* v. 4. *O that I were made judge in this land—.* Prov. xxv. 27. *for men to search their own glory is not glory.*

Secondly, pride, when a man values himself without merit, or more highly than his merits deserve, or is elated by some insignificant circumstance. 2 Sam. xxii. 28. *thine eyes are upon the haughty, that thou mayest bring them down.* Prov. vi. 16, 17. *these six things doth Jehovah hate.....a proud look—.* xv. 25. *Jehovah will destroy the house of the proud.* xvi. 5. *every one that is proud in heart is an abomination to Jehovah.* v. 18. *pride goeth before destruction.* xviii. 12. *before destruction the heart of man is haughty.* xxi. 4. *an high look, and a proud heart—.* xxix. 23. *a man's pride shall bring him low.*

Thirdly, pusillanimity; of which Saul when chosen king is an example, 1 Sam. x. 21, 22. *when they sought him, he could not be found:... behold, he hath hid himself among the stuff.*

CHAP. X.

OF THE SECOND CLASS OF VIRTUES CONNECTED WITH THE DUTY OF MAN TOWARDS HIMSELF.

THE virtues which regulate our desire of external good have been spoken of; we are next to consider those which are exercised in the resistance to, or the endurance of evil.

These virtues are fortitude and patience.

FORTITUDE is chiefly conspicuous in repelling evil, or in regarding its approach with equanimity. Josh. i. 6, 7, 9. *have not I commanded thee? be strong and of a good courage; be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed.* Heb. xi. 32, &c. *the time would fail me to tell of Gideon, &c. who through faith subdued kingdoms.* Psal. iii. 9. *I will not be afraid of ten thousands of people that have set themselves against me round about.* See Psal. xviii. 32, &c. xxiii. 4. *though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for thou art with me.* xxxvii. 12, &c. *the wicked plotteth against the just ..... the wicked have drawn out the sword ..... their sword shall enter into their own heart.* xlvi. 1, 2. *God is our refuge and strength ..... therefore will we not fear, though the earth be removed.* lvi. 11. *in God have I put my trust; I will not be afraid what man can do unto me.* See also cxviii. 6. cxii. 7, 8. *he shall not be afraid of evil tidings.* Prov. iii. 24, 25. *when thou liest down, thou shalt not be afraid.* xxiv. 5, 6. *a wise man is strong; yea, a man of knowledge increaseth strength.* xxviii. 1.

the righteous are bold as a lion. Isai. xli. 10. *fear thou not, for I am with thee.* li. 7. *fear ye not the reproach of men, neither be ye afraid of their revilings.* v. 12. *I am he that comforteth you; who art thou that thou shouldest be afraid—?* Dan. iii. 16. *they said to the king....we are not careful to answer thee in this matter.* Matt. x. 28, &c. *fear not them which kill the body—.* The great pattern of fortitude is our Saviour Jesus Christ, throughout the whole of his life, and in his death. Luke xiii. 31, &c. *go ye and tell that fox, Behold, I cast out devils, and I do cures to-day and to-morrow, and the third day I shall be perfected.* John xi. 7, 8. *his disciples say unto him, Master, the Jews of late sought to stone thee, and goest thou thither again?* 2 Tim. i. 7. *God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind.* 1 John ii. 14. *I have written unto you, young men, because ye are strong, and the word of God abideth in you, and ye have overcome the wicked one.*

Opposed to fortitude are, first, timidity. Psal. xxvii. 1. *Jehovah is my light and my salvation, whom shall I fear?* Prov. x. 24. *the fear of the wicked, it shall come upon him.* xxv. 26. *a righteous man falling down before the wicked, is as a troubled fountain and a corrupt spring.* xxviii. 1. *the wicked flee when no man pursueth.* xxix. 25. *the fear of man bringeth a snare.* Isai. xli. 13, 14. *fear not, thou worm Jacob.* Nehem. vi. 11. *should such a man as I flee?* Matt. xxiv. 6. *ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars: see that ye be not troubled.* Rev. xxi. 8. *the fearful and unbelieving....shall have their part in the lake that burneth—.*

Secondly, rashness, which consists in exposing ourselves to danger unnecessarily. Prov. xiv. 16. *a wise man feareth and departeth from evil; but the fool rageth, and is confident.* This fault is exemplified in Amaziah, 2 Kings xiv. 8. *come, let us look one another in the face;* and in Josiah, 2 Chron. xxxv. 20—22. *he sent ambassadors unto him, saying ...nevertheless Josiah would not turn his face from him—.* Christ has taught us to avoid it by his example. John vii. 1. *he would not walk in Jewry, because the Jews sought to kill him.* xi. 53, 54. *Jesus there-*

fore walked no more openly among the Jews. Matt. x. 23. *when they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another.*

PATIENCE consists in the endurance of misfortunes and injuries. Psal. lxix. 7. *for thy sake I have borne reproach, shame hath covered my face.* Prov. xi. 12. *he that is void of wisdom despiseth his neighbour; but a man of understanding holdeth his peace.* xvii. 27. *he that hath knowledge spareth his words, and a man of understanding is of an excellent spirit.* xix. 11. *the discretion of a man deferreth his anger.* Eccles. vii. 21. *also take no heed unto all words that are spoken, lest thou hear thy servant curse thee.* Isai. l. 7, 8. *I have set my face like a flint—.* Matt. v. 39. *resist not evil, but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.* 1 Cor. vi. 7. *why do ye not rather take wrong?* 1 Thess. v. 14. *be patient towards all men.* See above, on patience towards God. Compensation for injuries, nevertheless, is occasionally exacted even by pious men. Acts xvi. 37. *they have beaten us openly uncondemned,* &c.

The opposites to this are, first, impatience and effeminacy of temper. Prov. xxiv. 10. *if thou faint in the day of adversity, thy strength is small.*

Secondly, an hypocritical patience, which voluntarily inflicts upon itself unnecessary evils. This is exemplified in the prophets of Baal, 1 Kings xviii. 28. *they cut themselves after their manner with knives;* and in the flagellations of the modern Papists.

Lastly, a stoical apathy; for sensibility to pain, and even lamentations, are not inconsistent with true patience; as may be seen in Job and the other saints, when under the pressure of affliction.[4]

[4] This distinction is well illustrated in the character of Samson, throughout the drama which bears that name.

CHAP. XI.

OF
THE DUTIES OF MAN TOWARDS HIS NEIGHBOUR,
AND
THE VIRTUES COMPREHENDED UNDER THOSE DUTIES.

HITHERTO we have treated of the duties of charity and justice owing from man TO HIMSELF; we are next to consider the same virtues as exercised towards OUR NEIGHBOUR.

CHARITY TOWARDS OUR NEIGHBOUR consists in LOVING HIM AS OURSELVES. Lev. xix. 18. *thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself; I am Jehovah.* 1 John iv. 11. *beloved, if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another.* Under the name of neighbour are comprehended all to whom we have the opportunity of rendering service or assistance. Luke x. 36, 37. *which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbour unto him—? he that shewed mercy on him;* as in the present instance the Samaritan showed mercy on the Jew, although estranged from him in so many respects.

Chiefly however believers: Gal. vi. 10. *as we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men, especially unto them that are of the household of faith;* inasmuch as, in addition to the ordinary tie of affinity, we are connected with them by a spiritual bond: Eph. iv. 3. *endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.* Next in degree are those most closely allied to us by relationship or friendship.

Rom. ix. 3. *I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh; who are Israelites—.* 1 Tim. v. 4. *let them learn first to show piety at home, and to requite their parents; for that is good and acceptable before God.*

Even our enemies are not to be excluded from the exercise of our charity, inasmuch as they are not excluded from our prayers. Exod. xxiii. 4, 5. *if thou meet thine enemy's ox or ass going astray,* &c. Prov. xxv. 21, 22. *if thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat; and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink; for thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head, and Jehovah shall reward thee.* See also Rom. xii. 14, 20. Matt. v. 44. *love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you—.* Matt. vi. 15. *if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.* Luke xxii. 51. *he touched his ear and healed him.* xxiii. 34. *Father, forgive them—.* Rom. xii. 17. *recompense to no man evil for evil.* v. 21. *be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.* 1 Thess. v. 15. *see that none render evil for evil unto any man.* 1 Pet. iii. 9. *not rendering evil for evil.* We are taught the same by the example of God himself. Matt. v. 44. *love your enemies ..... that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven.* Rom. v. 8. *God commendeth his love towards us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us.*

The opposite of this virtue is, first, uncharitableness towards our neighbour. James ii. 15, 16. *if a brother or sister be naked, and destitute of daily food,* &c.

Secondly, hypocritical charity. Matt. vi. 2—4. *when thou doest thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do—.*

Thirdly, an excessive and preposterous love. 1 Sam. ii. 29. *thou honourest thy sons above me—.* xvi. 1. *how long wilt thou mourn for Saul, seeing I have rejected him?* Matt. x. 37. *he that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me.*

Fourthly, hatred of our neighbour. 1 John iii. 15. *whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer.* iv. 8. *he that loveth not, knoweth not God, for God is love.*

Fifthly, a meddling disposition. Prov. xxvi. 17. *he that passeth by and meddleth with strife belonging not to him, is like one that taketh a dog by the ears.*

Hatred, however, is in some cases a religious duty; as when we hate the enemies of God or the church.[5] 2 Chron. xix. 2. *shouldest thou love them that hate Jehovah?* Psal. xxxi. 6. *I have hated them that regard lying vanities.* cxxxix. 21, 22. *do I not hate them, O Jehovah, that hate thee?* Prov. xxviii. 4. *they that forsake the law, praise the wicked; but such as keep the law contend with them.* xxix. 27. *an unjust man is an abomination to the just.* Jer. xlviii. 10. *cursed be he that doeth the work of Jehovah deceitfully, and cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood.* We are to hate even our dearest connections, if they endeavour to seduce or deter us from the love of God and true religion. Exod. xxxii. 27. *slay every man his brother, and every man his companion.* Deut. xiii. 6—8. *if thy brother, the son of thy mother, or thy son, or thy daughter, or the wife of thy bosom, or thy friend which is as thine own soul, entice thee secretly, saying, Let us go and serve other gods,* &c. Luke xiv. 26. *if any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife,* &c. Thus Christ, notwithstanding his love for Peter: Mark viii. 33. *get thee behind me, Satan.*

Love towards our neighbour is absolute or reciprocal.

Under absolute love are comprised humanity, good will, and compassion.

[5] 'But ye will say, these (the prophets) had immediate warrant from God to be thus bitter; and I say, so much the plainlier is it proved, that there may be a sanctified bitterness against the enemies of truth.' *Apology for Smectymnuus.* Prose Works, I. 232.

HUMANITY consists in the performance of those ordinary attentions which man owes to man, whether living or dead, as the partaker of one common nature. Deut. xxii. 1, &c. *thou shalt not see thy brother's ox or his sheep go astray,* &c.

Towards the dead humanity is shown by mourning for their loss, and by a decent sepulture.

Mourning is the appropriate mark of respect paid to the memory of all who are not utterly worthless. Gen. l. 3. *the Egyptians mourned for him threescore and ten days.* 2 Sam. i. 12. *they mourned and wept, and fasted until even, for Saul and for Jonathan his son, and for the people of Jehovah, and for the house of Israel, because they were fallen by the sword.* iii. 31, 32. *the king wept at the grave of Abner, and all the people wept.* Much more therefore to those of our own household. Thus the ancient patriarchs: Gen. l. 10. *they mourned with a great and very sore lamentation.* So also when believers are cut off. Acts viii. 2. *devout men carried Stephen to his burial, and made great lamentation over him.* Even on such occasions, however, our grief ought not to be immoderate. Lev. xxi. 2, 4, 5. *he shall not defile himself, being a chief man among his people, to profane himself; they shall not make baldness upon their head, neither shall they shave off the corner of their beard; nor make any cuttings in their flesh.* Deut. xiv. 1. *ye are the children of Jehovah your God; ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead.* 1 Thess. iv. 13. *sorrow not, even as others which have no hope.*

Decent burial. Gen. xxiii. 8. *that I may bury my dead out of my sight.* xxxv. 20. *Jacob set a pillar upon her grave.* l. 2, &c. *Joseph commanded his servants the physicians to embalm his father.* 2 Chron. xvi. 14. *they laid him in the bed which was filled with sweet odours and divers kinds of spices,* &c. To remain unburied is an indignity. Jer. viii. 2. *they shall spread them before the sun, and the moon, and all the host of heaven,* &c. xvi. 4, &c. *they shall not be lamented, neither shall they be*

buried. Any place of sepulture which is consistent with decency, may be adopted without impropriety. Sarah, for instance, was buried in a cave, Gen. xxiii. 19. Rachel, not in Ephrath, but on the high road to that city, xxxv. 18. xlviii. 7. Samuel in his own house at Ramah, 1 Sam. xxv. 1. and Christ in a garden near the place of crucifixion. When Jacob and Joseph made it their especial request to be gathered unto the sepulchre of their fathers in the land of promise, this was in token of their reliance on the divine declarations, Gen. xlix. 29. l. 25. Josh. xxiv. 32. Heb. xi. 22. *by faith, Joseph ..... gave commandment concerning his bones.*

The opposite of humanity is, first, inhumanity; against which there are the severest prohibitions, Lev. xix. 14. *thou shalt not curse the deaf, nor put a stumbling-block before the blind.* Deut. xxvii. 18. *cursed be he that maketh the blind to wander out of the way.* Such was that of the Edomites towards the Israelites in their distress, Amos i. 6, &c. Psal. cxxxvii. 7. *rase it, rase it, even to the foundation thereof.* Such too was that of the priest and Levite in the parable, who passed by on the other side, when the traveller who had fallen among thieves was lying half dead and plundered, Luke x. 31, 32.

Secondly, an incautious and unadvised humanity; as for instance, when we become responsible for another without due consideration. Prov. vi. 1, 2. *if thou be surety for thy friend, if thou hast stricken thy hand with a stranger, thou art snared with the words of thy mouth—.* xi. 15. *he that is surety for a stranger shall smart for it, and he that hateth suretyship is sure.* xvii. 18. *a man void of understanding striketh hands—.* xx. 16. *take his garment that is surety for a stranger.* See also xxvii. 13. xxii. 26, 27. *be not one of them that strike hands,* &c.

Thirdly, an officious humanity. Prov. xxv. 17. *withdraw thy foot from thy neighbour's house, lest he be weary of thee, and so hate thee.* 1 Kings xiii. 15, 16. *then he said unto him, Come home with me, and eat bread.*

Lastly, an excess of humanity, which makes provision for the idle and undeserving. 2 Thess. iii. 10. *if any would not work, neither should he eat.*

The second modification of love is GOOD WILL, which consists in wishing well to all men. Such was that of Titus, 2 Cor. viii. 16. *which put the same earnest care into the heart of Titus for you;* and of the angels, Luke ii. 10. *I bring you good tidings of great joy;* and xv. 10. *there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth.* Rom. xii. 15. *rejoice with them that do rejoice.*

The opposite of this is, first, envy, or a grudging disposition; which is shown in various ways. First, when a man cannot bear that others should participate in his good fortune; as in the instance of the labourers who were hired first into the vineyard, Matt. xx. 11, &c. and of the Jews who were unwilling that salvation should be extended to the Gentiles, as may be seen throughout the book of Acts. Secondly, when a man grudges another that which he cannot himself obtain; which is exemplified in the envy with which Satan regards the salvation of the human race;[6] in Cain's anger against his brother, because God had more respect unto him, Gen. iv.[7] in Esau, xxvii. 41. in Joseph's brethren, Acts vii. 9. in Saul, 1 Sam. xviii. 7, 8. and in the princes of Persia, Dan. vi. Thirdly, when a man is jealous that any should be endued with the same gifts as one of whom he is himself an admirer or follower; which is exemplified in Joshua, Num. xi. 28. in John's

[6] . . . . . Aside the devil turn'd
For envy, yet with jealous leer malign
Ey'd them askance. *Paradise Lost*, IV. 502.

. . . . . I reck not, so it light well aim'd,
Since higher I fall short, on him who next
Provokes my envy, this new favourite
Of Heav'n, this man of clay. IX. 173.

[7] . . . . . Th' unjust the just hath slain,
For envy that his brother's offering found
From Heav'n acceptance. XI. 455.

disciples, John iii. 26. and in those of Christ, Mark ix. 38. *we saw one casting out devils in thy name,* &c. Envy is to be shunned, Matt. xx. 15. *is thine eye evil, because I am good?* partly as instigating to crimes, murder for instance, Gen. iv. 2 Sam. iii. 24, 27. *what hast thou done? behold Abner came unto thee ..... and he smote him there under the fifth rib;* and partly as being in its nature a self-tormentor: Prov. xiv. 30. *envy is the rottenness of the bones.* James iii. 16. *where envying ..... is, there is confusion and every evil work.*

Secondly, pretended good will; which is exemplified in the Pharisees who invited Christ to eat bread, Luke xiv. 1, &c. *it came to pass as he went into the house of one of the chief Pharisees to eat bread on the sabbath-day, that they watched him.*

The third modification of absolute love is COMPASSION. Zech. vii. 9. *shew mercy and compassions every man to his brother.* Job xxx. 25. *did not I weep for him that was in trouble?* Matt. v. 7. *blessed are the merciful.* Luke x. 33. *a certain Samaritan.....had compassion on him.* Rom. xii. 15. *weep with them that weep.* Compassion extends even to animals. Prov. xii. 10. *a righteous man regardeth the life of his beast.* Deut. xxii. 6—8. *if a bird's nest chance to be before thee in the way,* &c.

The opposite of this is, first, unmercifulness. Prov. xii. 10. *the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel.* James ii. 13. *he shall have judgement without mercy, that hath shewed no mercy.*

Secondly, a rejoicing in the misfortunes of others. Psal. lii. 1. *why boastest thou thyself in mischief?* This is exemplified in the Edomites, Psal. cxxxvii. Prov. xxiv. 17. *rejoice not when thine enemy falleth.*

Thirdly, pretended pity. Psal. xli. 6. *if he come to see me, he speaketh vanity.*

Fourthly, a misplaced compassion. Jer. xvi. 7. *neither shall men tear themselves for them in mourning, to comfort them for the dead—.* This is exemplified in the pity of Ahab for Benhadad.

Under reciprocal love are comprised brotherly love and friendship.

BROTHERLY or CHRISTIAN LOVE is the strongest of all affections, whereby believers mutually love and assist each other as members of Christ, and are as far as possible of one mind; bearing at the same time to the utmost of their power with the weaker brethren, and with such as are of a different opinion. Psal. cxxxiii. 1. *behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.* John xiii. 34, &c. *by this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.* xv. 12, &c. *this is my commandment, That ye love one another, as I have loved you; greater love hath no man than this—.* See also Eph. v. 1. 1 John iii. 16. John xvii. 11. *that they may be one, as we are.* Rom. xiv. 19. *let us therefore follow after the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another.* 2 Cor. xiii. 11. *be of one mind, live in peace; and the God of love and peace shall be with you.* Eph. iv. 15. *that we....speaking the truth in love, may grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ.* Philipp. ii. 2. *that ye be likeminded, having the same love, being of one accord, of one mind.* Col. ii. 1, 2. *their hearts being knit together in love.* iii. 15. *let the peace of God rule in your hearts, to the which also ye are called in one body, and be ye thankful.* 1 Thess. iv. 9. *as touching brotherly love ye need not that I write unto you, for ye yourselves are taught of God to love one another.* Heb. xiii. 3, &c. *remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them—.* 1 Pet. ii. 17. *love the brotherhood.* iv. 8. *above all things have fervent charity among yourselves, for charity shall cover the multitude of sins.* 2 Pet. i. 7. *add to brotherly kindness charity.* 1 John ii. 10. *he that loveth his brother abideth in the light, and there is none occasion of stumbling in him.* iii. 14, 15. *we know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren.* iv. 7, 8. *beloved, let us love one another, for love is of God.* v. 2. *by this we know that*

we love the children of God, when we love God, and keep his commandments.

Bearing with the weaker brethren, &c. Acts xxi. 20, &c. *thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe, and they are all zealous of the law.....do therefore this—.* Gal. vi. 1, 2. *brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted; bear ye one another's burthens.* Eph. iv. 2. *with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love.* Col. iii. 12—14. *put on therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering; forbearing one another, and forgiving one another; if any man have a quarrel against any, even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye.*

Opposed to this are divisions, enmities, rivalries among brethren, &c. Gen. xiii. 8. *let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen, for we be brethren.* 1 Cor. iii. 3. *whereas there is among you envying, and strife, and divisions, are ye not carnal?* Gal. v. 20, 21. *hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings....they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.* 1 John ii. 9, 11. *he that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in darkness even until now.* To these may be added a pretended brotherly love, from which great danger often arises to believers. 2 Cor. xi. 26. *in perils among false brethren.* Gal. ii. 4. *and that because of false brethren unawares brought in.*

Friendship is a most intimate union of two or more individuals, cemented by an interchange of all good offices, of a civil at least, if not of a religious kind. Eccles. iv. 9, &c. *two are better than one, because they have a good reward for their labour—.* It takes precedence of all degrees of relationship. Deut. xiii. 6. *thy friend, which is as thine own soul.* Prov. xvii. 17. *a friend loveth at all times.* xviii. 24. *there is a friend that sticketh closer than a brother.* xxvii. 10. *thine*

own friend, and thy father's friend, forsake not, neither go into thy brother's house in the day of thy calamity; for better is a neighbour that is near, than a brother that is far off.

Friendship, and even common companionship with good men, is safe and advantageous. Gen. xii. 3. *I will bless them that bless thee.* xviii. 26. *if I find in Sodom fifty righteous within the city, then will I spare all the place for their sakes.* xix. 21. *see, I have accepted thee concerning this thing also.* xx. 7. *he is a prophet, and he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live.* Numb. xi. 2. *the people cried unto Moses; and when Moses prayed unto Jehovah, the fire was quenched.* xiv. 19, 20. *pardon, I beseech thee, the iniquity of this people.... I have pardoned according to thy word.* 1 Sam. xv. 6. *go, depart.... lest I destroy you with them: for ye showed kindness to all the children of Israel—.* Psal. cxix. 63. *I am a companion of all them that fear thee.* Prov. xiii. 20. *he that walketh with wise men shall be wise.* Isai. lxv. 8. *so will I do for my servants' sake.* Ezek. xxii. 30. *I sought for a man among them that should make up the hedge.* They are also useful as counsellors. Exod. xviii. 14. *when Moses' father-in-law saw all that he did to the people,* &c. v. 24. *so Moses hearkened unto the voice of his father-in-law.* Prov. xii. 15. *he that hearkeneth unto counsel is wise.* xxvii. 9. *ointment and perfume rejoice the heart; so doth the sweetness of a man's friend by hearty counsel.* The benefits of their friendship, however, extend not to the ensuring our salvation in a future life; not even in the instance of those who associated with Christ on earth: Matt. xii. 46, &c. Mark iii. 35. Luke xi. 27. xiii. 26. John vii. 5.

Opposed to this, are, first, pretended friendship. Job xix. 13, &c. *he hath put my brethren far from me, and mine acquaintance are verily estranged from me.* Psal. lv. 12, &c. *it was not an enemy that reproached me, then I could have borne it.... but it was thou, a man mine equal, my guide, and mine acquaintance; we took sweet counsel together, and walked unto the house of God in company.* Prov. xix. 4, 6, 7. *many will intreat the favour of the prince,* &c. Of this crime the traitor Judas is an example.

Secondly, friendship or social intercourse with the wicked. Gen. xiv. 12. *they took Lot—*. xix. 12, &c. *hast thou here any beside?.....bring them out of this place.* Psal. i. 1. *blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly.* xxvi. 4, 5. *I have not sat with vain persons—*. cxli. 4. *incline not my heart to any evil thing, to practice wicked works with men that work iniquity.* Prov. xiii. 20. *a companion of fools shall be destroyed.* xiv. 7. *go from the presence of a foolish man.* v. 9. *fools make a mock at sin: but among the righteous there is favour.* v. 14. *a good man shall be satisfied from himself.* xxiv. 1, 2. *neither desire to be with them.* xxviii. 7. *he that is a companion of riotous men, shameth his father.* Rom. i. 31, 32. *who not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them.* 1 Cor. xv. 33. *be not deceived: evil communications corrupt good manners.* Eph. v. 7. *be not ye therefore partakers with them.* v. 11. *have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness.* Such intercourse, however, is sometimes unavoidable in the present life. Judges xi. 3. *there were gathered vain men to Jephthah, and went out with him.* 1 Sam. xxii. 2. *every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt.....gathered themselves unto him.* xxx. 22. *then answered all the wicked men and men of Belial, of those that went with David—*. Psal. cxx. 5, 6. *woe is me!.....my soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace.* 1 Cor. v. 9—11. *I wrote unto you in an epistle not to company with fornicators; yet not altogether with the fornicators of this world.....for then ye must needs go out of the world; but.....if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator—*.

Thirdly, enmity. Prov. xvii. 14. *the beginning of strife is as when one letteth out water; therefore leave off contention before it be meddled with.* v. 19. *he loveth transgression that loveth strife; and he that exalteth his gate, seeketh destruction.* xx. 3. *it is an honour for a man to cease from strife; but every fool will be meddling.* xxvi. 26. *whose hatred is covered by deceit, his wickedness shall be showed before the whole congregation.*

CHAP. XII.

Of

the special Virtues or Duties which regard our Neighbour.

The special virtues, or various modes of charity or justice as regards our neighbour, relate to him either under the general acceptation of the word neighbour, as denoting simple proximity; or under some special acceptation, where our relationship arises from special circumstances.

The discharge of our special duties towards our neighbour includes the regulation not only of our actions, but of our affections, as concerns him. Exod. xx. 17. *thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house—.*

Special duties towards our neighbour, using the word in its general sense, regard either his internal or external good.

His internal good is consulted by a regard to his safety and honour; his external, by a concern for his good name and worldly interests. Our regard to his safety should extend not merely to the present life, but to the eternal state. Prov. x. 11. *the mouth of a righteous man is a well of life.* Rom. xiv. 15. *destroy not him with thy meat, for whom Christ died.* James v. 20. *let him know that he which converteth the sinner from the error of his way, shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins.* The duty of preserving our neighbour's life is inculcated, Prov. xxiv. 11, 12. *if thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain; if thou sayest, Behold, we knew it not; doth not he that pondereth the heart consider it? doth not he know it? and shall not he render to every man according to his works?*

Under this class of virtues are comprehended innocence, meekness, and placability.

INNOCENCE consists in doing a voluntary injury to no one. Psal. xxiv. 4, *he that hath clean hands.* xxvi. 6. *I will wash mine hands in innocency.* Rom. xii. 18. *if it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men.* Heb. xii. 14. *follow peace with all men.*

MEEKNESS is that by which we are so far from offering or taking offence, that we conduct ourselves mildly and affectionately towards all men, as far as is practicable. Numb. xii. 3. *now the man Moses was very meek, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth.* Psal. xxv. 9. *the meek will he teach his way.* cxlvii. 6. *Jehovah lifteth up the meek.* Isai. lxi. 1. *Jehovah hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek.* Matt. v. 5. *blessed are the meek.* xi. 29. *learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls.* xxi. 5. *behold, thy King cometh unto thee, meek—.* Tit. iii. 2. *showing all meekness unto all men.*

PLACABILITY consists in a readiness to forgive those by whom we have been injured. Matt. vi. 12, 14. *forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors .....for if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you.* xviii. 21, 22. *how oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? ..... until seventy times seven.* Luke xvii. 3, 4. *if thy brother trespass against thee, rebuke him; and if he repent, forgive him; and if he trespass against thee seven times a day—.* Rom. xii. 18. *if it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men.*

Opposed to a regard for the life of our neighbour, is, first, the shedding his blood. Gen. iv. 10. *what hast thou done? the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground.* ix. 5, 6. *whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made he man.* Exod. xx. 13. *thou shalt not kill.* xxi. 12. *he that smiteth*

a man so that he die, shall surely be put to death. v. 14. *if a man come presumptuously upon his neighbour, to slay him with guile,* &c. v. 28. *if an ox gore a man,* &c. Deut. xxvii. 25. *cursed is he that taketh reward to slay an innocent person.* Numb. xxxv. 31. *ye shall take no satisfaction for the life of a murderer.* v. 34. *defile not therefore the land which ye shall inhabit—.* Deut. xxi. 1. *if one be found slain in the land,* &c. 1 Kings ii. 5, 6. *thou knowest also what Joab did to me,* &c. v. 33, 34. *their blood shall therefore return upon the head of Joab.* Prov. vi. 16, 17. *these six things doth Jehovah hate.....hands that shed innocent blood.* xxviii. 17. *a man that doeth violence to the blood of any person, shall flee to the pit; let no man stay him.*

Under this head is also included, first, every thing by which the life of our neighbour is endangered; as blows, wounds, mutilations, &c. Exod. xxi. 18, &c. *if men strive together, and one strike another,* &c. Lev. xxiv. 19, 20. *if a man cause a blemish in his neighbour,* &c. Deut. xxvii. 24. *cursed be he that smiteth his neighbour secretly.*

Secondly, hasty anger. Prov. xiv. 29. *he that is slow to wrath is of great understanding; but he that is hasty of spirit exalteth folly.* xvi. 32. *he that is slow to anger is better than the mighty; and he that ruleth his spirit, than he that taketh a city.* xix. 11. *the discretion of a man deferreth his anger; and it is his glory to pass over a transgression.* xv. 18. *a wrathful man stirreth up strife.* Matt. v. 22. *whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause, shall be in danger of the judgement.* 1 John iii. 15. *whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer.*

Thirdly, revenge. Lev. xix. 18. *thou shalt not avenge, nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people.* Deut. xxxii. 35. *to me belongeth vengeance and recompense.* Psal. xciv. 1. *O Jehovah, God to whom vengeance belongeth.* Prov. xx. 22. *say not thou, I will recompense evil.* xxiv. 29. *say not, I will do so to him as he hath done to me.* Rom. xii. 19. *dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath.* 1 Pet. iii. 8, 9. *not rendering evil for evil.* To avenge the

church, however, or to desire that she be avenged of her enemies, is not forbidden. Exod. xvii. 16. *because Jehovah hath sworn that Jehovah will have war with Amalek from generation to generation.* Deut. xxv. 17. *remember what Amalek did unto thee by the way.* Psal. xviii. 37—43. *I have pursued mine enemies.....then did I beat them small as the dust.* xli. 10, 11. *raise me up that I may requite them.* liv. 5. *he shall reward evil unto mine enemies.* xcii. 11. *mine eyes also shall see my desire upon mine enemies.* xciv. 2. *render a reward to the proud.* cxxxvii. 8. *O daughter of Babylon,* &c. Jer. xi. 20. *let me see thy vengeance on them.* See also xx. 12. xv. 15. *revenge me of my persecutors.* l. 15. *take vengeance upon her.* Lament. i. 21, 22. *let all their wickedness come before thee.* iii. 64, &c. *render unto them a recompense.* Esther ix. 13. *then said Esther, If it please the king, let it be granted unto the Jews.....to do to-morrow also according unto this day's decree, and let Haman's ten sons be hanged on the gallows.* Rev. vi. 10. *how long, O Lord—?*

The HONOUR of our neighbour is consulted by a respect to his personal modesty. Levit. xix. 29. *do not prostitute thy daughter to cause her to be a whore.* Deut. xxiii. 17. *there shall be no whore of the daughters of Israel, nor a sodomite of the sons of Israel.*

Opposed to this are unnatural vices, fornication, violation, adultery, incest, rape, whoredom, and similar offences. Gen. xix. 5. *bring them out unto us, that we may know them.* See also Judges xix. 22. Deut. xxiii. 17, as above. 1 Kings xv. 12. *he took away the sodomites out of the land.* xxii. 46. *the remnant of the sodomites,* &c. Gen. xxxiv. 2. *he took her, and lay with her, and defiled her.* Exod. xx. 14. *thou shalt not commit adultery.* Levit. xviii. 20. *thou shalt not lie carnally with thy neighbour's wife, to defile thyself with her.* Job xxxi. 9, 10, &c. *if mine heart hath been deceived by a woman,* &c. Jer. v. 7, 8. *they committed adultery, and assembled themselves by troops in the harlots' houses.* Ezek. xviii. 6. *neither hath defiled his neighbour's wife.* xxii. 11. *one hath committed abomination with his neighbour's wife.*

Hosea vii. 4. *they are all adulterers.* Amos ii. 7. *a man and his father will go in unto the same maid—.* Heb. xiii. 4. *whoremongers and adulterers God will judge.* Hence the laws against fornication, Exod. xxii. 16, 17, &c. *if a man entice a maid that is not betrothed, and lie with her,* &c. against incest, Levit. xviii. 6. xx. 11, &c. *the man that lieth with his father's wife,* &c. Deut. xxii. 21, 23, 28. *then they shall bring out the damsel to the door of her father's house, and the men of her city shall stone her ..... because she hath wrought folly in Israel, to play the whore in her father's house: if a man be found lying with a woman married to an husband.....if a man find a damsel that is a virgin—.* xxiii. 2. *a bastard shall not enter into the congregation of Jehovah.* xxvii. 20, &c. *cursed be he that lieth with his father's wife.* Hence also provision was expressly made for cases of jealousy, Numb. v. 12, &c. Prov. vi. 34. *jealousy is the rage of a man.* Cantic. viii. 6. *jealousy is cruel as the grave.* Even before the promulgation of the law, adultery was made capital by divine command: Gen. xx. 3. *thou art but a dead man, for the woman whom thou hast taken.* xxxviii. 24. *bring her forth, and let her be burnt.* Some marriages, however, were prohibited by the Mosaic code, which appear to have been previously lawful. Gen. xx. 12. *yet indeed she is my sister; she is the daughter of my father;* compared with Deut. xxvii. 22. *cursed be he that lieth with his sister, the daughter of his father;* and Ezek. xxii. 11. *another in thee hath humbled his sister, his father's daughter.* Exod. vi. 20. *Amram took him Jochebed his father's sister to wife.* Levit. xviii. 12. *thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy father's sister.*

Respecting a menstruous woman, see Levit. xx. 18. *if a man shall lie with a woman having her sickness,* &c. Ezek. xviii. 6. *neither hath come near to a menstruous woman.* xxii. 10. *in thee have they humbled her that was set apart for pollution.*

CHAP. XIII.

Of

THE SECOND CLASS OF SPECIAL DUTIES TOWARDS OUR NEIGHBOUR.

THE external good of our neighbour is consulted, as before said, by a regard to his good name and worldly interests.

We consult OUR NEIGHBOUR'S GOOD NAME, when IN OUR DEPORTMENT TOWARDS HIM, IN OUR CONVERSATION WITH HIM, AND IN OUR MANNER OF SPEAKING OF HIM, WE PRESERVE TOWARDS HIM A DUE RESPECT, AND AVOID DOING ANYTHING WHICH MAY CAUSELESSLY INJURE HIM IN THE OPINION OF OTHERS. 1 Pet. ii. 17. *honour all men.* Gen. xviii. 2, &c. *he ran to meet them from the tent door, and bowed himself toward the ground.* xxiii. 7. *Abraham stood up, and bowed himself to the people of the land.* Exod. xviii. 7. *Moses went out to meet his father-in-law.* Ruth ii. 10. *then she fell on her face, and bowed herself to the ground.* Nor are we anywhere told that obeisance was made even to kings otherwise than by a lowly inclination of the body, the same token of respect which was frequently paid to each other even by private individuals.[8]

[8] A scrupulous attention is paid throughout Paradise Lost to this duty, and inferiors are generally represented as showing their respect to personages of superior dignity in the manner here mentioned. Thus it is said of the fallen angels worshipping Satan:

> ..... Towards him they bend
> With awful reverence prone. II. 477.

Of the holy angels in heaven:

> ..... Lowly reverent
> Towards either throne they bow, and to the ground
> With solemn adoration down they cast
> Their crowns. III. 349.

Of

In our deportment towards him. To this head belongs that sense of delicacy, which precludes us from saying or doing every thing indiscriminately, however proper in itself, in the presence of our neighbour. Job xix. 3. *ye are not ashamed that ye make yourselves strange to me.*

Opposed to this is impudence; as exemplified in the unjust judge, Luke xviii. 2. *which feared not God, neither regarded man.*

In our manner of conversing with him, &c. The virtues herein comprised are veracity and candour.

Veracity consists in speaking the truth to all who are entitled to hear it, and in matters which concern the good of our neighbour. Psal. xv. 2. *he that speaketh the truth in his heart.* Prov. xii. 17. *he that speaketh truth, showeth forth righteousness.* v. 22. *lying lips are abomination to Jehovah, but they that deal truly are his delight.* xx. 6.

Of the angels stationed to guard Paradise, at the appearance of Raphael:

> ..... To his state
> And to his message high in honour rise,
> For on some message high they guess'd him bound. V. 288.

Of Adam in presence of Raphael:

> .... Though not aw'd,
> Yet with submiss approach and rev'rence meek,
> As to superior nature bowing low,
> Thus said. *Ibid.* 358.

Of the Messiah when leaving the Father to go against the rebel angels:

> ..... He o'er his scepter bowing, rose
> From the right hand of glory where he sat. VI. 746.

Of Eve before the tree of knowledge:

> ..... From the tree her step she turn'd;
> But first low reverence done, as to the Pow'r
> That dwelt within. IX. 834.

Thus also in his early poem of Arcades:

> ——— The great mistress of yon princely shrine,
> Whom with low reverence I adore as mine. 36.

a faithful man who can find? Zech. viii. 16. *speak ye every man the truth to his neighbour.* Eph. iv. 25. *putting away lying, speak every man truth with his neighbour: for we are members one of another.*

Opposed to this is, first, an improper concealment of the truth. I say improper, for it is not every concealment of the truth that is wrong, inasmuch as we are not on all occasions required to declare what we know; that concealment only is blameable, which proceeds from improper motives.

Secondly, falsehood. Psal. v. 6. *thou shalt destroy them that speak leasing.* xii. 1. *the faithful fail from the children of men.* Prov. xiii. 5. *a righteous man hateth lying; but a wicked man is loathsome, and cometh to shame.* xix. 5. *he that speaketh lies shall not escape.* John viii. 44. *when he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and the father of it.* Rev. xxii. 15. *without are dogs.....and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.* Hence falsehood is not justifiable, even in the service of God. Job xiii. 7. *will ye speak wickedly for God? and talk deceitfully for him?*

The definition commonly given of falsehood is, that it is a violation of truth either in word or deed, with the purpose of deceiving. Since however not only the dissimulation or concealment of truth, but even direct untruth with the intention of deceiving, may in many instances be beneficial to our neighbour, it will be necessary to define falsehood somewhat more precisely; for I see no reason why the same rule should not apply to this subject, which holds good with regard to homicide, and other cases hereafter to be mentioned, our judgement of which is formed not so much from the actions themselves, as from the intention in which they originated. No rational person will deny that there are certain individuals whom we are fully justified in deceiving. Who would scruple to dissemble with a child, with a madman, with a sick person, with one in a state of intoxication, with an enemy, with one who has himself a design of deceiving us,

with a robber? unless indeed we dispute the trite maxim, CUI NULLUM EST JUS, EI NULLA FIT INJURIA. Yet, according to the above definition, it is not allowable to deceive either by word or deed in any of the cases stated. If I am under no obligation to restore to a madman a sword, or any other deposit, committed to me while in a sound mind, why should I be required to render the truth to one from whom I never received it, who is not entitled to demand it, and who will in all probability make a bad use of it? If every answer given to every interrogator with the intent of deceiving is to be accounted a falsehood, it must be allowed that nothing was more common even among the prophets and holiest of men.

Hence falsehood may perhaps be defined as follows: FALSEHOOD is incurred when ANY ONE, FROM A DISHONEST MOTIVE, EITHER PERVERTS THE TRUTH, OR UTTERS WHAT IS FALSE TO ONE TO WHOM IT IS HIS DUTY TO SPEAK THE TRUTH. Thus the devil, speaking in the serpent, was the first liar, Gen. iii. 4. So Cain subsequently, iv. 9. and Sarah, xviii. 15. for when the angels were justly angry with her, she evaded a candid confession of her fault. So also Abraham, xii. 13. and chap. xx. for his fiction concerning Sarah, as he might have learned from his previous experience in Egypt, though intended only for the preservation of his own life, was of a nature to lead others into dangerous error, and a desire of what was not their own, through ignorance of the fact. Thus too David in his flight from Saul, 1 Sam. xxi. 3. inasmuch as he ought not to have concealed from the priest his situation with respect to the king, or to have exposed his host to danger. Ananias and Sapphira were guilty of the same crime, Acts v.

It follows from this definition, first, that parables, hyperboles, apologues, and ironical modes of speech are not falsehoods, inasmuch as their object is not deception but instruction. In this respect it agrees with the common definition. 1 Kings xviii. 27. *it came to pass that Elijah mocked them, and said, Cry aloud, for he is a God—.* xxii. 15. *he answered him, Go and prosper, for Jehovah shall deliver it into the*

hand of the king. Secondly, that in the proper sense of the word deceit, no one can be deceived without being at the same time injured. When therefore, instead of injuring a person by a false statement, we either confer on him a positive benefit, or prevent him from inflicting or suffering injury, we are so far from being guilty of deceit towards him, however often the fiction may be repeated, that we ought rather to be considered as doing him a service against his will. Thirdly, it is universally admitted that feints and stratagems in war, when unaccompanied by perjury or breach of faith, do not fall under the description of falsehood. Now this admission is evidently fatal to the vulgar definition; inasmuch as it is scarcely possible to execute any of the artifices of war, without openly uttering the greatest untruths with the indisputable intention of deceiving; by which, according to the definition, the sin of falsehood is incurred. It is better therefore to say that stratagems, though coupled with falsehood, are lawful for the cause above assigned, namely, that where we are not under an obligation to speak the truth, there can be no reason why we should not, when occasion requires it, utter even what is false; nor do I perceive why this should be more allowable in war than in peace, especially in cases where, by an honest and beneficial kind of falsehood, we may be enabled to avert injury or danger from ourselves or our neighbour.

The denunciations against falsehood, therefore, which are cited from Scripture, are to be understood only of such violations of truth as are derogatory to the glory of God, or injurious to ourselves or our neighbour. Of this class, besides what were quoted above, are the following texts: Lev. xix. 11. *ye shall not deal falsely, neither lie one to another.* Psal. ci. 7. *he that worketh deceit shall not tarry within my house; he that telleth lies shall not tarry in my sight.* Prov. vi. 16, 17. *yea, seven are an abomination unto him; a proud look, a lying tongue—.* Jer. ix. 5. *they will deceive every man his neighbour, and will not speak the truth.* In these and similar passages we are undoubtedly commanded to speak the truth; but to whom? not to an enemy, not to a madman,

not to an oppressor, not to an assassin, but to *our neighbour*, to one with whom we are connected by the bonds of peace and social fellowship. If then it is to our neighbour only that we are commanded to speak the truth, it is evident that we are not forbidden to utter what is false, if requisite, to such as do not deserve that name. Should any one be of a contrary opinion, I would ask him, by which of the commandments falsehood is prohibited? He will answer doubtless, by the ninth. Let him only repeat the words of that commandment, and he will be a convert to my opinion; for nothing is there prohibited but what is injurious to our neighbour; it follows, therefore, that a falsehood productive of no evil to him, if prohibited at all, is not prohibited by the commandment in question.

Hence we are justified in acquitting all those holy men who, according to the common judgement of divines, must be convicted of falsehood: Abraham for example, Gen. xxii. 5. when he told his young men, for the purpose of deceiving them and of quieting their suspicions, that he would return with the lad: although he must at the same time have been persuaded in his own mind that his son would be offered up as a sacrifice and left on the mount; for had he expected otherwise, his faith would have been put to no severe trial. His wisdom therefore taught him, that as his servants were in no way interested in knowing what was to happen, so it was expedient for himself that it should be for a time concealed from them. So also Rebecca and Jacob, Gen. xxvii. when by subtlety and proper caution they opened a way to that birthright which Esau had held cheap, a birthright already belonging to Jacob by prophecy, as well as by right of purchase. It is objected, that in so doing he deceived his father. Say rather that he interposed at the proper time to correct his father's error, who had been led by an unreasonable fondness to prefer Esau. So Joseph, Gen. xlii. 7, &c. who according to the common definition must have been guilty of habitual falsehood, inasmuch as he deviated from the truth in numberless instances, with the express purpose of deceiving his brethren; not

however to their injury, but to their exceeding advantage. The Hebrew midwives, Exod. i. 19, &c. whose conduct received the approbation of God himself; for in deceiving Pharaoh, they were so far from doing him any injury, that they preserved him from the commission of a crime. Moses, Exod. iii. who by the express command of God asked permission for the Israelites to go three days' journey into the wilderness under the pretext of sacrificing to the Lord; his purpose being to impose on Pharaoh by alleging a false reason for their departure, or at least by substituting a secondary for the principal motive. The whole Israelitish people, who, by divine command likewise, borrowed from the Egyptians jewels of gold and silver and raiment, doubtless under a promise of restoring them, though with the secret purpose of deception; for by what obligation were they bound to keep faith with the enemies of God, the transgressors of the laws of hospitality, and the usurpers, for so long a period, of the property of those who now despoiled them? Rahab, whose magnanimous falsehood, recorded Josh. ii. 4, 5. was no breach of duty, inasmuch as she only deceived those whom God willed to be deceived, though her own countrymen and magistrates, and preserved those whom God willed to be preserved; rightly preferring religious to civil obligations. Ehud, who deceived Eglon in two several instances, Judges iii. 19, 20. and that justifiably, considering that he was dealing with an enemy, and that he acted under the command of God himself. Jael, by whose enticements Sisera perished, Judges iv. 18, 19. although he was less her personal enemy than the enemy of God. Junius, indeed, considers this as a pious fraud, not as a falsehood; which is a distinction without a difference.[9] Jonathan, who was prevailed upon to assign a fictitious reason for the absence of David, 1 Sam. xx. 6, 28. thinking it better to preserve the life of the innocent, than to abet his father in an act of cruelty; and considering that the duties of charity were better fulfilled by favouring the escape of a friend under wrongful accusation, though at the expense of veracity, than by disclosing the

[9] 'Dissimulavit enim, sed sine mendacio, et pia fraude intercepit Jahel hostem Domini, quam rem Spiritus Sanctus probat, infra cap. v. 4.' Junius in loc.

truth unnecessarily in obedience to the commands of a parent, for the purpose of aiding in the commission of a crime. All these, with numberless other saints, are by a more careful inquiry into the nature of truth rescued, as it were, from the new *limbus patrum*[1] to which the vulgar definition had consigned them.

Under falsehood is included false witness; which is forbidden Exod. xx. 16. *thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.* xxiii. 1. *put not thine hand with the wicked to be an unrighteous witness.* It is again prohibited Deut. xix. 16, &c. under a most severe penalty; *if a false witness rise up against any man.....then shall ye do unto him as he had thought to have done unto his brother.* Prov. xix. 5. *a false witness shall not be unpunished.* xxv. 18. *a man that beareth false witness against his neighbour is a maul, and a sword, and a sharp arrow.*

The other virtue included in a regard to the good name of our neighbour, whether present or absent, is CANDOUR; whereby we cheerfully acknowledge the gifts of God in our neighbour, and interpret all his words and actions in a favourable sense. Matt. vii. 1. *judge not, that ye be not judged.* Candour, however, is usually spoken of under the general name of charity or love. 1 Cor. xiii. 5, 6. *charity thinketh no evil.....rejoiceth in the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things.* Prov. x. 12. *love covereth all sins.* xvii. 9. *he*

[1] This appears to be a favourite allusion with Milton.

> ..... All these, upwhirl'd aloft,
> Fly o'er the backside of the world far off
> Into a Limbo large and broad, since call'd
> The Paradise of Fools. *Paradise Lost*, III. 493.

'That mysterious iniquity, provoked and troubled at the first entrance of reformation, sought out new Limboes and new Hells wherein they might include our books also within the number of their damned.' *Areopagitica.* Prose Works, I. 295. To which may be added *Apology for Smectymnuus,* Ibid. 262. 'Te Deum has a smatch in it of limbus patrum; as if Christ had not 'opened the kingdom of heaven,' before he had 'overcome the sharpness of death.'

that covereth a transgression seeketh love. The same virtue appears also to be described under the name of equity or moderation. Philipp. iv. 5. *let your moderation be known unto all men; the Lord is at hand.* Eccles. x. 4. *yielding pacifieth great offences.*

Opposed to this is, first, evil surmising. 1 Sam. i. 14. *how long wilt thou be drunken?* xxii. 8. *that all of you have conspired against me—.* 2 Sam. x. 3. *hath not David sent his servants unto thee to search the city—?* Acts xxviii. 4. *when the barbarians saw the venomous beast hang on his hand—.* 1 Tim. vi. 4. *whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings—.*

Secondly, a prying into the faults of others, and a precipitancy in passing judgement upon them. Matt. vii. 3. *why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye?*

Thirdly, tale-bearing. Exod. xxiii. 1. *thou shalt not raise a false report.* 1 Sam. xxiv. 9. *wherefore hearest thou men's words, saying, Behold David seeketh thy hurt?* Prov. xviii. 8. *the words of a tale-bearer are as wounds.* See also xxvi. 22. xx. 19. *he that goeth about as a tale-bearer revealeth secrets.* xxvi. 20. *where there is no tale-bearer, strife ceaseth.* Rom. i. 29, 30. *whisperers, backbiters.* 1 Tim. v. 13. *tattlers also and busybodies, speaking things which they ought not.*

Fourthly, calumny, which consists in a malicious construction of the motives of others. 1 Sam. xxii. 9. *I saw the son of Jesse,* &c. Psal. cxix. 69. *the proud have forged a lie against me.* Matt. xxvi. 61. *this fellow said, I am able to destroy the temple of God.* Luke xi. 53, 54. *laying wait for him, and seeking to catch something out of his mouth, that they might accuse him.* xix. 8. *if I have taken anything from any man by false accusation.* Acts ii. 13—15. *these men are full of new wine.*

Fifthly, evil speaking and slandering. Lev. xix. 16. *thou shalt not go up and down as a tale-bearer among thy people.* Job v. 21. *thou*

shalt be hid from the scourge of the tongue. Psal. xxxiv. 13. *keep thy tongue from evil.* lii. 2. *thy tongue deviseth mischiefs.* lix. 8. *behold, they belch out with their mouth.* lxiv. 3, &c. *who whet their tongue like a sword—.* cix. 2. *the mouth of the wicked and the mouth of the deceitful are opened against me.* cxx. 2. *deliver my soul, O Jehovah, from lying lips, and from a deceitful tongue.* cxl. 3. *they have sharpened their tongues like a serpent.* Prov. x. 18. *he that uttereth a slander is a fool.* Eccles. x. 20. *curse not the king, no not in thy thought, and curse not the rich in thy bed-chamber; for a bird of the air shall carry the voice.* Jer. ix. 3, &c. *they bend their tongues like their bow for lies.* Matt. xii. 34. *how can ye, being evil, speak good things?* Col. iii. 8. *but now ye, put off all these.....blasphemy.*

Sixthly, contumely and personal abuse. Matt. v. 22. *whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council; but whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire.*

Seventhly, litigiousness. Prov. xxv. 8—10. *go not forth hastily to strive—.* Matt. v. 40. *if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also.* 1 Cor. vi. 7. *there is utterly a fault among you, because ye go to law one with another; why do ye not rather take wrong? why do ye not rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded?*

Opposed to candour, on the other side, are, first, flattery. Job xxxii. 21, 22. *let me not, I pray you, accept any man's person, neither let me give flattering titles unto man.* Psal. xii. 3. *Jehovah shall cut off all flattering lips.* Prov. xxvi. 28. *a flattering mouth worketh ruin.* xxvii. 6. *the kisses of an enemy are deceitful.* v. 14. *he that blesseth his friend with a loud voice,* &c. xxix. 5. *a man that flattereth his neighbour,* &c. 1 Thess. ii. 5. *neither at any time used we flattering words.*

Secondly, unmerited praise or blame. Prov. iii. 31. *envy thou not the oppressor.* xvii. 15. *he that justifieth the wicked, and he that con-*

demneth the just, even they both are abomination to Jehovah. xxiii. 17. *let not thine heart envy sinners.* xxiv. 24. *he that saith unto the wicked, Thou art righteous, him shall the people curse.* Isai. v. 20. *woe unto them that call evil good—.* xxxii. 5, 8. *the vile person shall be no more called liberal—.*

Allied to candour are simplicity, faithfulness, gravity, taciturnity, courteousness, urbanity, freedom of speech, and the spirit of admonition.

Simplicity consists in an ingenuous and open dealing with our neighbour. Psal. cxvi. 6. *Jehovah preserveth the simple.* Matt. x. 16. *be ye harmless as doves.* xix. 14. *suffer little children.... for of such is the kingdom of heaven.* Mark x. 15. *whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein.* 1 Cor. xiv. 20. *be not children in understanding; howbeit in malice be ye children.* 2 Cor. i. 12. *that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world.* xi. 3. *I fear, lest by any means..... your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ.*

Opposed to this are, first, duplicity. Psal. v. 6. *Jehovah will abhor the deceitful man.* xii. 3. *with a double heart do they speak.* xxviii. 3, &c. *which speak peace to their neighbours, but mischief is in their heart.* cxx. 2. *deliver my soul from lying lips, and from a deceitful tongue.* Prov. iii. 29. *devise not evil against thy neighbour.* xvii. 20. *he that hath a perverse tongue falleth into mischief.* xxvi. 24, &c. *he that hateth, dissembleth with his lips.* v. 28. *a lying tongue hateth those that are afflicted by it.* Matt. ii. 8. *go and search diligently for the young child—.*

Secondly, credulity. Prov. xiv. 15. *the simple believeth every word.*

Faithfulness is shown in the performance of promises, and the safe custody of secrets. Psal. xv. 4. *he that sweareth to his own hurt,*

and changeth not. Prov. xi. 13. *he that is of a faithful spirit concealeth the matter.* xx. 19. *he that goeth about as a tale-bearer revealeth secrets, therefore meddle not with him—.* xxv. 9. *discover not a secret to another.*

It has been made matter of inquiry, whether it be lawful to revoke a promise once made, or to recal a benefit once conferred. This would seem to be allowable, where the person on whom the promise or benefit was bestowed proves himself unworthy of our kindness. Thus the lord in the parable exacted the debt from his servant, in punishment for his cruelty towards his fellow-servant, although he had before forgiven it him; Matt. xviii. 27, 32, 34.

Opposed to this are, first, precipitancy in making a promise, without due consideration of circumstances. Matt. xxvi. 35. *though I should die with thee, yet will I not deny thee.*

Secondly, talkativeness. Prov. xi. 13. *a tale-bearer revealeth secrets.*

Thirdly, treachery; of which Judas Iscariot is a signal instance.

Gravity consists in an habitual self-government of speech and action, with a dignity of look and manner, befitting a man of holiness and probity.[2] Prov. xvii. 24. *wisdom is before him that hath understanding.* Eccles. viii. 1. *a man's wisdom maketh his face to shine—.*

Opposed to this is levity. Prov. xvi. 22. *the instruction of fools is folly.* xvii. 24. *the eyes of a fool are in the ends of the earth.* Eccles. x. 2. *a wise man's heart is at his right hand, but a fool's heart at his left.*

[2] Richardson says that Milton 'had a gravity in his temper, not melancholy, or not till the latter part of his life, not sour, morose, or ill-natured; but a certain severity of mind, a mind not condescending to little things.' *Remarks,* p. xv. 'In his whole deportment,' says Symmons, 'there was visible a certain dignity of mind, and a something of conscious superiority, which could not at all times be suppressed or wholly withdrawn from observation. His temper was grave, without any taint of melancholy.' Vol. VII. p. 512.

TACITURNITY preserves a due moderation in our speech. Prov. x. 19. *he that refraineth his lips is wise.* xiii. 3. *he that openeth wide his lips, shall have destruction.* xvii. 28. *even a fool when he holdeth his peace is counted wise; and he that shutteth his lips is esteemed a man of understanding.*

Opposed to this are, first, loquacity. Prov. x. 14. *the mouth of the foolish is near destruction.* v. 19. *in the multitude of words there wanteth not sin.* xviii. 7. *a fool's lips are the snare of his soul.* xxix. 20. *seest thou a man that is hasty in his words? there is more hope of a fool than of him.* James iii. 8. *the tongue can no man tame.*

Secondly, foolish talking. Matt. xii. 36. *every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgement.* Eph. v. 4. *foolish talking.*

Thirdly, excess of taciturnity. 2 Kings vii. 9. *this day is a day of good tidings, and we hold our peace.*

COURTEOUSNESS consists in affability and readiness of access.[3] 1 Pet. iii. 8. *be ye pitiful, courteous.*

Opposed to this are, first, churlishness. 1 Sam. xxv. 17. *he is such a son of Belial, that a man cannot speak to him.*

[3] Compare on this head, and with the three next paragraphs, the following passages from Symmons. 'Of this great man the manners are universally allowed to have been affable and graceful, the conversation cheerful, instructive, and engaging. His youngest daughter . . affirmed that 'he was delightful company; the life of the conversation, not only on account of his flow of subject, but of his unaffected cheerfulness and civility.' Isaac Vossius describes him as 'comem, affabilem, multisque aliis præditum virtutibus.' Burmann. *Syll.* III. 618. So also N. Heinsius; 'Virum esse miti comique ingenio aiunt, quique aliam non habuisse se causam profitetur Scribonium acerbe insectandi, quam quod ille et viros e maximis celeberrimisque multos nihil benignius exceperit, et quod in universam Anglorum gentem conviciis atrocissimis injurius valde fuerit.' Burmann. *Syll.* III. 276. Salmasius is here alluded to under the name of Scribonius.

Secondly, frowardness. Prov. iv. 24. *put away from thee a froward mouth.* xiv. 3. *in the mouth of the foolish is a rod of pride.* xvi. 26. *he that laboureth, laboureth for himself; for his mouth craveth it of him.* xviii. 6. *a fool's lips enter into contention, and his mouth calleth for strokes.* xxvii. 22. *though thou shouldest bray a fool in a mortar among wheat with a pestle, yet will not his foolishness depart from him.*

Thirdly, false or constrained courtesy; as that of Absalom, 2 Sam. xv. 3, 4. Psal. xii. 3. *Jehovah shall cut off all flattering lips.*

Urbanity comprehends not only the innocent refinements and elegances of conversation, but acuteness and appropriateness of observation or reply. Prov. xxiv. 26. *every man shall kiss his lips that giveth a right answer.* xxv. 11. *a word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in pictures of silver.* 1 Kings xviii. 27. *Elijah mocked them—.* Col. iv. 6. *let your speech be alway with grace seasoned with salt, that ye may know how ye ought to answer every man.*

Opposed to this are obscenity and double meanings. Eph. iv. 29. *let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth.* v. 4. *neither filthiness, nor foolish talking, nor jesting,*[4] *which are not convenient.* Col. iii. 8. *but now ye also put off all these; anger .....filthy communication out of your mouth.* Obscenity, properly speaking, consists neither in word nor in action, but in the filthiness of his mind, who out of derision or wantonness perverts them from their proper import. Hence those expressions in the Hebrew Scriptures, for which the Jewish commentators substitute others in the margin which they esteem more decent, are not to be considered as obscene, but are to be attributed to

[4] εὐτραπελία. 'Nomen medium, proprie significat concinnam mutationem, et intra virtutes morales ab Aristotele numeratur, urbanitas. Sed in Novo Testamento in malam partem usurpatur pro scurrilitate. Eam vocem pro scurrilitate apostolus posuit, quod plerumque qui urbanitatem affectant, a medio virtutis aberrantes, ad scurrilitatem declinent. Qua in significatione etiam Pindarus poeta Græcam vocem usurpasse legitur. Itaque recte noster interpres *scurrilitatem* vertit.' Estius in locum. See Leigh's *Critica Sacra*, Schleusner, Wetstein, Elsner, and Macknight.

the vehemence or indignation of the speaker.[5] Neither are the words of Deut. xxii. 17. to be regarded as indecent; *they shall spread the cloth before the elders of the city.*

Freedom of speech consists in speaking the truth with boldness. Exod. xi. 8. *all these thy servants shall come down unto me.* Job xii. 3. *I have understanding as well as you; I am not inferior to you: yea, who knoweth not such things as these?* 1 Sam. xiii. 13. *Samuel said unto Saul, Thou hast done foolishly: thou hast not kept the commandment of Jehovah.* Psal. cxix. 42. *so shall I have wherewith to answer him that reproacheth me.* Prov. xxvi. 5. *answer a fool according to his folly.* This virtue is exemplified in Elijah and Elisha, 2 Kings vi. 32. and in many others; in Hanani, 2 Chron. xvi. 7. in Zechariah, xxiv. 20. Isai. i. 10, 23. *hear the word of Jehovah ..... thy princes are rebellious, and companions of thieves.* Jer. xiii. 18. *say unto the king and to the queen, Humble yourselves, sit down.* Ezek. xxi. 25. *and thou, profane wicked prince of Israel—.* Micah vii. 4. *the best of them is a briar.* Matt. iii. 7. *O generation of vipers.* John xiv. 4. *it is not lawful for*

[5] 'The Spirit of God, who is purity itself, when he would reprove any fault severely, or but relate things done or said with indignation by others, abstains not from some words not civil at other times to be spoken, &c. &c.... whereas God, who is the author both of purity and eloquence, chose this phrase as fittest in that vehement character wherein he spake, otherwise that plain word might have easily been forborne: which the masoreths and rabbinical scholiasts not well attending, have often used to blur the margent with Keri instead of Ketiv, and gave us this insulse rule out of their Talmud, 'that all words which in the law are written obscenely, must be changed to more civil words;' fools, who would teach men to read more decently than God thought good to write.' *Apology for Smectymnuus.* Prose Works, I. 233. 'Ask a Talmudist what ails the modesty of his marginal Keri, that Moses and all the prophets cannot persuade him to pronounce the textual Ketiv.' *Areopagitica,* Ibid. 300. 'Tu fortasse, ut sunt fere hypocritæ, verbis tetrici, rebus obscœni, ne ipsum quidem Mosen ista noxa immunem abs te dimiseris; cum alibi sæpius, tum etiam ubi Phineæ hasta qua parte mulierem transfixerit, si qua fides Hebræis, aperte narrat.... Non te Salomonis Euphemismi censorem, non prophetarum scripta tuam turpiculi immo nonnunquam plane obscœni censuram effugerint, quoties Masorethis et Rabbinis, pro eo quod diserte scriptum est, suum libet Keri adscribere. Ad me quod attinet, fateor malle me cum sacris scriptoribus εὐθυρρήμονα, quem cum futilibus Rabbinis εὐσχήμονα esse.' *Auctoris pro se Defensio,* V. 299.

thee to have her. Luke xiii. 32. *tell that fox.* John vii. 7. *me it hateth, because I testify of it that the works thereof are evil.* xviii. 37. *to this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness to the truth.* Acts xiii. 10. *O full of all subtilty,* &c. xix. 8, 9. *he went into the synagogue, and spake boldly for the space of three months, disputing,* &c. xxiii. 3. *thou whited wall.* Eph. vi. 20. *that therein I may speak boldly, as I ought to speak.* Tit. i. 12. *the Cretians are alway liars.*

Opposed to this is timidity in speaking the truth. 1 Sam. iii. 15. *Samuel feared to show Eli the vision.*

The spirit of admonition is that by which we freely warn sinners of their danger, without respect of persons. Gen. xxxvii. 2. *Joseph brought unto his father their evil report.* Levit. v. 1. *if a soul sin..... if he do not utter it, then he shall bear his iniquity.* xix. 17. *thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart; thou shalt in anywise rebuke thy neighbour, and not suffer sin upon him.* Psal. cxli. 5. *let the righteous smite me, it shall be a kindness.* Prov. vi. 23. *reproofs of instruction are the way of life.* x. 17. *he that refuseth reproof erreth.* xii. 1. *he that hateth reproof is brutish.* xiii. 18. *he that regardeth reproof shall be honoured.* xv. 5. *he that regardeth reproof is prudent.* v. 10. *he that hateth reproof shall die.* v. 32. *he that refuseth instruction despiseth his own soul.* xvii. 10. *a reproof entereth more into a wise man, than an hundred stripes into a fool.* xxiv. 25. *to them that rebuke him shall be delight.* xxv. 12. *as an ear-ring of gold, and an ornament of fine gold, so is a wise reprover upon an obedient ear.* xxvii. 6. *faithful are the wounds of a friend.* xxviii. 23. *he that rebuketh a man afterward shall find more favour—.* xxix. 1. *he that being often reproved hardeneth his neck—.* Eccles. vii. 5. *it is better to hear the rebuke of the wise, than—.* Matt. xvi. 23. *get thee behind me, Satan.* John iii. 19. *men loved darkness rather than light.* 1 Cor. i. 11. *it hath been declared unto me of you, my brethren, by them which are of the house of Chloe,* &c. 2 Cor.

vii. 8. *though I made you sorry with a letter, I do not repent,* &c. Heb. iii. 13. *exhort one another daily, while it is called to-day.* James v. 19, 20. *if any of you do err from the truth, and one convert him—.* Admonition however is not to be thrown away on the scornful and obstinate. Psal. lviii. 4, 5. *they are like the deaf adder which stoppeth her ear, which will not hearken to the voice of charmers.* Prov. ix. 7, 8. *he that reproveth a scorner getteth to himself shame ..... reprove not a scorner.* xiii. 1. *a scorner heareth not rebuke.* xxvi. 4. *answer not a fool according to his folly.* xxix. 9. *if a wise man contendeth with a foolish man, whether he rage or laugh, there is no rest.* 2 Chron. xxv. 16. *then the prophet forbare—.*

CHAP. XIV.

THE SECOND CLASS OF SPECIAL DUTIES TOWARDS OUR NEIGHBOUR CONTINUED.

THE virtues by which we promote the WORLDLY INTERESTS OF OUR NEIGHBOUR, are integrity and beneficence.

INTEGRITY consists in refraining from the property of others, which is also called abstinence; and in honesty and uprightness as regards our dealings with our neighbour, which is called commutative justice. Psal. xv. 2. *he that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness.*

ABSTINENCE is exemplified in Moses, Numb. xvi. 15. *I have not taken one ass from them, neither have I hurt one of them;* and in Samuel, 1 Sam. xii. 3. *whose ox have I taken?* On this subject laws are given Deut. xxiii. 24, 25. *when thou comest into thy neighbour's vineyard,* &c.

The opposites to this are, first, theft. Exod. xx. 15. *thou shalt not steal.* See also Levit. xix. 11. Prov. xxix. 24. *whoso is partner with a thief hateth his own soul.* xxii. 28. *remove not the ancient land-mark.* See also xxiii. 10. This was the crime of Judas Iscariot, John xii. 6. Eph. iv. 28. *let him that stole steal no more, but rather let him labour.* Laws against theft are given Exod. xxii. Prov. vi. 30. *men do not despise a thief, if he steal to satisfy his soul when he is hungry.*

xxviii. 24. *whoso robbeth his father or mother,* &c. Zech. v. 3. *every one that stealeth shall be cut off—.*

Secondly, fraud. Levit. xix. 11. *ye shall not deal falsely one to another.* Under the law, fraud could not be expiated unless restitution were previously made. Levit. vi. 5, &c. *he shall even restore it in the principal.....and he shall bring his trespass offering unto Jehovah.* Prov. xxi. 6. *the getting of treasures by a lying tongue is a vanity—.* 1 Thess. iv. 6. *that no man go beyond or defraud his brother in any matter.*

Thirdly, oppression and robbery. Job v. 15. *he saveth the poor from the hand of the mighty.* xx. 18, 19. *because he hath oppressed and hath forsaken the poor—.* Prov. xiv. 31. *he that oppresseth the poor reproacheth his neighbour.* xxii. 22, 23. *rob not the poor,* &c. xxx. 14. *there is a generation whose teeth are as swords.* Eccles. v. 8. *if thou seest the oppression of the poor,* &c. vii. 7. *surely oppression maketh a wise man mad.* Isai. iii. 14. *the spoil of the poor is in your houses.* v. 7, 8. *woe unto them that join house to house,* &c. Jer. ii. 34. *in thy skirts is found the blood of the souls of the poor innocents.* xxii. 13, &c. *woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness—.* Neh. v. 8. *we after our ability have redeemed our brethren—.* Amos iv. 1. *hear this word, ye kine of Bashan, which oppress the poor—.* v. 11. *forasmuch therefore as your treading is upon the poor—.* viii. 4, 5, &c. *hear this, O ye that swallow up the needy, even to make the poor of the land to fail—.* Micah ii. 1, 2. *they covet fields, and take them by violence.* iii. 2, 3. *who pluck the skin off from them—.*

Fourthly, injury. Exod. xxi. 33. *if an ox or an ass fall therein—.* v. 35, 36. *if one man's ox hurt another's .....or if it be known that the ox hath used to push in times past,* &c. xxii. 5, 6. *if a man shall cause a field or vineyard to be eaten,* &c.

Fifthly, man-stealing. Exod. xxi. 16. *he that stealeth a man, or selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.* Deut.

xxiv. 7. *if a man be found stealing any of his brethren,* &c. 1 Tim. i. 10. *men-stealers.*

Under COMMUTATIVE JUSTICE are included all transactions of purchase and sale, of letting and hire, of lending and borrowing, of keeping and restoring deposits.

Transactions of sale and purchase. Levit. xix. 36. *just balances, just weights—.* xxv. 14. *if thou sell ought unto thy neighbour, or buyest ought of thy neighbour's hand, ye shall not oppress one another.* Prov. xvi. 11. *a just weight and balance are Jehovah's; all the weights of the bag are his work.*

To justice in matters of sale and purchase, are opposed various frauds. Prov. xi. 26. *he that withholdeth corn, the people shall curse him.* Ezek. xxviii. 16. *by the multitude of thy merchandise they have filled the midst of thee with violence—.* So also when counterfeit or adulterated goods are sold for genuine. Amos viii. 6. *that we may sell the refuse of the wheat.* Or when false weights and measures are employed. Levit. xix. 35. *ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgement, in meteyard, in weight, or in measure.* Deut. xxv. 13—15. *thou shalt not have in thy bag divers weights, a great and a small—.* Prov. xi. 1. *a false balance is abomination to Jehovah.* xx. 10. *divers weights and divers measures, both of them are alike abomination to Jehovah.* See also v. 23. Hos. xii. 7. *he is a merchant, the balances of deceit are in his hand.* Amos viii. 5. *making the ephah small.* Micah vi. 11. *shall I count them pure with the wicked balances?* Or when the buyer, on his part, uses dishonest artifices in the conclusion of a bargain. Prov. xx. 14. *it is naught, it is naught, saith the buyer.*

Transactions of letting or hire. Levit. xix. 13. *the wages of him that is hired shall not abide with thee all night until the morning.* Exod. xxii. 15. *if it be an hired thing, it came for his hire.* Deut. xxiv. 14, 15. *thou shalt not oppress an hired servant that is poor and needy, whether*

he be of thy brethren, or of thy strangers that are in the land within thy gates. Mal. iii. 5. *against those that oppress the hireling in his wages.* James v. 4. *behold, the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth.*

Lending and borrowing. Deut. xv. 7, &c. *if there be among you a poor man of one of thy brethren ..... thou shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need in that which he wanteth.* Psal. xxxvii. 26. *he is ever merciful, and lendeth.* cxii. 5. *a good man showeth favour, and lendeth.* Matt. v. 42. *from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away.* Luke vi. 35. *lend, hoping for nothing again.* Prov. xix. 17. *he that hath pity upon the poor, lendeth to Jehovah.* The case of loans to such as are not poor is different. Exod. xxii. 14. *if a man borrow ought of his neighbour, and it be hurt, or die,* &c. Psal. xxxvii. 21. *the wicked borroweth and payeth not again.*

In loans, justice is violated by the exaction of immoderate interest; under which denomination all interest is included, which is taken from the poor. Exod. xxii. 25. *if thou lend money to any of my people that is poor by thee, thou shalt not be to him as an usurer.* Levit. xxv. 35, 36. *if thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee, then thou shalt relieve him; yea, though he be a stranger or a sojourner, that he may live with thee: take thou no usury of him, or increase; but fear thy God, that thy brother may live with thee.* This is the meaning of the command in Deut. xxiii. 19. *thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother, usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of anything that is lent upon usury.*

As however much difference of opinion exists with regard to usury, and as the discussion belongs properly to this place, we will consider briefly what is to be determined on the subject. It is the opinion of most, that usury is not in all cases unlawful, but that its legality or illegality is determined by the purpose for which it is exacted, the rate of interest, and the party by whom it is to be paid; that with

regard to the party, it may be lawfully received from any one possessed of sufficient property for payment; that the rate of interest should be such as is consistent with equity at least, if not with charity; and that in exacting it we should have a view not to our own interests exclusively, but also to those of our neighbour. Where these conditions are observed, they maintain that usury is perfectly allowable; nor is it without reason that these limitations are added, since without these there is scarcely any species of compact or commercial intercourse which can be considered as lawful. That usury is in itself equally justifiable with any other kind of civil contract, is evident from the following considerations;[6] first, that if it were in itself reprehensible, God would not have permitted the Israelites to lend upon usury to strangers, Deut. xxiii. 20. especially as he elsewhere commands them to do no hurt to the stranger, but on the contrary to assist him with every kind of good office, especially in case of poverty. Secondly, if it be lawful to receive profit for the use of cattle, lands, houses, and the like, why not of money also? which, when borrowed, as it often is, not from necessity, but for purposes of gain, is apt to be more profitable to the borrower than to the lender. It is true that God prohibited the Israelites from lending upon usury on the produce of their land; but this was for a reason purely ceremonial, in like manner as he forbad them to sell their land in perpetuity, Levit. xxv. 23. Under the gospel, therefore, that usury only is to be condemned which is taken from the poor, or of which the sole object is gain, and which is exacted without a regard to charity and justice; even as any other species of lucrative commerce carried on in the same spirit would be equally reprehensible, and equally entitled to the Hebrew name נֶשֶׁךְ, signifying *a bite*. This therefore is the usury prohibited Exod. xxii. 25. *if thou lend money to any of my people that is poor by thee, thou shalt not be to him as an*

[6] 'Usury, so much as is permitted by the magistrate, and demanded with common equity, is neither against the word of God, nor the rule of charity; as hath been often discussed by men of eminent learning and judgement.' *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, Prose Works, II. 24.

usurer. Levit. xxv. 35—37. as above. These are the earliest passages in which the subject occurs; they ought therefore to be considered as illustrating by anticipation those which come after, and the exception contained in them as applying equally to all other occasions on which usury is mentioned: Deut. xxiii. 19. as above. Psal. xv. 5. *he that putteth not out his money to usury.... shall never be moved.* Prov. xxviii. 8. *he that by usury and unjust gain increaseth his substance, he shall gather it for him that will pity the poor.* Ezek. xviii. 8. *he that hath not given forth upon usury, neither hath taken any increase, that hath withdrawn his hand from iniquity—.*

Justice as regards the safe custody of property, is concerned in the demand or restitution of pledges, and of deposits in trust; on which subject see Exod. xxii. 7. *if a man shall deliver unto his neighbour money or stuff to keep,* &c. See also v. 10, 11. Ezek. xviii. 7. *hath not oppressed any, but hath restored to the debtor his pledge.* Under what limitations a pledge may be received from a poor man, is seen Exod. xxii. 26. *if thou at all take thy neighbour's raiment to pledge,* &c. Deut. xxiv. 6. *no man shall take the upper or nether millstone to pledge.* The same chapter enjoins a regard to humanity in the taking of pledges, v. 10. *thou shalt not go into his house to fetch his pledge.*

Thus far of commutative justice. Under the same head may be classed MODERATION, which consists in voluntarily conceding some portion of an acknowledged right, or in abandoning it altogether. Gen. xiii. 9. *if thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left.*

BENEFICENCE consists in rendering willing assistance to our neighbour out of our own abundance; particularly to the poor within our reach. Levit. xix. 9. *when ye reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not wholly reap the corners of thy field, neither shalt thou gather the gleanings of thy harvest.* xxv. 35. *if thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee, then thou shalt relieve him; yea, though*

he be a stranger or a sojourner; that he may live with thee. Prov. iii. 27, 28. *withhold not good from them to whom it is due, when it is in the power of thine hand to do it; say not unto thy neighbour, Go, and come again, and to-morrow I will give, when thou hast it by thee.* Luke vi. 30. *give to every one that asketh of thee.* v. 38. *give, and it shall be given unto you.* Gal. vi. 10. *as we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men, especially unto them that are of the household of faith.* 1 Thess. v. 15. *ever follow that which is good, both among yourselves and to all men.* Heb. xiii. 16. *to do good and to communicate forget not: for with such sacrifices God is well pleased.* Concerning the proper mode of receiving benefits, see above on MAGNANIMITY.

Beneficence, as shown in public distributions of any kind, is called LIBERALITY. Psal. cxii. 5. *a good man sheweth favour, and lendeth* (gratiose largitur, Tremell.) Prov. xi. 24, 25. *there is that scattereth, and yet increaseth—.* xxi. 26. *the righteous giveth and spareth not.* Eccles. xi. 1. *cast thy bread on the waters.*

Opposed to liberality are, first, niggardliness, which gives nothing, or sparingly, or with a grudging mind. Prov. xxiii. 6—8. *eat thou not the bread of him that hath an evil eye, neither desire thou his dainty meats.*

Secondly, prodigality. Prov. xxi. 20. *there is treasure to be desired, and oil in the dwelling of the wise, but a foolish man spendeth it up.*

Beneficence, whether private or public, when exercised on an extraordinary scale, is called MAGNIFICENCE. This is exemplified in David, 1 Chron. xxix. 2. *I have prepared with all my might for the house of my God, the gold for things to be made of gold ..... moreover, because I have set my affection to the house of my God, I have of mine own proper good,* &c. and in the Jews who returned from captivity, Ezra ii. 68, 69. *some offered freely for the house of God to set it up in its place; they gave after their ability unto the treasure of the work.*

Corresponding with beneficence is GRATITUDE, which is shown in the requital, or, where this is impossible, in the thankful sense of a kindness. 2 Sam. ix. i. *David said, Is there yet any that is left of the house of Saul, that I may show him kindness for Jonathan's sake?* xix. 34, &c. *the king said unto Barzillai, Come thou over with me, and I will feed thee with me—.* 1 Kings ii. 7. *show kindness unto the sons of Barzillai the Gileadite.*

Opposed to this is ingratitude. Prov. xvii. 13. *whoso rewardeth evil for good, evil shall not depart from his house.* Eccles. ix. 15. *he by his wisdom delivered the city, yet no man remembered that same poor man.*

CHAP. XV.

OF

THE RECIPROCAL DUTIES OF MAN TOWARDS HIS NEIGHBOUR; AND SPECIALLY OF PRIVATE DUTIES.

THUS far we have treated of the virtues or special duties which man owes to his neighbour simply as such; we are next to consider those which originate in circumstances of particular relationship. These duties are either private or public.

The private duties are partly domestic, and partly such as are exercised towards those not of our own house. Gen. xviii. 19. *I know him, that he will command his children, and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of Jehovah.* 1 Tim. v. 8. *if any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.*

Under domestic duties are comprehended the reciprocal obligations of husband and wife, parent and child, brethren and kinsmen, master and servant.

THE DUTIES OF HUSBAND AND WIFE are mutual or personal.

Mutual duties. 1 Cor. vii. 3. *let the husband render unto the wife due benevolence, and likewise also the wife unto the husband.*

The personal duties appertaining to either party respectively are, first, those of the husband. Exod. xxi. 10, 11. *her food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage shall he not diminish; and if he do not these three unto*

her, &c. Prov. v. 18, 19. *rejoice with the wife of thy youth.* Esther i. 22. *every man should bear rule in his own house.* 1 Cor. xi. 3. *I would have you know that the head of every man is Christ, and the head of the woman is the man.* Eph. v. 25. *husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the church.* Col. iii. 19. *husbands, love your wives, and be not bitter against them.* 1 Pet. iii. 7. *likewise, ye husbands, dwell with them according to knowledge, giving honour unto the wife, as unto the weaker vessel.* The contrary is reproved Mal. ii. 13, 14, &c. *Jehovah hath been witness between thee and the wife of thy youth, against whom thou hast dealt treacherously—.* Prov. v. 20, 21. *why wilt thou, my son, be ravished with a strange woman?*

Personal duties of the wife. Prov. xiv. 1. *every wise woman buildeth her house.* xix. 14. *a prudent wife is from Jehovah.* xxxi. 11, &c. *the heart of her husband doth safely trust in her.* 1 Cor. xi. 3, &c. *the woman is the glory of the man; for the man is not of the woman, but the woman of the man.* Eph. v. 22—24. *wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord; for the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church, and he is the Saviour of the body; therefore as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in every thing.* Col. iii. 18. *wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as it is fit in the Lord.* Tit. ii. 4, 5. *that they may teach the young women to be sober, to love their husbands, to love their children, to be discreet, chaste, keepers at home, good, obedient to their own husbands, that the word of God be not blasphemed.* 1 Pet. iii. 1, &c. *likewise, ye wives, be in subjection to your own husbands,* &c. The same is implied in the original formation of the woman: Gen. ii. 22. *the rib which Jehovah had taken from man, made he a woman;* it cannot therefore be fitting that a single member, and that not one of the most important, should be independent of the whole body, and even of the head. Finally, such is the express declaration of God: Gen. iii. 16. *he shall rule over thee.*[7]

[7] My author and disposer, what thou bidd'st
Unargu'd I obey; so God ordains;
God is thy law, thou mine. *Paradise Lost,* IV. 635.

Offences against these duties. Exod. iv. 25. *a bloody husband art thou to me.* Job ii. 9. *then said his wife unto him, Dost thou still retain thine integrity?* &c. 2 Sam. vi. 20. *Michal the daughter of Saul came out to meet David, and said,* &c. Prov. ix. 13. *a foolish woman is clamorous.* vii. 11. *her feet abide not in her house.*[8] xiv. 1. *the foolish plucketh it down with her hands.* xix. 13. *the contentions of a wife are a continual dropping.* See also xxvii. 15. xxi. 9. *it is better to dwell in a corner of the house top, than with a brawling woman in a wide house.* v. 19. *it is better to dwell in the wilderness, than with a contentious and an angry woman.* See also xxv. 24. Eccles. vii. 26. *I find more bitter than death the woman whose heart is snares and nets, and her hands as bands: whoso pleaseth God shall escape from her, but the sinner shall be taken by her.* Above all, adultery: Deut. xxii. 14, 20. *I took this woman, and when I came unto her, I found her not a maid ..... if this thing be true,* &c.

THE DUTIES OF PARENTS are inculcated Deut. iv. 9. *teach them thy sons, and thy sons' sons.* vi. 6, 7. *these words which I command thee this*

> Was she thy God, that her thou didst obey
> Before his voice, or was she made thy guide,
> Superior, or but equal, that to her
> Thou didst resign thy manhood, and the place
> Wherein God set thee above her made of thee,
> And for thee, whose perfection far excell'd
> Hers in all real dignity. X. 145.
>
> ..... To thy husband's will
> Thine shall submit; he over thee shall rule. *Ibid.* 195.

See also *Tetrachordon:* 'But St. Paul ends the controversy ——— that indelible character of priority which God crowned him with.' Prose Works, II. 121, 122.

[8] 'Nevertheless, as I find that Grotius on this place hath observed, the Christian emperors, Theodosius the second and Justinian, men of high wisdom and reputed piety, decreed it to be a divorcive fornication, if the wife attempted either against the knowledge, or obstinately against the will of her husband, such things as gave open suspicion of adulterizing, as the wilful haunting of feasts, and invitations with men not of her near kindred, the lying forth of her house without probable cause, the frequenting of theatres against her husband's mind,' &c. *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce,* II. 45.

day, shall be in thine heart, and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children. Prov. xiii. 24. *he that spareth his rod hateth his son; but he that loveth him chasteneth him betimes.* Prov. xix. 18. *chasten thy son while there is hope, and let not thy soul spare for his crying.* xxii. 6. *train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it.* v. 15. *foolishness is bound in the heart of a child; but the rod of correction shall drive it far from him.* xxiii. 13, 14. *withhold not correction from the child; for if thou beatest him with the rod, he shall not die: thou shalt beat him with the rod, and deliver his soul from hell.* xxix. 15, 17. *the rod and reproof give wisdom.* Lam. iii. 27, 28. *it is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth.* Deut. xxi. 18—20. *if a man have a stubborn and rebellious son, which will not obey the voice of his father or the voice of his mother, and that when they have chastened him will not hearken unto them.* Eph. vi. 4. *ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath; but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.* Coloss. iii. 21. *fathers, provoke not your children to anger, lest they be discouraged.*

The opposites are, first, unbounded indulgence; as that of Eli the priest, 1 Sam. ii. and of David towards his sons Absalom and Adonijah, 1 Kings i. 6. *whom his father had not displeased at any time in saying, Why hast thou done so?* Gen. xxv. 28. *Isaac loved Esau, because he did eat of his venison.*

Secondly, excessive severity. 1 Sam. xiv. 44. *thou shalt surely die, Jonathan.*

THE DUTIES OF CHILDREN are prescribed Gen. ix. 23. *Shem and Japheth took a garment—.* xxiv. 15, &c. *with her pitcher upon her shoulder—.* xxix. 9. *Rachel came with her father's sheep.* Exod. ii. 16. *they came and drew water, and filled the troughs to water their father's flock.* xviii. 7. *Moses went out to meet his father-in-law.* xx. 12. *honour thy father and thy mother.* Lev. xix. 3. *ye shall fear every man his mother and his father.* 1 Sam. xx. 32. *Jonathan answered Saul his*

father, and said unto him, Wherefore shall he be slain? what hath he done? 1 Kings ii. 19. *Bathsheba went unto king Solomon..... and the king rose up to meet her.* Prov. i. 8. *my son, hear the instruction of thy father, and forsake not the law of thy mother.* vi. 20, 21. *my son, keep thy father's commandment.* xxiii. 22, 24, 25. *hearken unto thy father that begat thee, and despise not thy mother when she is old.* Jer. xxxv. 5, 6. *our father commanded us, saying—.* Eph. vi. 1—3. *children, obey your parents in the Lord; for this is right: honour thy father,* &c. Coloss. iii. 20. *children, obey your parents in all things; for this is well pleasing unto the Lord.* 1 Tim. v. 4. *if any widow have children or nephews, let them learn first to show piety at home, and to requite their parents, for that is good and acceptable before God.*

Contrary to the above is the conduct of Ham, Gen. ix. 22. *Ham saw the nakedness of his father.* Exod. xxi. 15. *he that smiteth his father, or his mother, shall surely be put to death.* v. 17. *he that curseth his father, or his mother, shall surely be put to death.* See also Lev. xx. 9. Deut. xxi. 18. *if a man have a stubborn and rebellious son—.* xxvii. 16. *cursed be he that setteth light by his father or his mother.* Prov. x. 1. *a wise son maketh a glad father, but a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother.* xix. 26. *he that wasteth his father,* &c. xx. 20. *whoso curseth his father or his mother, his lamp shall be put out in obscure darkness.* xxiii. 22. *hearken unto thy father that begat thee—.* xxviii. 24. *whoso robbeth his father or his mother—.* xxx. 17. *the eye that mocketh at his father, and despiseth to obey his mother, the ravens of the valley shall pick it out, and the young eagles shall eat it.* Matt. xv. 5. *ye say, Whosoever shall say to his father or mother, It is a gift..... and honour not his father or mother, he shall be free.* See also Mark vii. 11, 12. Also an extravagant and preposterous regard. Matt. viii. 21, 22. *suffer me first to go and bury my father.*

Analogous to the relation of parent and child are those of guardian and ward, teacher and pupil, elder and younger; in a word, of superior and inferior, whatever be the ground of distinction.

For the duties of GUARDIANS, see 2 Kings xi. 4, &c. *he shewed them the king's son*, &c.

The duties of WARDS. 2 Kings xii. 2. *Jehoash did that which was right in the sight of Jehovah all his days, wherein Jehoiada the priest instructed him.*

The prophet Samuel did not consider it beneath his dignity in his old age, after having exercised the most important public functions, to discharge the office of TEACHER in the schools of the prophets.[9] 1 Sam. xix. 20. *they saw the company of the prophets prophesying, and Samuel standing as appointed over them.*

The duties of PUPILS. 1 Kings xix. 21. *he went after Elijah, and ministered unto him.* 2 Kings ii. 2, 4, 6. *I will not leave thee.*

The duties of the ELDER. Prov. xvi. 31. *the hoary head is a crown of glory, if it be found in the way of righteousness.* Tit. ii. 2. *that the aged men be sober, grave, temperate, sound in faith, in charity, in patience.*

The reverse. Job xx. 11. *his bones are full of the sin of his youth, which shall lie down with him in the dust.* Isai. lxv. 20. *the sinner being an hundred years old shall be accursed.*

The duties of the YOUNGER. Lev. xix. 32. *thou shalt rise up before the hoary head—.* 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3. *in the eighth year of his reign, while he was yet young, he began to seek after God.* Job xxxii. 4.

[9] It will be remembered that Milton was reproached by his enemies with having been a schoolmaster. In the *Transproser Rehearsed*, written by R. Leigh, Oxon. 1673, 12mo. he is called *a Latin Secretary and an English Schoolmaster*, p. 128. and Salmasius in his posthumous reply to the 'Defence of the People of England,' describes him as 'ludimagister in schola triviali Londinensi.' Newton and Symmons have vindicated him from this crime with more seriousness than the charge seems to deserve.

Elihu had waited till Job had spoken, because they were elder than he. v. 6. *I am young, and ye are very old; wherefore I was afraid, and durst not show you mine opinion.* Psal. xxv. 7. *remember not the sins of my youth—.* cxix. 9. *wherewithal shall a young man cleanse his way?—.* cxlviii. 12. *young men and maidens ..... praise the name of Jehovah.* Eccles. xi. 9, 10. *rejoice, O young man, in thy youth ..... but know thou, that for all these things God will bring thee into judgement.* xii. 1—3. *remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth.* 1 Tim. iv. 12. *let no man despise thy youth.* 2 Tim. iii. 15. *from a child thou hast known the holy scriptures.* Tit. ii. 6. *young men likewise exhort to be sober-minded.*

The reverse. 2 Kings ii. 23. *there came forth little children out of the city, and mocked him.* 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9. *Jehoiachin was eight years old when he began to reign ..... and he did that which was evil in the sight of Jehovah.* Psal. lviii. 3. *the wicked are estranged from the womb.* Prov. xx. 11. *even a child is known by its doings.* Isai. iii. 5. *the child shall behave himself proudly against the ancient.*

The duties of SUPERIORS. Ruth ii. 4. *Boaz said unto the reapers, Jehovah be with you.* Psal. xlix. 20. *man that is in honour, and understandeth not, is like the beasts that perish.* Prov. iii. 35. *the wise shall inherit glory.* 1 Pet. iv. 10. *as every man hath received the gift, even so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God.*

The reverse. Prov. xxvi. 1. *as snow in summer, and as rain in harvest, so honour is not seemly for a fool.* Eccles. x. 5, 6. *there is an evil that I have seen under the sun, as an error which proceedeth from the ruler; folly is set in great dignity—.* Isai. xxiii. 9. *to stain the pride of all glory—.*

We are forbidden to glory in nobility of birth, or in rank, however exalted. Deut. xxvi. 5, &c. *thou shalt speak and say before Jehovah thy God, A Syrian ready to perish was my father—.* Job xii. 21. *he*

poureth contempt upon princes. Psal. lxxv. 7. *God is the judge, he putteth down one, and setteth up another.* cxiii. 7. *he raiseth up the poor out of the dust.* Isai. xxxii. 8. *the liberal deviseth liberal things, and by liberal things shall he stand.* John i. 13. *which were born, not of blood—.* iii. 6. *that which is born of the flesh is flesh.* viii. 39. *if ye were Abraham's children, ye would do the works of Abraham.*

Opposed to the proper duty of a superior, is an unauthorized assumption of censorial power. 1 Pet. iv. 15. *a busybody in other men's matters.*

The duties of INFERIORS. Prov. xxvi. 8. *as he that bindeth a stone in a sling, so is he that giveth honour to a fool.* Ruth ii. 4. *they answered him, Jehovah bless thee.* v. 7. *I pray you, let me glean and gather after the reapers.* 2 Kings ii. 15. *they came to meet him, and bowed themselves to the ground before him.* Luke xiv. 9, 10. *when thou art bidden, go and sit down in the lowest room.* Rom. xiii. 7. *render therefore to all their dues.....honour to whom honour.*

The reverse. James ii. 2, &c. *if there come unto your assembly a man with a gold ring,* &c.

The duties of BRETHREN and KINSMEN. Gen. iv. 7. *unto thee shall be his desire, and thou shalt rule over him.* xiii. 8. *let there be no strife, I pray thee, between thee and me.....for we be brethren.* xxix. 11. *Jacob kissed Rachel, and lifted up his voice, and wept.* v. 13. *he ran to meet him, and embraced him, and kissed him.* xliii. 33. *they sat before him, the first-born according to his birth-right—.* Psal. cxxxiii. 1. *behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.*

The reverse. 2 Chron. xxi. 4. *he slew all his brethren—.* v. 13. *and also hast slain thy brethren of thy father's house, which were better than thyself.* Prov. xviii. 19. *a brother offended is harder to be won than a strong city.*

The duties of MASTERS. Exod. xxi. 26, 27. *if a man strike the eye of his servant, or the eye of his maid, that it perish, he shall let him go free for his eye's sake.* Job xxxi. 13. *if I did despise the cause of my man-servant, or of my maid-servant, when they contended with me.* Psal. ci. 6. *he that walketh in a perfect way, he shall serve me.* cxxvii. 1, 2. *except Jehovah build the house, they labour in vain that build it.* Prov. iii. 33. *he blesseth the habitation of the just.* xiv. 11. *the tabernacle of the upright shall flourish.* xv. 6. *in the house of the righteous is much treasure.* xxiv. 3, 4. *through wisdom is an house builded,* &c. xxvii. 23. *be thou diligent to know the state of thy flocks—.* xxix. 21. *he that delicately bringeth up his servant from a child, shall have him become his son at the length.* Luke xvii. 7—10. *which of you having a servant plowing..... will not rather say unto him, Make ready wherewith I may sup.....doth he thank that servant because he did the things that were commanded him? I trow not.* Eph. vi. 9. *and ye, masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening; knowing that your master also is in heaven, neither is there respect of persons with him.* Col. iv. 1. *masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal,* &c. 1 Tim. iii. 5. *if a man know not how to rule his own house,* &c.

The reverse. Prov. iii. 33. *the curse of Jehovah is in the house of the wicked.* xi. 29. *he that troubleth his own house shall inherit the wind.* xiv. 11. *the house of the wicked shall be overthrown.* xv. 6. *in the revenues of the wicked is trouble.* v. 25. *Jehovah will destroy the house of the proud.*

Respecting the possession of slaves, and the extent of the master's authority, see Gen. xvii. 12. *he that is born in the house, or bought with money of any stranger—.* Levit. xix. 20. *whosoever lieth carnally with a woman that is a bondmaid,* &c. xxv. 44—46. *both thy bondmen and thy bondmaids which thou shalt have,* &c. 1 Cor. vii. 21, 22. *let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called.....art thou called being a servant, care not for it.* See also the epistle to Philemon. Concerning the forfeiture, by insolvency, of the rights of freedom, see 2 Kings iv. 1. *the creditor is come to take unto him my*

two sons to be bondmen. Matt. xviii. 25. *his lord commanded him to be sold, and his wife,* &c.

Respecting the punishment of slaves, see Gen. xvi. 6. *behold, the maid is in thine hand, do to her as it pleaseth thee.* Prov. xxix. 19. *a servant will not be corrected by words; for, though he understand, he will not answer.* Punishment, however, should not exceed due limits. Exod. xxi. 20, 21, 26, 27. *if a man smite his servant, or his maid, and he die—.*

Respecting the manumission of Hebrew slaves, see Exod. xxi. 2—4. Levit. xxv. 39, 40. Deut. xv. 12, 13, 16, 17, &c. Jer. xxxiv.

The duties of SERVANTS. Gen. xvi. 9. *the angel of Jehovah said unto her, Return to thy mistress, and submit thyself under her hands.* xxiv. 9. *the servant put his hand under the thigh of Abraham his master, and sware to him—.* Prov. xvii. 2. *a wise servant shall have rule over a son that causeth shame—.* xxv. 13. *so is a faithful messenger to them that send him, for he refresheth the soul of his masters.* xxvii. 18. *he that waiteth on his master shall be honoured.* Eph. vi. 5—8. *servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ—.* See also Col. iii. 22, &c. 1 Tim. vi. 1, 2. *let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed: and they that have believing masters, let them not despise them..... because they are faithful and beloved.* Tit. ii. 9, 10. *exhort servants to be obedient unto their own masters, and to please them in all things, not answering again, not purloining, but showing all fidelity, that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things.* 1 Pet. ii. 18, 19. *servants, be subject to your masters with all fear, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward; for this is thankworthy—.*

The reverse. Gen. xvi. 4. *her mistress was despised in her eyes.* 2 Kings v. 20, &c. *Gehazi, the servant of Elisha the man of God, said,*

Behold, my master hath spared Naaman this Syrian, in not receiving at his hands that which he brought; but as Jehovah liveth, I will run after him, and take somewhat of him. Prov. x. 26. *as vinegar to the teeth ..... so is the sluggard to them that send him.* xxvi. 6. *he that sendeth a message by the hand of a fool cutteth off the feet, and drinketh damage.* xxx. 22, 23. *for a servant when he reigneth,* &c.

CHAP. XVI.

Of
THE REMAINING CLASS OF PRIVATE DUTIES.

THUS far of domestic duties. We are next to speak of those which are exercised towards strangers.

The principal virtues in this class are almsgiving and hospitality.

ALMSGIVING consists in AFFORDING RELIEF TO THE POOR, ESPECIALLY TO SUCH AS ARE BRETHREN, IN PROPORTION TO OUR MEANS, OR EVEN BEYOND THEM, WITHOUT OSTENTATION, AND FROM THE MOTIVE OF TRUE CHARITY.[1] Exod. xxiii. 11. *the seventh year thou shalt let the land rest, and lie still, that the poor of thy people may eat.* Deut. xv. 2. *this is the manner of the release,* &c. v. 11. *thou shalt open thine hand wide unto thy brother, to thy poor and to thy needy, in thy land.* xxiv. 19—21. *when thou cuttest down thine harvest in thy field—.* Luke iii. 11. *he that hath two coats, let him impart to him that hath none.* xiv. 12—14. *when thou makest a dinner.....call not thy friends..... lest they also bid thee again.....but call the poor, the lame,* &c. xvi. 9. *make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, that when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations.* Christ himself, although poor, set us an example of this virtue. John xiii. 29. *that he should give something to the poor.* Eph. iv. 28. *rather let him labour.....that he may have to give to him that needeth.*

[1] Milton, when speaking of his mother, particularly notices her charitable disposition. 'Londini sum natus.....matre probatissima, et eleemosynis per viciniam potissimum nota.' *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano.* Prose Works, V. 230.

In proportion to our means. Matt. x. 42. *whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only in my name—.* Luke xi. 41. *rather give alms of such things as ye have.* Acts iii. 6. *silver and gold have I none, but such as I have give I thee.* 2 Cor. viii. 12, 13. *if there be first a willing mind, it is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that he hath not.*

Or even beyond them. Luke xxi. 4. *all these have of their abundance cast in unto the offerings of God, but she of her penury hath cast in all the living that she had.* 2 Cor. viii. 3. *to their power, I bear record, yea, and beyond their power, they were willing of themselves.* He subjoins however, v. 13. *I mean not that other men be eased, and ye burdened; but by an equality, that now at this time your abundance may be a supply for their want.* On this, as on similar occasions, we are to be guided by geometrical rather than by arithmetical proportion, regulating our bounty according to the rank and dignity, the education and previous condition of each individual; lest we fall into the absurdity of equalizing those whom nature never intended for an equality.

To the poor; that is, to such as are unable to support themselves by their own labour and exertions. Lev. xxv. 35. *if thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee, then thou shalt relieve him: yea, though he be a stranger.* Deut. xv. 7, &c. *if there be among you a poor man,* &c. 2 Thess. iii. 10. *if any would not work, neither should he eat.* Hence we are not bound to relieve those vagrants and beggars who are such of choice, and not of necessity. v. 11, 12. *we hear that there are some which walk among you disorderly, working not at all, but are busybodies; now them that are such we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and eat their own bread.* Among the poor are to be reckoned orphans and widows, on account of the desolate situation of the one, and the tender age of the other. Exod. xxii. 22—24. *ye shall not afflict any widow or fatherless child.* Deut. x. 18. *he doth create the judgement of the father-*

less and widow. xiv. 28, 29. *at the end of three years thou shalt bring forth all the tithe of thine increase.... and the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, which are within thy gates, shall come, and shall eat and be satisfied.* xxvii. 19. *cursed be he that perverteth the judgement of the fatherless or widow.* Job xxix. 11, &c. *because I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless—.* xxxi. 16. *if I have withheld the poor from their desire, or have caused the eyes of the widow to fail; or have eaten my morsel myself alone, and the fatherless have not eaten thereof.* Psal. lxviii. 5. *a father of the fatherless, and a judge of the widows, is God in his holy habitation.* cxlvi. 9. *he relieveth the fatherless and widow.* Prov. xxiii. 10, 11. *enter not into the fields of the fatherless; for their redeemer is mighty.* To these may be added such as are weak or helpless from any cause whatever, and all who are in affliction, especially for religion's sake. Isai. lviii. 7. *is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him, and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh?* Matt. xxv. 36. *naked, and ye clothed me; sick,* &c. Luke xiv. 13. *call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind.* Heb. vi. 10. *God is not unrighteous to forget your work and labour of love which ye have showed toward his name, in that ye have ministered to the saints, and do minister.*

Without ostentation. Prov. xxi. 14. *a gift in secret pacifieth anger, and a reward in the bosom strong wrath.* Matt. vi. 1, &c. *when thou doest thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee—.* 2 Cor. viii. 24. *wherefore show ye to them, and before the churches, the proof of your love, and of our boasting on your behalf.*

Out of true charity. 1 Cor. xiii. 3. *though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, I am nothing.* Not therefore of compulsion. 2 Cor. viii. 3. *they were willing of themselves.* v. 8. *I speak not by commandment, but by occasion of the forwardness of others, and to prove the sincerity of your love.*

Scripture everywhere declares that the reward of almsgiving is great. Job xxix. 11—25. *when the ear heard me, then it blessed me .....because I delivered the poor that cried,* &c. Psal. xli. 1. *blessed is he that considereth the poor: Jehovah will deliver him in the time of trouble.* cxii. 9. compared with 2 Cor. ix. 8, 9. *God is able to make all grace abound toward you, that ye, always having all sufficiency in all things, may abound to every good work; as it is written, He hath dispersed abroad, he hath given to the poor, his righteousness remaineth for ever.* Prov. xiv. 21. *he that hath mercy on the poor, happy is he.* xix. 17. *he that hath pity upon the poor lendeth to Jehovah, and that which he hath given will he pay him again.* xxii. 9. *he that hath a bountiful eye shall be blessed, for he giveth of his bread to the poor.* xxviii. 27. *he that giveth to the poor shall not lack.* Isai. lviii. 6, &c. *is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry?* &c. *then shall thy light break forth as the morning.* Matt. x. 40—42. *he that receiveth you, receiveth me, and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me.* xxv. 34, 35. *come, ye blessed of my Father.....for I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat—.* Luke xi. 41. *give alms..... and behold, all things are pure unto you.* xii. 33. *provide yourselves bags which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not.* xiv. 12—14. *thou shalt be blessed, for they cannot recompense thee.* Acts x. 2—4. *thy prayers and thine alms are come up for a memorial before God.* 2 Cor. ix. 6. *he which soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully.* 1 Tim. vi. 18, 19. *laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold on eternal life.*

On the other hand, the neglect of this duty is condemned, Prov. xxi. 13. *whoso stoppeth his ears at the cry of the poor, he also shall cry himself, but shall not be heard.* xxviii. 27. *he that hideth his eyes shall have many a curse.* Matt. xxv. 45. *inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me.* 2 Cor. ix. 6. *he which soweth sparingly, shall reap also sparingly.*

Hospitality consists in receiving under our own roof, or providing for the kind reception of the poor and strangers; especially such as are

recommended to us by the churches, or by our brethren in the faith. Deut. xxiii. 7, 8. *thou shalt not abhor an Edomite, for he is thy brother; thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian, because thou wast a stranger in his land.* Job xxxi. 32. *the stranger did not lodge in the street—.* Rom. xii. 13. *distributing to the necessity of saints, given to hospitality.* xvi. 2. *that ye receive her in the Lord, as becometh saints, and that ye assist her in whatsoever business she hath need of you, for she hath been a succourer of many, and of myself also.* Heb. xiii. 2. *be not forgetful to entertain strangers; for thereby some have entertained angels unawares.* 1 Pet. iv. 9. *use hospitality one to another without grudging.* 3 John 5, 6, &c. *beloved, thou doest faithfully whatsoever thou doest to the brethren, and to strangers; which have borne witness of thy charity before the church.* The reward of a hospitable spirit is signally exemplified in the woman of Sarepta, and in the Shunammite, who received prophets under their roof.

Injury or oppression of guests or strangers was forbidden by various laws, recorded Exod. xxii. 21, &c. Levit. xix. 33, 34. Deut. x. 18, 19.

Opposed to this is inhospitality. Deut. xxvii. 19. *cursed be he that perverteth the judgement of the stranger.* Ezek. xxii. 29. *they have vexed the poor and needy, yea, they have oppressed the stranger wrongfully.* 3 John 10. *not content therewith, neither doth he himself receive the brethren, and forbiddeth them that would, and casteth them out of the church.*

CHAP. XVII.

OF

PUBLIC DUTIES TOWARDS OUR NEIGHBOUR.

HITHERTO we have treated of the private duties of man towards his neighbour. Public duties are of two kinds, political and ecclesiastical.

Under political duties are comprehended the obligations of the magistrate and the people to each other, and to foreign nations.

THE DUTIES OF THE MAGISTRATE TO THE PEOPLE are described Exod. xxiii. 8. *thou shalt take no gift, for the gift blindeth the wise.* xxxii. 11. *Moses besought Jehovah his God, and said, Jehovah, why doth thy wrath wax hot against thy people?* Lev. xix. 15. *thou shalt not respect the person of the poor, nor honour the person of the mighty; but in righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbour.* Num. xi. 11, &c. *wherefore have I not found favour in thy sight, that thou layest the burden of all this people upon me?* xiv. 13. *Moses said unto Jehovah, Then the Egyptians shall hear it—.* Deut. i. 9. *I am not able to bear you myself alone.* xvii. 20. *that his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not aside from the commandment to the right hand or to the left.* 1 Kings ii. 3. *keep the charge of Jehovah thy God—.* iii. 8—10. *give thy servant an understanding heart to judge thy people—.* See also 2 Chron. i. 10. 1 Chron. xiii. 2. *David said unto all the congregation of Israel, If it seem good unto you, and that it be of Jehovah our God, let us send abroad unto our brethren every where—.* xxviii. 2. *hear me, my brethren, and my people.* 2 Chron. xix. 6. *he said to the judges, Take heed what ye do, for ye judge not for man, but*

for Jehovah, who is with you in the judgement. Psal. lxxii. 2. *he shall judge thy people with righteousness, and thy poor with judgement.* lxxv. 2. *when I shall receive the congregation, I will judge uprightly.* lxxxii. 3. *defend the poor and fatherless.* Prov. xi. 14. *where no counsel is, the people fall; but in the multitude of counsellors there is safety.* xvi. 12. *it is an abomination to kings to commit wickedness, for the throne is established by righteousness.* xxix. 4. *the king by judgement establisheth the land, but he that receiveth gifts overthroweth it.* xviii. 17. *he that is first in his own cause seemeth just, but his neighbour cometh and searcheth him.* xx. 8. *a king that sitteth in the throne of judgement scattereth away all evil with his eyes.* xxiv. 23. *it is not good to have respect of persons in judgement.* xxxi. 1—10. *the words of king Lemuel,* &c. Jer. xxi. 12. *thus saith Jehovah...Execute judgement in the morning.* xxii. 3, 4. *execute ye judgement and righteousness.* Neh. v. 14. *from the time that I was appointed to be their governor ..... I and my brethren have not eaten the bread of the governor.* Matt. xx. 25—27. *ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them; but it shall not be so among you; but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister.* See also Mark x. 42, &c. Luke xxii. 25, &c. Rom. xiii. 3, 4. *rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil ..... for he is the minister of God to thee for good.*

In the matter of reward and punishment. Psal. ci. 4, &c. *a froward heart shall depart from me ..... mine eyes shall be upon the faithful of the land.* Inordinate punishment is forbidden. Deut. xxv. 3. *forty stripes he may give him, and not exceed.* 1 Kings ii. 26. *thou art worthy of death, but I will not at this time put thee to death, because,* &c.

The right of the magistrate as regards the sword. Gen. ix. 6. *whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed.* Job xii. 18. *he looseth the bond of kings.* Psal. lxxv. 6. *promotion cometh neither from the east, nor from the west, nor from the south.* Prov. viii. 15, 16.

by me kings reign. Dan. ii. 21. *he changeth the times and the seasons.* iv. 17. *that the living may know that the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men.* v. 18—20. *the most high God gave Nebuchadnezzar thy father a kingdom, and majesty,* &c. ..... *but when his heart was lifted up ..... he was deposed from his kingly throne.* Rom. xiii. 1, &c. *let every soul be subject unto the higher powers ..... for he beareth not the sword in vain;* if therefore not in vain, much less for the injury of the good.[2] 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14. *as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers.*

Of the election of magistrates, see Exod. xviii. 21. *thou shalt provide out of all the people able men, ... and place such over them.* Numb. xi. 16, 17, 25. *gather unto me seventy men—.* Deut. i. 13, &c. *take you wise men and understanding—.* 1 Sam. xi. 15. compared with xii. 1. *all the people went to Gilgal, and there they made Saul king ..... behold, I have hearkened unto your voice in all that ye said unto me, and have made a king over you.* 2 Sam. ii. 4. *the men of Judah came, and there they anointed David king over the house of Judah.*

The following texts show what is contrary to the duties of the magistrate. Psal. xxvi. 10. *their right hand is full of bribes.* xciv. 20. *shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with thee?* Prov. xvii. 23. *a wicked man taketh a gift out of the bosom to pervert the ways of judgement.* xxi. 7. *they refuse to do judgement.* xxviii. 15, 16. *as a roaring lion and a ranging bear, so is a wicked ruler over the poor people.* xxix. 4. *he that receiveth gifts overthroweth the land.* v. 12. *if a ruler hearken to lies, all his servants are wicked.* Eccles. iv. 13. *better is a poor and wise child, than an old and foolish king who will no more be admonished.* x. 5, 6. *there is an evil which I have seen under the sun, as an*

[2] 'Definiendo enim explicat, nequis errare et opiniones hinc stolidas aucupari possit, qui sint magistratus potestatis hujus ministri, et quam ob causam subjectos esse nos hortetur; 'Magistratus non sunt timori bonis operibus, sed malis; boni a potestate hac laudem adipiscentur; magistratus minister est Dei nostro bono datus; non frustra gladium gerit, vindex ad iram ei qui malum facit.'' *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio.* Prose Works, V. 87.

error which proceedeth from the ruler; folly is set in great dignity—. v. 16, 17. *woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child, and thy princes eat in the morning.* Isai. i. 23. *thy princes are rebellious and companions of thieves, every one loveth gifts, and followeth after rewards, they judge not the fatherless, neither doth the cause of the widow come unto them.* iii. 4. *I will give children to be their princes, and babes shall rule over them.* v. 12. *as for my people, children are their oppressors, and women rule over them.* v. 14. *Jehovah will enter into judgement with the ancients of his people—.* v. 23. *which justify the wicked for reward.* x. 12. *I will punish the fruit of the stout heart of the king of Assyria.* Ezek. xxix. 3. *behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt,* &c. Amos v. 7. *ye who turn judgement to wormwood—.* See also vi. 12. Micah iii. 11. *the heads thereof judge for reward—.* vii. 3. *the prince asketh, and the judge asketh for a reward.*

The licentiousness of courts is exposed, Gen. xii. 15. *the princes also of Pharaoh saw her and commended her before Pharaoh.* Prov. xxv. 5. *take away the wicked from before the king, and his throne shall be established in righteousness.* 2 Chron. xxiv. 17. *after the death of Jehoiada came the princes of Judah,* &c. Isai. xxii. 15, 16. *get thee unto this treasurer, even unto Shebna, which is over the house,* &c. 1 Kings xxi. 7. *Jezebel his wife said unto him, Dost thou now govern the kingdom of Israel?* Esth. iii. 6. *he thought scorn to lay hands on Mordecai alone—.* v. 9. *if it please the king, let it be written that they may be destroyed.* Dan. vi. 7. *all the presidents of the kingdom ..... have consulted together to make a royal decree—.*

It is especially the duty of the magistrate to encourage religion and the service of God (public worship in particular), and to reverence the church. Isai. xlix. 23. *kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers; they shall bow down to thee with their face toward the earth, and lick up the dust of thy feet.* That the church, however, does not stand in need of the superintendence of the magistrate, but that, if left in peace, she is fully qualified, in the exercise

of her own proper laws and discipline, to govern herself aright, and enlarge her boundaries, is evident from Acts ix. 31. *then had the churches rest throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria, and were edified, and walking in the fear of the Lord and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied.*

Religion therefore is to be protected by the magistrate, not forced upon the people.[3] Josh. xxiv. 15. *if it seem evil unto you to serve Jehovah, choose you this day whom ye will serve ..... but as for me and my house, we will serve Jehovah.* Psal. cv. 14. *he suffered no man to do them wrong, yea, he reproved kings for their sakes, saying, Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm.* If then kings are forbidden to exercise violence against religious persons in any matter whatever, much more are they forbidden to force the consciences of such persons in the matter of religion itself, especially on points where the magistrate is fully as liable to be mistaken as the pope, and is actually mistaken in many instances; unless indeed they are content, like him, to be accounted antichrist, a name given to the pope himself chiefly from his encroachments on the consciences of mankind. True it is, that the Jewish kings and magistrates interposed their judgement in matters of religion, and even employed force in the execution of their decrees; but this was only in cases where the law of God was clear and express, and where the magistrate might safely decide without danger of mistake or controversy. In our own times, on the contrary, Christians are on many occasions persecuted or subjected

[3] See on this and the following paragraph the treatise *On Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes*, throughout. Again, in the *History of Britain*: 'While they taught compulsion without convincement, which not long before they complained of as executed unchristianly against themselves, these intents are clear to have been no better than antichristian; setting up a spiritual tyranny by a secular power, to the advancing of their own authority above the magistrate, whom they would have made their executioner to punish church-delinquencies, whereof civil laws have no cognizance.' Prose Works, IV. 84. This was one of the paragraphs omitted for political reasons in all the early editions of the History of Britain. It appeared first in the collection of Milton's Works published in 2 vols. folio, 1738.

to punishment for matters either purely controversial, or left by Christian liberty to the judgement of each believer, or concerning which there is no express declaration in the gospel. Against such magistrates, Christians only in name, many heathen and Jewish rulers will rise in judgement, and among the rest Pontius Pilate himself, whose deference to Jewish opinions was such, that he did not think it derogatory to his proconsular dignity to go out to speak to the Jews, when they, from a religious scruple, declined entering the judgement-hall. John xviii. 28, 29. So also Gamaliel, Acts v. 39. *if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it;* and Gallio, xviii. 15. *I will be no judge of such matters.*

For if even the ecclesiastical minister is not entitled to exercise absolute authority over the church, much less can the civil magistrate claim such authority.[4] 2 Cor. i. 24. *not for that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy: for by faith ye stand.* Coloss. ii. 18. *let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility,* &c. 1 Pet. v. 3. *neither as being lords over God's heritage.* Rom. xiv. 4. *who art thou that judgest another man's servant?* See also James iv. 12. For other arguments to the same effect, I refer to Book I. of this treatise, under the heads of Christ's kingdom, faith, the gospel, Christian liberty, church discipline and its objects. Undoubtedly, as the kingdom of Christ is not of this world, so neither is it sustained by force and compulsion, the supports of earthly rule. Hence the outward profession of the gospel ought not to be made a matter of constraint; and as to the inner parts of religion, faith and liberty and conscience, these are beyond its power, being from their very nature matter of ecclesiastical discipline alone, and incapable of being affected by the determinations of human tribunals: not to mention the absurdity and impiety of compelling the conscientious to adopt a religion which

[4] 'Why did he lay restraints, and force enlargements upon our consciences in things for which we were to answer God only and the church? God bids us 'be subject for conscience sake,' that is, as to a magistrate, and in the laws, not usurping over spiritual things, as Lucifer beyond his sphere.' *Answer to Eikon Basilike.* Prose Works, III. 34.

they do not approve, or of constraining the profane to bear a part in that public worship from which God has interdicted them. Psal. l. 16, 17. *unto the wicked God said, What hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldest take my covenant in thy mouth?* Prov. xv. 8. and xxi. 27. *the sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination; how much more when he bringeth it with a wicked mind?*

For the duties of the people towards the magistrate, see Exod. xxii. 28. *thou shalt not revile the gods, nor curse the ruler of thy people.* 2 Sam. xxi. 17. *then the men of David sware unto him, saying, Thou shalt go no more out with us to battle, that thou quench not the light of Israel.* Prov. xxiv. 21, 22. *my son, fear thou Jehovah and the king.* xxix. 26. *many seek the ruler's favour, but every man's judgement cometh from Jehovah.* Eccles. viii. 2. *I counsel thee to keep the king's commandment, and that in regard of the oath of God.* Matt. xxii. 21. *render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.* Rom. xiii. 1. *let every soul be subject unto the higher powers—.* 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2. *I exhort therefore, that first of all supplications . . . . . be made for all men, for kings, and for all that are in authority.* Tit. iii. 1. *put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, to be ready to every good work.* 1 Pet. ii. 13. *submit yourselves to every ordinance of God for the Lord's sake.*

Even towards unjust magistrates. Matt. xvii. 26, 27. *then are the children free; notwithstanding, lest we should offend them,* &c. Acts xxiii. 4, &c. *revilest thou God's high priest? . . . . . I wist not, brethren, that he was the high priest: for it is written, Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.* Those cases must be excepted, in which compliance with the commands of men would be incompatible with our duty towards God. Exod. i. 17. *the midwives feared God, and did not as the king of Egypt commanded them.* ii. 2. *she hid him three months.* Josh. i. 17. *only Jehovah thy God be with thee—.* 1 Sam. xiv. 45. *so the people rescued Jonathan, that he died not.* xx. 1, &c. *he said unto him, God forbid, thou shalt not die.* xxii. 17. *the servants of the king would not put*

forth their hand. 2 Chron. xxi. 10. *Libnah revolted from under his hand, because he had forsaken Jehovah God of his fathers.* xxvi. 18. *they withstood Uzziah the king.* Esth. iii. 2, 4. *Mordecai bowed not, nor did him reverence.* Dan. iii. 16. *we are not careful to answer thee in this matter.* v. 18. *if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods.* vi. 10. *when Daniel knew that the writing was signed, he went into his house,* &c. Acts iv. 19. *whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye.* Hebr. xi. 23. *by faith Moses when he was born was hid three months of his parents.....and they were not afraid of the king's commandment.*

Opposed to this are, first, rebellion. Numb. xvi. 1. *now Korah ..... took men—.* 2 Sam. xx. 1. *and there happened to be there a man of Belial, whose name was Sheba,* &c.

Secondly, obedience in things unlawful. 1 Sam. xxii. 18. *Doeg the Edomite turned, and he fell upon the priests,* &c.

The opinion maintained by some, that obedience is due to the commands not only of an upright magistrate, but of an ususper, and that in matters contrary to justice, has no foundation in Scripture.[5] For with regard to 1 Pet. ii. 13. *submit yourselves to every ordinance of man,* it is evident from v. 14. that although this passage comprehends all human ordinances, all forms of government indiscriminately, it applies to them only so far as they are legitimately constituted. The eighteenth verse, which is alleged to the same purpose, relates to servants exclusively, and affords no rule for the conduct of free nations, whose rights are of a kind altogether distinct from those of purchased or hired servants. As for the obedience of the Israelites to Pharaoh, we have no means of

[5] 'Neither God nor nature put civil power into the hands of any whomsoever, but to a lawful end, and commands our obedience to the authority of law only, not to the tyrannical force of any person.' *Answer to Eikon Basilike.* Prose Works, III. 52. 'Quæ autem potestas, qui magistratus, contraria his facit, neque illa, neque hic, a Deo proprie ordinatus est. Unde neque tali vel potestati vel magistratui subjectio debetur aut præcipitur, neque nos prudenter obsistere prohibemur.' *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio.* V. 88.

ascertaining whether it was voluntary or compulsory, or whether in obeying they acted rightly or otherwise, inasmuch as we are nowhere told, either that they were enjoined to obey him, or that their obedience was made matter of commendation. The conduct of Daniel in captivity is equally foreign to the purpose, as under his circumstances it was impossible for him to act otherwise. Besides, it is written, Psal. lx. 4. *thou hast given a banner to them that feared thee, that it may be displayed because of the truth.* That it may be the part of prudence to obey the commands even of a tyrant in lawful things, or, more properly, to comply with the necessity of the times for the sake of public peace, as well as of personal safety,[6] I am far from denying.

The duties of the magistrate and people TOWARDS THEIR NEIGHBOURS regard the transactions of peace and war.

Under the head of PEACE are included international treaties. In order to ascertain whether, in particular cases, these may be lawfully contracted with the wicked, we ought to consider the purposes for which treaties are concluded, whether simply for the sake of peace, or of mutual defence and closer intimacy.

Of the former class are the confederacy of Abraham with the men of Mamre, Gen. xiv. 13. and with Abimelech, xxi. 27. that of Isaac with Abimelech, xxvi. 29—31. that of Solomon with Hiram, 1 Kings v. 12. from which examples the lawfulness of such alliances appears evident.

Of the latter class are the treaties of Asa with Benhadad, 1 Kings xv. 19. of Jehoshaphat with the house of Ahab, 2 Chron. xviii. 1.

[6] This is a remarkable passage, considering the prominent part taken by the author not only against the monarchy, but against the monarch himself. It is evident that his experience of the miseries caused by the civil disturbances of those evil times had taught him that a regard to the general good might sometimes render a temporary sacrifice of abstract rights not inconsistent with the sincerest love of political or religious liberty.

compared with xix. 2. of Amaziah with the Israelites, xxv. 6—8. of Ahaz with the Assyrians, 2 Kings xvi. 7. and that which the Jews sought to contract with the Egyptians, Isai. xxx. 2, &c. These were unlawful, and led to calamitous results. Exod. xxiii. 32. *thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor with their gods.* xxxiv. 12. *take heed to thyself lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land whither thou goest, lest it be for a snare in the midst of thee.* See also v. 15. Deut. vii. 4. *they will turn away thy son from following me.* Ezek. xvi. 26. *thou hast committed fornication with the Egyptians thy neighbours, great of flesh.* 2 Cor. vi. 14. *be not ye unequally yoked with unbelievers, for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness, and what communion hath light with darkness?*

Asa, 2 Chron. xvi. 3. and Zedekiah, xxxvi. 13. Ezek. xvii. are examples of the violation of treaties.

On the subject of asylums see Num. xxxv. 6—15. Deut. xxiii. 15.

With regard to the duties of WAR, it is enjoined, first, that it be not undertaken without mature deliberation. Prov. xx. 18. xxiv. 6. Luke xiv. 31. *what king going to make war against another king sitteth not down first and consulteth—?* Secondly, that it be carried on wisely and skilfully. 1 Sam. xiv. 28. *thy father straitly charged the people with an oath,* &c. xxiii. 22. *it is told me that he dealeth very subtilly.* Prov. xxi. 22. *a wise man scaleth the city of the mighty.* Thirdly, that it be prosecuted with moderation. Deut. xx. 19. *thou shalt not destroy the trees thereof,* &c. Fourthly, that it be waged in a spirit of godliness. Deut. xxiii. 9, &c. *when the host goeth forth against thine enemies, then keep thee from every wicked thing.* xxxii. 29, 30. *O that they were wise ..... how should one chase a thousand—!* 1 Sam. vii. 10. *as Samuel was offering up the burnt-offering.....Jehovah thundered with a great thunder on that day against the Philistines.* Isai. xxxi. 6. *turn ye unto him..... then shall the Assyrian fall with the sword.* Amos i. 13. *because they have ripped up the*

women with child of Gilead, that they might enlarge their border. Fifthly, that no mercy be shown to a merciless enemy. 1 Sam. xv. 33. *as thy sword hath made women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among women.* Psal. xviii. 41, 42. *they cried, but there was none to save them.....then did I beat them small as the dust before the wind.* lx. 8. *Moab is my wash-pot; over Edom will I cast out my shoe—.* Jer. xlviii. 10. *cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood.* Sixthly, that our confidence be not placed in human strength, but in God alone. Exod. xiv. 17, 18. *I will get me honour upon Pharaoh and all his host.* Deut. xx. 1. *when thou goest out to battle against thine enemies, and seest horses and chariots,* &c. 1 Sam. xiv. 6. *there is no restraint to Jehovah to save by many or by few.* xvii. 47. *all this assembly shall know that Jehovah saveth not with sword and spear.* Psal. xxxiii. 16, 17. *there is no king saved by the multitude of an host—.* xliv. 2, &c. *thou didst drive out the heathen with thine hand—.* lx. 1. *O God, thou hast cast us off,* &c. cxliv. 1. *blessed be Jehovah my strength, which teacheth my hands to war.* cxlvii. 10. *he delighteth not in the strength of the horse.* v. 13. *he hath strengthened the bars of thy gates—.* Prov. xxi. 31. *the horse is prepared against the day of battle; but safety is of Jehovah.* 2 Chron. xiv. 11. *it is nothing with thee to help, whether with many, or with them that have no power—.* xx. 21. *he appointed singers unto Jehovah,* &c. xxiv. 24. *the army of the Syrians came with a small company of men, and Jehovah delivered a very great host into their hand.* Isai. v. 26. *he will lift up an ensign to the nations from far,* &c. Jer. xxi. 4. *I will turn back the weapons of war that are in your hands—.* xxxvii. 10. *for though ye had smitten the whole army of the Chaldeans that fight against you,* &c. Ezek. xiii. 5. *ye have not gone up into the gaps, neither made up the hedge for the house of Israel—.* Zech. x. 5, 6. *they shall be as mighty men which tread down their enemies in the mire of the streets in the battle—.* Amos ii. 14. *the strong shall not strengthen his force.* Seventhly, that the booty be distributed in equitable proportions. Numb. xxxi. 27. *divide the prey into two parts between them that took the war upon them, who went out to battle, and between all the congregation.* Deut. xx. 14.

all the spoil thereof shalt thou take unto thyself, and thou shalt eat the spoil of thine enemies. Josh. xxii. 8. *he blessed them, and he spake unto them, saying, Return with much riches unto your tents—.* 1 Sam. xxx. 24. *as his part is that goeth down to the battle, so shall his part be that tarrieth by the stuff.*

There seems no reason why war should be unlawful now, any more than in the time of the Jews; nor is it anywhere forbidden in the New Testament. Psal. cxlix. 6. *let a two-edged sword be in their hand.* Two centurions, namely, the man of Capernaum and Cornelius, are reckoned among believers, Matt. viii. Acts x. Neither does John exhort the soldiers to refrain from war, but only from wrong and robbery; Luke iii. 14. *he said unto the soldiers, Do violence to no man—.* 1 Cor. ix. 7. *who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges?* Paul likewise availed himself of a guard of soldiers for his personal security; Acts xxiii. 17. *bring this young man unto the chief captain.*

The observance of the divine commandments is the source of prosperity to nations. See Levit. xxvi. It renders them flourishing, wealthy, and victorious, Deut. xv. 4—6. lords over many nations, v. 6. xxvi. 17—19. exalted above all others, xxviii. 1, &c. a chapter which should be read again and again by those who have the direction of political affairs.[7] Compare also chap. xxix. and iv. Judges ii. and iii.

[7] For Milton's opinion of the value of the Scriptures as teachers of political wisdom, see *Paradise Regained*, IV. 353.

> Their orators thou then extoll'st, as those
> The top of eloquence, statists indeed,
> And lovers of their country, as may seem;
> But herein to our prophets far beneath,
> As men divinely taught, and better teaching
> The solid rules of civil government
> In their majestic unaffected style
> Than all the oratory of Greece and Rome.
> In them is plainest taught, and easiest learnt

and Psal. xxxiii. 12. *blessed is the nation whose God is Jehovah.* Prov. xi. 11. *by the blessing of the upright the city is exalted.* xiv. 34. *righteousness exalteth a nation.* xxviii. 2. *for the transgression of a land many are the princes thereof.* See also Isai. iii. and xxiv. xlviii. 18. *O that thou hadst hearkened to my commandments!* See also Jer. v. Ezek. vii.

The consequences of impiety to nations are described, Isai. iii. 7. *in my house is neither bread nor clothing, make me not a ruler of the people.* lvii. 9, 10, 13. *thou wentest to the king with ointment—.* Hos. v. 13. *when Ephraim saw his sickness,* &c. vii. 11, 12. *Ephraim also is like a silly dove without heart—.* xii. 1. *Ephraim feedeth on wind, and followeth after the east wind—.* Habak. ii. 12. *woe to him that buildeth a town with blood.*

PUBLIC ECCLESIASTICAL DUTIES consist in the reciprocal obligations of ministers, and of the church considered collectively and individually.

THE DUTIES OF MINISTERS TOWARDS THE CHURCH IN GENERAL, AND TOWARDS INDIVIDUAL BELIEVERS IN PARTICULAR, are stated in the first book, in the chapter on ministers. Towards the church in general: Jer. i. 7, 8. *say not, I am a child: for thou shalt go to all that I shall send thee,* &c. v. 17—19. *gird up thy loins, and arise, and speak unto them all that I command thee.* xv. 10, 11. *woe is me, my mother, that thou hast borne me a man of strife and a man of contention to the whole earth.* xviii. 19, &c. *remember that I stood before thee to speak good for them.* xx. 7, &c. *thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived..... I am in derision daily.* Isai. lviii. 1. *cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show my people their transgression—.* Ezek. ii. 6. *thou, son of man, be not afraid of them,* &c. iii. 8, 9. *behold, I have made thy face strong against their faces—.* xxxiii. 2—31. *son of man,*

> What makes a nation happy, and keeps it so,
> What ruins kingdoms, and lays cities flat;
> These only with our law best form a king.

speak to the children of thy people, &c. Matt. iv. 19. *follow me, and I will make you fishers of men.* viii. 21, 22. *suffer me first to go and bury my father; but Jesus said unto him, Follow me, and let the dead bury their dead.* ix. 11. *why eateth your Master with publicans and sinners? but when Jesus heard that, he said unto them, They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick.* v. 36. *he was moved with compassion on them, because ..... they were scattered abroad—.* x. 14. *whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words*, &c. xiii. 52. *every scribe which is instructed unto the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is an householder, which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old.* xviii. 12. *if a man have an hundred sheep, and one of them be gone astray*, &c. Acts xiii. 51. *they shook off the dust of their feet against them.* xviii. 6. *when they opposed themselves, and blasphemed, he shook his raiment, and said unto them—.* 2 Cor. ii. 17. *we are not as many, which corrupt the word of God, but as of sincerity, but as of God, in the sight of God speak we in Christ.* 1 Thess. ii 5. *neither at any time used we flattering words, as ye know.* Tit. ii. 7. *in all things showing thyself a pattern of good works.*

Opposed to the above are the ignorant, the slothful, the timid, flatterers, the dumb, false teachers, the covetous, the ambitious. Isai. ix. 15. *the prophet that teacheth lies, he is the tail.* Ezek. xliv. 8. *ye have set keepers of my charge in my sanctuary for yourselves;* as was done by bishops formerly, and is not unfrequently practised by magistrates in the present day, thus depriving the people of their privilege of election. Isai. lvi. 10. *his watchmen are blind*, &c. For an example of flatterers, see 2 Chron. xviii. 5. *the king of Israel gathered together of prophets four hundred men*, &c. Neh. vi. 12. *lo, I perceived that God had not sent him.* Jer. ii. 8. *the priests said not, Where is Jehovah?* v. 14. *because ye speak this word*, &c. v. 31. *the prophets prophesy falsely.* vi. 13, 14. *from the least of them even unto the greatest*, &c. viii. 9. *lo, they have rejected the word of Jehovah, and what wisdom is in them?* x. 21. *the pastors are become brutish.* xiv. 13—15, 18. *thus saith Jehovah concerning the prophets that prophesy in my name*, &c.

xxiii. 9, &c. *mine heart is broken within me, because of the prophets.* In this class are to be placed Hananiah, chap. xxviii. with the two other prophets mentioned in chap. xxix. 21. and Shemaiah, v. 24, &c. *because thou hast sent letters in my name unto all the people that are at Jerusalem.....saying, Jehovah hath made thee priest in the room of Jehoiada,* &c. and Amaziah, Amos vii. 10—17. Jer. l. 6. *their shepherds have caused them to go astray.* Lament. ii. 14. *thy prophets have seen vain and foolish things for thee.* iv. 13. *for the sins of the prophets—.* Ezek. xiii. 2, &c. *prophesy against the prophets of Israel,* &c. xxii. 26. *her priests have violated my law.* v. 28. *her prophets have daubed them with untempered mortar.* xxxiv. 2, &c. *son of man, prophesy against the shepherds of Israel—.* Hos. vi. 9. *as troops of robbers wait for a man, so the company of priests murder in the way,* &c. Amos viii. 11. *I will send a famine in the land, not a famine of bread,* &c. Mic. iii. 5, 6. *thus saith Jehovah concerning the prophets that make my people err—.* v. 11. *the heads thereof judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire—.* Zeph. iii. 4. *her prophets are light and treacherous—.* Zech. xi. 15, 16. *take unto thee yet the instruments of a foolish shepherd.* v. 17. *woe to the idol shepherd that leaveth the flock.* xiii. 2, &c. *I will cause the prophets and the unclean spirit to pass out of the land.* Mal. ii. 1—10. *now, O ye priests, this commandment is for you.* John ii. 16. *he said unto them that sold doves, Take these things hence,* &c. x. 10. *the thief cometh not but for to steal, and to kill, and to destroy.* 2 Pet. ii. 1, &c. *there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you.*

THE DUTIES OF THE WHOLE CHURCH AND OF INDIVIDUAL BELIEVERS TOWARDS THEIR MINISTERS are stated Book I. in the chapter concerning the ministers and people; to which many of the following texts may also be referred. Matt. ix. 37, 38. *the harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few; pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest—.* x. 40, &c. *he that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me.* See also John xiii. 20. Luke viii. 18. *take heed therefore how ye hear; for whosoever hath, to him shall*

be given, and whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he seemeth to have. Philipp. iii. 17, 18. *brethren, be followers together of me,* &c. 1 Thess. v. 12, 13. *we beseech you, brethren, to know them that labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you; and to esteem them very highly in love, for their work's sake.* Heb. xiii. 7. *remember them which have the rule over you.* v. 17, 18. *obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves, for they watch for your souls as they that must give account, that they may do it with joy and not with grief, for that is unprofitable for you.* Jer. xxiii. 16. *hearken not unto the words of the prophets that prophesy unto you; they make you vain; they speak a vision of their own heart, and not out of the mouth of Jehovah.*

The contrary conduct is condemned, Isai. xxx. 9, 10. *this is a rebellious people,* &c. Jer. xliii. 2. *saying unto Jeremiah, Thou speakest falsely; Jehovah our God hath not sent thee—.* Micah ii. 6. *prophesy ye not; say ye to them that prophesy,* &c. v. 11. *if a man walking in the spirit and falsehood do lie, saying,* &c. Luke vii. 29, 30. *the Pharisees and lawyers rejected the counsel of God against themselves, being not baptized of him.* 3 John 9. *I wrote unto the church, but Diotrephes, who loveth to have the pre-eminence among them, receiveth us not.*

THE END.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 2. note 1. Add, to the passage here cited, the following from *A Ready and Easy Way to establish a Free Commonwealth,* Prose Works, III. 405: 'Our victory at once against two the most prevailing usurpers over mankind, superstition and tyranny.'

P. 22. note 2. Add from Paradise Regained, IV. 389.

> ..... what kingdom,
> Real or allegoric, I discern not,
> Nor when, eternal sure, as without end,
> Without beginning.

P. 51. line 19. So in *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce:* 'If it be affirmed, that God, as being Lord, may do as he will, yet we must know that God hath not two wills, but one will, much less two contrary.' Prose Works, II. 10. And again; 'It is wondered how there can be in God a secret and revealed will; and yet what wonder, if there be in man two answerable causes? But here there must be two revealed wills grappling in a fraternal war with one another, without any reasonable cause apprehended.' *Ibid.* 12.

P. 226, &c. To the passages cited in the notes to this chapter, illustrative of Milton's opinion as to divorce, add the following from the *Description of Moscovia:* 'Upon utter dislike the husband divorces; which liberty no doubt they received first with their religion from the Greek church, and the imperial laws.' IV. 281. For the imperial laws on this subject see *Tetrachordon,* II. 225.

P. 247, penult. See the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce,* II. 51. 'God delights not to make a drudge of virtue, whose actions must be all elective and unconstrained. Forced virtue is as a bolt overshot, it goes neither forward nor backward, and does no good as it stands.'

P. 275. line 3. Compare with this passage, the following from *The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty;* 'Whatever else men call punishment or censure, is not properly an evil, so it be not an illegal violence, but a saving medicine ordained of God both for the public and private good of man.' I. 133.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

P. 291. line 16. 'It was in this state, as appears to me, that the penitent thief was united to the other saints *without punishment for sin*.' The Latin is: "in quo bonum illum latronem cæteris fuisse sanctis aggregatum *sine noxa* equidem existimem." The passage may perhaps be more faithfully rendered according to the literal sense of the word *noxa*, 'without pollution;' that is, without polluting the other saints by his company; a poetical allusion, founded on the Greek and Roman notions of pollution.

P. 419. l. 28, &c. See *Colasterion*, Prose Works, II. 263. 'It is not the formal duty of worship, or the sitting still, that keeps the holy rest of sabbath; but whosoever doth most according to charity, whether he works or works not, he breaks the holy rest of sabbath least. So marriage being a civil ordinance, made for man, not man for it, he who doth that which most accords with charity, first to himself, next to whom he next owes it, whether in marriage or divorce, he breaks the ordinance of marriage least.'

P. 435. l. 19, &c. Compare *An Apology for Smectymnuus*, I. 269. 'The best of them, as St. Paul saith, 'was shut up unto the faith under the law their schoolmaster,' who was forced to entice them as children with childish enticements. But the gospel is our manhood.'

P. 460. l. 15. See *Samson Agonistes*, 678.

> .....such as thou hast solemnly elected,
> With gifts and graces eminently adorn'd
> To some great work ————

for so it should be pointed; *adorn'd* being used in the Latin sense of "furnished," "fitted out," ad præclarum aliquod opus ornatos; which Dryden seems not to have understood when he borrowed the expression in his translation from Lucretius; 'Whom thou with all thy gifts and graces dost adorn.'

P. 479. l. 1. More correctly: 'We are expressly forbidden to pay any regard to human traditions,' &c.

P. 492. 6, &c. In the *Likeliest Means to remove Hirelings*, &c. Milton describes the Jewish church as 'a national church of many incomplete synagogues, uniting the accomplishment of divine worship in one temple;' whereas the Christian church is 'universal ..... consisting of many particular churches complete in themselves.' III. 364.

P. 493. note 8. Add in proof of Milton's disapprobation of councils: 'These debates, in his judgement, would have been ended better 'by the best divines in Christendom in a full and free synod.' A most improbable way, and such as never yet was used, at least with good success, by any protestant kingdom or state since the reformation.' *Eiconoclastes*, III. 27. See also *ibid.* 57. Among the subjects for tragedies, given

by Birch and Todd from Milton's MSS. is 'AHAB; beginning at the *synod* of false prophets.' Of councils, however, composed as he supposes them to have been in the early times of Christianity, he speaks otherwise, *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce,* Prose Works, I. 338, 339.

P. 502. 15—18. The same interpretation of 1 Cor. v. 5. is given in the *Treatise of Civil Power,* &c. III. 345.

P. 631. 35. Respecting abstinence from self-commendation, except where the occasion requires it. See Milton's spirited account of himself, in reply to the calumnies circulated against his character, *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano,* V. 229. 'Nunc quoniam iste ..... congestis in me tot una serie mendaciis, apud exteros infamiem reddere conatus est, peto ne quis rem secus interpretetur, aut in invidiam trahat, neve moleste ferat, si de me plura quam vellem et dixi supra, et porro dicam: ut si oculos a cæcitate, nomen ab oblivione aut calumnia non possum, vitam tamen possim ab ea saltem obscuritate quæ cum macula sit, in lucem vindicare, &c.

P. 700. 16, &c. Compare the *Treatise of Civil Power,* &c. III. 322. 'Chiefly for this cause do all true protestants account the pope antichrist, for that he assumes to himself this infallibility over both the conscience and the Scripture.'

Lately Published,

1. THE MINISTERIAL CHARACTER OF CHRIST, PRACTICALLY CONSIDERED. By CHARLES R. SUMNER, M.A. Domestic Chaplain to His Majesty, &c. &c. 1 vol. 8vo.

2. THE DUTIES OF A MARITIME POWER. A Sermon Preached on Trinity Monday, June 14, 1824, before the Corporation of the TRINITY-HOUSE, and Published at their Request.

Sold by J. Hatchard and Son, 187, Piccadilly, and Rivingtons, St. Paul's Church Yard, and Waterloo Place.

RETURN TO ⟶ **CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT**
202 Main Library

LOAN PERIOD 1 **HOME USE**	2	3
4	5	6

ALL BOOKS MAY BE RECALLED AFTER 7 DAYS
Renewals and Recharges may be made 4 days prior to the due date.
Books may be Renewed by calling 642-3405.

DUE AS STAMPED BELOW

MAY 26 1990
AUTO DISC NOV 1 9 1990
APR 14 1994
AUTO DISC CIRC APR 04 '94

UNIVERSITY
FORM NO. DD6 BER

LD 21A-60m-2,'67
(H211s10)476B

General Library
University of California
Berkeley

IN STA
OCT 26 196
LD9-30m-4,'65(F3042s4)4185

28302
BT78
M5

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY

GENERAL LIBRARY - U.C. BERKELEY
B000202919